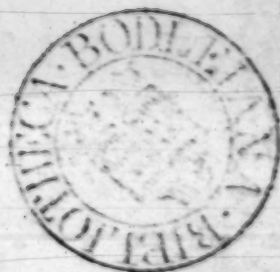


The defence of peace: late-
ly translated out of la-
ten in to englyshe.



N. 1. 8. Th. 1. 1. 1.



With the kynges moſte
gracyous priuilege.

2. 1.

1535

3/19/3

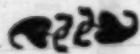
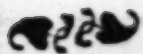
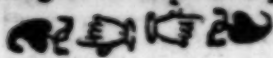
S. Selden d. 34

*Marsilius de
Padua*



A excellent and a noble

warke, whiche the Authoꝝ therof hath entytled the Defen-
der a maynteyner of peace (because it doth moſte perfect-
lye treatē, and clearly diſcuſſe that queſtpon, where aboute great
controuerſy, and contencion hath ben nowe longe tyme alwell,
of the iuſte power and auctoꝛyte of the Emperour, as of the
vſurped power of the biſſhop of Rome, otherwyſe called
the Pope (a worke very proſpytable to dyuynes, lawe-
pers, and generally to all thoſe, whiche louen and
exercyſen the ſtudy of good lettres, oꝛ lear-
nyng, whiche ſayde worke was wy-
ten oꝛ made, moze then two hon-
dred yeres ago, vnto Lodo-
wyke Ceſar (whiche
came by lynage of the moſt noble family, and
kynred of the dukes of Bauary) but
nowe fyrſte Imprynted and pu-
blyſhed oꝛ ſent forth abroad
in the englyſhe tonge by
Wylliam Marshall.



[The louer of trouthe,
ſpeketh to the boke.

Go forth boke, all good men gladly ſhall the reſeyne.
With lounge embraſynges, and tourne the ofte in hande,
Whoſe mynde is fyrred, ryght and trouthe to maynteyne.
And wronge and falſehod ſtyfly to withſtande.
Thoſe perſones I waraunt alwell pleaſed ſhall be all.
As wood Rome ſhall grunte, at the rubbyng on the gall.

The translatour to the reader.



Dood and gentle reader,

here hast thou the boke intytled in latyne, *Defensorium pacis*, in englyshe the defence tuicyon oꝝ mayntenance of peace, vndoubtedly full worthy so to be called, as y^e thynge selfe in the vse therof shall full well and manifestly declare and shewe. Aboue two hondred yeres passed, there was a varyaunce, stryfe, and controuersy, betwyxte the proude bysshoppes of Rome, that then were, & the most gentle pryncce & Emperour Lewes of Bauary. The bysshoppes of Rome (as aunccient hystories do make mēcyon) were cōmenly, & foꝝ the moze parte, befoze that tyme, yea & euer syns haue ben, stoute & stubbourne, proude & presumptuous vsurpers, & murtherers, traytours & rebellyons, (cōtrary to theyꝝ allegyaunces) not onely agaynst theyꝝ owne naturall soueraygnes lordes, prynces, kyngs, & Emperours, but also agaynst all other prynces, & peraduenture not without the aydes, consent, mocyons, & cōsailles, of other fozeyn & straunge bysshoppes. Nowe because this good Emperour Lewes moued no lesse with pyte towarde his louyng subiects, then with a true loue & zeale towarde the worde of god, & his moste godly honour, wolde not permyt & suffre the sayd bysshops of Rome to consume, wast, & deuoure (after y^e accustomed maner of theyꝝ wycked & vngyracious predecessours) therfoze (I saye) arose betwyxte the sayd Emperoure and the sayd bysshops a greuous & an intollerable tragedy. Foꝝ in the defence of the moste iuste cause of whose imperryall maiesty, it lyked the noble and vertuous clerke Marsilius of Padway, to compyle and endyte this same defence of peace. Nowe as touchyng y^e translatyō of Marsilius out of laten, & in teachyng hym to speake englyshe, beyng an Italyan, whether it be done so well as it myght oꝝ shulde haue ben / I woll not saye, but I hertely pray the gentle reader, to take it in good parte, and to correcte and amende it where nede is. To dysprayse the doyng of it, I iudge it no hygh poynt of learnyng. And to translate it but meanely, I thynke it some learnyng. This dare I be bolde to say, that from the iniust and lyenge carpours, and pryuy detractours, there cōmeth nothyng in to lyght, neyther by preachyng, ne yet by wytyng, y^e sauoureth oꝝ hath any taste of vertue oꝝ learnyng, I wolde gladly that suche whysperers and blowers in mēes eares, wolde preache, wyte and sette foꝝth sermons, and bokes of vertue and good learnyng and in the same (as well without makyng of fayne and vntreue excuses) as without

Ihoñ s. xviij.
Benedicte the
vii.
E lement the.
vi.

THE DEFENCE

without they? olde accustomed crafty iugglynges truly declare and
publyſſhe the worde of god & ſhewe them ſelues, to be ſuche in they?
bertes (as of ryght, and duety, by the worde of god) they ſhulde euer
haue ben, & as with they? mouthes, by they? wytynges, and by they?
Seales, they haue profeſſed, and ſwozne / & not (as the olde prouerbe
is) to goldſmythes of they? owne occupacyons, iniuſtly, faſſely, and
ſecretly, in corners to ſlaunder and bely men. Nowe good gentle rea-
der I do aduyle and counceyll the, to do, as I woll my ſelf, that is to
ſay, in nothyng to beleue theym, what ſoeuer they ſay, befoze ſuche
tyme & vntyll they haue done as aboue is ſayd, & alſo vntyl they ha-
ue openly and ſuffyciently improued and confuted vs. But to make
fewe wordes, I woll promyle and aſſure the of one thyng (good rea-
der) and admonyſſhe and warne the of an other, and ſo fare well.
In this boke I dare ſaye, thou ſhalte fynde wherwith to make iuſte
and inuynſyble answeres, yea & wherwith vtterly to confute

all and euery the obieccyons, fantaſtycall argumen-
tes, reaſons, & perſwaſyons, that by the papyſty-
call ſorte can be made, for the ſettyng forth,
and extollyng of the vſurped power &
auctoryte of the byſſhop of Rome, ben
they neuer ſo faſſe, crafty, & ſub-
tyle. And of this I do warne
the, that in the tranſlacyon
of this boke dyuerſe
thynges ben ompt

ted, and lefte out, as maters, not ſo moche profytable,
as longe and tedypous, as in the laten boke at lar-
ge moze pleynly apperyth / the reſydue I cō-
mytte to thyne owne dylpgence, whiche in
readyng this boke may in nowyſe lacke.

And thus farewell, & pray for the lon-
ge lyue & prosperous preſeruacyon
of our moſt gracyous ſouerayg-
ne lord kynge Henry 8th eyght,
of his moſt vertuouſ Lady
quene Anne, and of the
Lady prynces Elizabeth
doughter and heyre
to theym bothe.

**¶ Thus endyth the pꝛeface of
the tranſlator to the reader.**

The p[re]face of Licentius Euangelus prest, b. of the Apologye
or answere made by Marcellus of Dadway, for the defence of Lodowicke,
(whiche descended of the moste noble lynage of the dukes of Bauary) Emperour
of the Romaynes, agaynst the false & vnttrue hy[sto]ries of certayne persones.

Whan I do consydre dyligently and closely in my mynde,
Chyften reader, the moste greivouse and icoperdous or daungerful
troubles of those tymes, in whiche is so moche synne and myschefe
as maye be, and synne taken or accompted for no synne, me thynketh
a man maye reasonably without any offence apply this prophete
of Oseas, & say cursynge or euyl spekyng, lyeng, man slaughter, thefte,
and adultery do flowe as ryuers, and blode hath touched blode, there is no trouth
there is no mercy or pytie, there is no knowledge of god any lenger in the erthe.
We all be bocked and made redy to wyckednes, as a horse to ronnyng, or a lyon
to his pray. Who now hath pytie or compassyon of the poore man? who is moued
or styred any thyng with the Iniury of the wydowe, or orphan beyng throughe
false gyle and deceyte depriued of theyr ryght & goodes? where is now any place
of Iugement without corrupcyon, or in whiche true & vpryght Justyce is myny
stred? what lawes be not now more applyed to gettyng of money & lucre, then
to equyte and good consyence? where or of whom (yea I speake euen of the bishops
des and prelatys of the Church) in chosynge or makynge rulers, ouerseers & offy
cers of theyr diocesse: is not now a dayes more respecte and regarde had of suche
thynges as are better to augment and encrease theyr petyl Rentes, ryches, and
substaunce / then to kepe and retayne innocency & vertue? and to be shorte ryches
gyueth honoures, ryches gyueth frendshippes, ryches gyueth benefyces, ryches
gyueth power, and auctoryte, ryches causeth to be regarded and greatly esteemed.
The poore man be he neuer so good and godly, be he neuer so vertuous and with
out corrupte maners, be he neuer so prudent & wyse, lyeth euer where in the dust.
yf the ryche man speake neuer so folysshely, all men magnysie and prayse his spe
che or sayinge, euen to the cloudes / but let the poore man speake neuer so wysely,
no man gyueth attendement to hym, or dothe after his sayinge, Meekenes, humi
lenes, lowlynnes, sobrenes, discrecyon, and good aduysment / in whom soeuer it
be, is nought set by, but despyed now a dayes. And on the other syde bolde pre
sumpcyon, folyssh hardynes, and vnshamefastnes as moche made of, and is mer
uaylously prosperous, and florysshyng. Trowthe in whom soeuer it be / is now
had in comen and open hatred / but on the other syde, glosynge, flaterynge, curry
enge of fauell / is pryncypally and chyeftly made of, and had in pryce. When was
euer good mynde or vertue, lesse cared for? When was the thyfte of moste pesty
lent and poysonfull couetousnes greater? Do we not all from the hyghest to the
lowest, from the greatest to the smallest, folowe couetousnes? who now doth de
fende the innocent man beyng weake and feble, from the iniury of the myghtye
men & of great power? what iudge is now a dayes so vncorrupte, but that he lo
ueth gyftes & rewardes? When was euer sweryng or othes lesse had in reuerence
or regarded? When was periurpe more boldly used, and accompted small or none
offence? what preuatyccacyon, or playenge of both handes, what fraude or gyle /
what falsshed is there so great, whiche is not gayly coloured and paynted, by the
subtylite (I wyll not say duplicite) of the lawyers selues, yf hope of gylefull mo
ney do glystre or shyne from any where, the lawes now playnly beyng tourned
to mockage? Be they not daylye made mockynge stockes, and tryfles for money
a. 2. in iudgement

THE DEFENCE

The despyſynge and ſettynge at nought of goddes worde: is the cauſe of all þe preſent euylles in the worlde.

in iudgement / wherby they and waſted and made lytle worthe / mocked and deſpyſed after the luſte and pleaſure of euery lawyer, or pleder of cauſes: who is now a dayes / whiche is a ſueter in the lawe / but that he can dye ſooner, then he can ſee an ende of his ſuete: Whiche theſe are worſhyppfull and goodly lawes in dede / theſe are excellent and gaye places of Iudgement whiche ſuccoure the poore wretches, deſpyrnyng ayde and helpe of them, after ſuche faſſhyon & maner / that it had ben moche better to haue loſte all that / what ſoener it is, for the whiche they haue begun ſuete in the lawe / then to haue fallen in to ſo comberous, and endles laborynthes or mazes of the iudgementes, from whence there is no waye to gette out a gayne / yf a man be ones entred in to them. For ſothe I haue ſeen my ſelfe certayne men whiche haue ben lordes and owners of no lytle money / by ſuche delays, ſtaves and ſtoppages made in the lawe, broughte to ſo great pouertye / that they haue ben conſtrayned of neceſſytie to begge and aſke theyr fode from doore to doore / and certayne other to ende theyr lyues in hoſpytalles and ſpytall howſes / whiche before they began to ſue, and trye the lawe, had in theyr poſſeſſyon, ſubſtaunce worthe foure or fyue thouſandes / Is this (as it is called) to decyde and determyne cauſes, and to ende ſuetes and ſtryues: is this to prouyde laſufully for the quyetnes and proſyfte of the L ytezens or comynalte. But now paſſyng ouer the courtes and places of Iudgement, what other thyng beſyde is there / other ſobrie, meſurable / diſcrete and belongyng to temperaunce / or els accordyng to equitye & good conſcyence, whiche we now a dayes do exerceyſe or gyue out mynde vnto: When was euermore waſtfull exceſſe and ſuperfluyte of all maner of thynges: When was conetouſnes more ſeruent and hote: When more vnglacynous wantonnes, and outrage of fornicacyons and adulteryes. When more ſtyffe & obſtynate pryde. When more ſhameles ambycyon, or deſyre of honour / & vayne glorye, or prayſe: When more vnſaythfull and falſe gyle or deceyte. When more lewde plecty of open robberyes. When more cruelty, or thyrſte to murther & ſhedde mans blode. When was euer þe fury or woodnes and rage of warres & bataylles, or the noyauce and myſcheuousnes of other perelles and daungers, more ſtronger and preſent: To what thyng (Chryſten reader) thyneſt thou, that we ought to blame this ſo dyuerſe, ſo manyfolde, ſo contynuall treble of all thynges in the worlde: or wherof iudgeſt thou all this to belonge / wherof els, but that we haue greuously offended and hurte the truth of the Goſpell. Is not this truth more hated of vs / whiche be (as we wolde be accompted and taken) her owne chyl dren borne in her owne howſe / then it is hateful to any barbarous hethen men / be they neuer ſo cruel & beaſtly: For of what auctoryte or reputacyon is this trouthe amonge vs / or what maieſty can ſhe defende and ſaue to her ſelfe now any longer. Nay rather what thyng is now a dayes more deſpyſed, and ſet at nought / what thyng is more troden vnder fote then it: we haue quenched and put out the lyght of the worlde, in our ſelues, and yet do we meruayle, yf lyke blynde beaſtes we do ſtumble and fall euery where in to all euylles and wretchednes: yea more ouer (whiche is a more greuous thyng) many of vs not onely ſtumblyng, but vtterly peryſſhyng for lacke of knowlege and vnderſtandyng, do not perceyue that we do peryſſhe / but reioyce and be proude of our hurt, and calamytes, and wrackes, lyke wyſe as yf we had the victory / I am trouthe, and the lyght of the worlde (ſayth Chryſte) who ſoener foloweth me, walketh not in darknes. Beholde, we deſpyſe openly the truth, whiche is Chryſte / and yet for all that, we run a wayes, and forſakers of the truth are nothyng aſhamed to pretende royally the name of Chryſte, callynge our ſelues Chryſtyans / yf Chryſte be truth as he is in dede: what is a chryſten man / Is he not by profeſſyon the diſcypple of truth: But

But what other thyng myght trouthe teache, but it owne selfe? and what other thyng coude the Scoler learne haupnge trouthe to his teacher / then trouthe it selfe? Is it not conuenient and accordynge so to be? Maye the fyre be vnhotte? or can that thyng whiche the fyre hathe touched not take heate and waue warme of the sayde fyre? So: hyfte for as moche as he is trouthe, howe is it possyble that he hathe not taughte his dyscyples trouthe. Therefore we the sones of men / howe longe wyll we be heuy herted leauynge and forsakynge the trouthe, and folowynge manes iudgement / that is to say vanyte and leasynge? the doctryne of whiche trouthe is this folowynge. Blyssed are the poore men in spyryte, for theyres is the kyngdome of heuens. Blyssed are the meke persones, for they shall possesse the erthe. Blyssed are they whiche waylen and moenen, for they shall be comforted. Blyssed are they whiche hungren and thyrsten after ryght wysnes, for they shall be fylled. Blyssed are the mercyfull persones, for they shall obteyne mercy. Blyssed are they / whiche are cleane in herte, for they shall see god. Blyssed are the peaceable persones, for they shall be called the sones of god. Blyssed are they whiche suffer persecucion for ryght wysnes sake / for to them belongeth the kyngdom of heuens. What of all these thynges do not seme to vs utterly vnsauery / or els playne folysshenes now a dayes? To be poore in spyryte, meke, mercyfull, peaceable / to be innocent and harmeles / to mowne / to hungre and thyrste after ryght wysnes and to suffre persecucion for the loue of it / what is more out of vse then these termes or wordes / what more straunge or vnwonte now a dayes? Who dothe not now a dayes hyffe out / who dothe not stampe out these thynges as it were the dreames of madde men / and starke folyssh trystes? say these wordes to Latomus, saye them to Egmondamus, saye them to Hochstratus / whiche be but freres only (because I wyll not name the moste holy fathers goddes vycares / and these moste reuerende fathers hatted and mytrede) they shall by and by caste the forth as beyng a certayne superstycious persone, and an heretyke / turnynge this sayinge of E hyfte as it were an horne agaynst the. So behynde vs thou aduersarye, for thou arte a sclaudie to vs. I reseeche the for the loue of that truthe / E hyften reader in whom dothe that trewe pouertye of spyryte breathe now a dayes. Who sheweth it forth in his luyng? who be they of vs now a dayes / whiche be not rather swolne and puffed vp with the spyryte of our owne wytte and iudgement, condemnynge other in comparyson of our selues / as though we our selues were more holy then they? who be they amonge vs / whiche yf they be neuer so lytle offended or hurte / but the mountenaunce of one heate, are not euen starke woode and madde angry and wrothe with our neyghboure? who of vs dothe not thyrste and greatly desyre ryches, honours, pleasures, euen to the contumely and reproche of ryght wysnes. Al man shall not lyghtly fynde mercy or pyte now any where amonge vs? more then a good smell and swete sauoure in a soyle of durte and myre / I praye you who of vs now (I do not saye) are cleane in herte? But who dothe not abhorre and hate this clenness of herte / more then the gentylles or hethen people in the olde tyme dyd hate any vnlucky or abhomynable augury / it is to say the styng or syngynge of bydes / wherby was betokened euyl happe or myschaunce to folowe them? where is now any place lefte any lenger for peace here in erthe? Is she not utterly exyled and banysshed? who of vs now dothe susteyne or suffre euen the leaste dyspleasure or euyl wyll of any man / whiche is of power or myghte / for the ryght wysnes of god? but rather whiche of oure selues do not trede vnder the fote / dothe not suppress, & dothe not as moche as in vs lyeth / to quenche and destroye this ryght wysnes of god / that we myghte a-

THE DEFENCE

we be worthe
ly punysshed
for the despy
synge of the
lyghte of the
gospell.

naunce and tere vp our owne rygghtwysenes, and that we myghte not be subiec-
ted (as the apostle Paule sayth) to the Iustyce of god? yf those afore rehersed thyn-
ges were taughte of *Ehyfte*, whiche is the lyghte of the worlde / it is no doute
but that the nyght and hylles darkenes hathe taughte these thynge / whiche are
diametertely or cleane contrarie to those other. It is therfore no metwayne, it is no
noueltye or straunge thynge, yf we suffre punysshement / worthely for our despy-
synge of the lyghte of the Gospell / yf we be daylye tossed more and more, and my-
serably suffre shypwrake, in the moste thicke darkenes of mēnes superstycious,
as it were in moste greuous tempestes or stormes / yf we be empouerysshed, op-
pressed and consumed with warres / yf we be obsessed and besette or compassed a-
boute on euery syde with roberyes, yf we be vexed with newe straunge fylthyne,
and abhomynable syckenesses and dyscasses. suche as hathe not ben herde here to-
fore / yf we suffre great famyne or hungre / yf we be oppressed of tyrauntes / yf we
be greatly troubled and vexed with monsters and wonders: yf we be noyed with
the sodayne incursyons and assautes of the wylde and cruell bestes / yf we be de-
stroyed with the breakynge forth, of floodes and waters / yf we be swallowed
in and consumed with the gapynge and openynges of the earthe. Fynally and
to conclude, whiche waye soener we tourne our iyes and our mynde / we shall se
or perceyue nothynge but all cruell, all noysom and hurtefull, all vengeable, all
myserable and wretchedfull. The chylde wranglet / troubleth and stryuet a-
gaynst the aged man / the man of lowe degree: agaynst the noble man or of hygh
estate and degree / all thynge are dysparpled and scatered / all thynge are lose,
and out of theyr place / all thynge troubled and out of ordre / all thynge are lyke
and semen to decay and falle. And the thynge whiche are to come hereafter, are
feared and not without cause to be more greuous and dreedefull / then these whi-
che be present. For suche paynes. suche punysshementes / suche vengeaunce dothe
the trouthe despyssed / requyre to be done to vs / suche plagges requyren the dyscyp-
lyne and learyng of lyghte refused and sette at noughte / Because we do mocke
and scorne the pouertye of spyrte: we haue also nowwe caste awaye and losse the
hope and promesse of the kyngdome of heuens / settynge all our herte and desyre
vpon earthly thynge. Because we haue ceassed to be meke: we do also nowwe wor-
thely not so moche possesse the earthe, as we do fyghte for it with murders and
cruell bloody bataylles. Because we thyrste after vnygthwysenes, a nowwe euery
where doo oppresse the rygghtuous persone. Therfore worthely and throughe our
owne deseruynge / we doo in a maner nowhere fynde any token or prynte of Ius-
tyce remaynyng. And we do eche ouertourne and destroye other with doynge
iniuries & wronges one of vs to an other. Because we refuse and forsake doyn-
ge mercye to other / we our selues also somtyme worthely do mysse and lacke the
same towarde vs. Because we nowwe embrace, and loue in our herte / nothynge
that is pure and cleane: accordynge to our deseruynge / we also do not attayne or
gette the moste pure beame of trouthe / but beyng circūuented and beggled with
falsshed and lyes / we are fallen awaye vterly from the saythe and the Gospell.
For what other thynge is it, (I beseeche the good *Ehyften* reader) to fall awaye
from the Gospell: then to vse (as it is done dayly) in the stede of the leuite softnes
or gentylnes of *Ehyfte*, arrogancye and presumptuous pryde, in stede of vertue
and good lyuynge, to vse wantonnes / hatrede in the stede of charyte, warre in
the stede of peace, domynacyon / rule or lordshyppe in the stede of humblenes and
lowlynes

to wolynes / & to vsurpe the Emppire of the hole worlde / and yet neuertheless all this notwithstandinge, to stonde in our owne conceytes, and to thynke our selues to haue ryght saythe / and to be Chysten lyuers? Dyd chyste in any place teache / that earthely Emppires and lordshyppes in this worlde, were to be coueted or desyred? dyd he not teache rather all maner wayes / that these thyngs were to be auoyded and eschewed, (whiche doctryne it is euident and surely knowen, to haue ben perfectly obserued and kepte of his true dyscyples) when he sayde: you can not both serue god, and also mammon or ryches / who soeuer in olde tyme dyd beleue in hym, duely and as they oughte to doo: doubtyng nothyng at all, this thyng to be true, of theyr owne free wylls dyd forsake, and caste from theym all theyr goodes and possessyons, as beyng heuie and wayghty burthayns / and so then beyng at lyberte and lyghte, folowed the lorde of lyfe / the other, whiche professed theym selues to be guynes of the blynde persones, laughynge theym to scorne for theyr thus doyng. In the whiche thyng / in this moste peryllous tyme we dreade nothyng at all, our selues to folowe the Phariseys, more then the apostles sayinge that it is moste expedyent and chyeftly profytable to the churche, to haue all fatte and ryche thynges, all rentes & profettes to them selfe / craftely and subtilly pykynge out, and gatherynge togyther of all the holy Scrypture. A fewe names of ryche men / by whiche we maye any maner waye holde vp strengthe, and maynteyne our owne sentence and sayinges, passynge by purposely for the nones / with our iyes faste shytted and closed (as it is wonte to be sayde) ipe hon: dieth places, that maketh for the contrary parte / and yet shall there be no lytle dyuersyte (yf a man wyll dyllygently marke and take hede) betwene theyr maner of rychenes and oures. Fyyste I feare leaste we haue not goiten our ryches and goodes, lyke moche holylye and ryght fully, as Abraham. Isaac, Jacob, Job, and suche other dyd gette theyr substaunce / whiche gatte not that / whiche they had any other wayes / then by laboures and husbondrye, without the hurtynge or damagynge of any other man. But as for vs (I feare) lest we haue made our selues ryche (withoute any paynes or trauayle taken of our owne parte,) by other mennes laboure: ye oftentymes with the grece, smarte and sorowe also of other men. Besyde this, those afore rehersed persones / dyd neuer esteeme thysse thynges for ryches, neyther whan they were plentyfull to theym, they dyd sette theyr herte vpon theym / so as we doo / whiche do stryue and kepe warre amonge our selues / one with an other, for thysse thynges more ferce / than for our veray lyfe. I feare therfore (I saye) lest there be veray great dyuersytie betwene theym and vs / yf any man wolde ponder and dyllygently consydre the maner of the gettyng, the vse, and the affeccyon of bothe partes / and that our sentence oppynyon, or iudgement, can nothyng at all therfore be holpen or defended / by the examptes and deades of theym: whiche were as farre a waye or elles more from this our couetousnes (wherby we nowe gape gredely after ryches) as theyr tyme or worlde / is vnklyke & farre a waye from this our tyme or worlde, in temperaunce, mesurablenes, contynency or cleane lynyng / whan dyd they so rage amonge them selues with murtheres and dayly slaughters for thysse thyngs onely, as we do / whan dydde not they vse thysse ryches or goodes as Instrumentes of benefycence and lyberalitie, euen towarde straungers of other nacyns / and those whome they dydde not knowe? where as we moste comonly vse theym, as helpers and aydes other to do Iniuries & wronges / or els to exerce voluptuousnes and wantonnes: whan dyd not they so haue theyr ryches accordynge to the sayeng of Pauls)

Men of the churche now a dayes at rather the folowers of the phariseys then of the apostles.

THE DEFENCE

We do folysshly and madly to defende our couetousnes, by the examples of our holy Fathers.

They are not of this world whom chryst hath elected.

as though they had not hadde theym? contrary wyse we, whan do we not lyue so addicted, utterly gyuen, or bonde vnto them, that we are founde and perceyued to be possessed of theym / rather than to be possessours / to be bonde seruauntes vnto them / rather than the lordes or maysters of theym? in so moche that we esteeme no maner benefytes of Chryste done to vs / to be of so great valure / but that we are veray redy to forgette theym, for the cause and loue of this wretched and wretched manne (thysse thynges are odious to be spoken / but it is a more odious thyng, that those thynges maye truly be caste agayne vs / and layde to our charge: and we can not truly auoyde theym / or clere our selues of theym) do we thynke, that Abraham wolde haue ben sothe, or euill wyllynge to haue loste his ryches, were they neuer so great, for goddes sake, for whose loue he was so well wyllynge / and content to forgoe his onely begotten sone / whom vndoubtedly he had more pleasure in, than in all the substaunce of the worlde? Goo to now, we whiche folysshly seche defence and mayntenaunce to our couetousnes of the examples of those holy men / Lette vs compare our mynde with theyr mynde towarde these fylthes / and lette vs than say, (yf any shame at all be in vs) suche holy men were ryche / therefore it is lawfull for vs, day and nyght / By ryght or wronge, hoke or croke / to clyme and labour vp to ryches / by the example of them / who of vs of so many ryche and gaynefull benefytes / whiche we contynuelly with meruaylouse great care and dyspygence do heape and sowdre togyther at Rome / wolde be contente to forgoe and lacke but one halfe bussell of beanes, for the loue of Chryste? But those holy men wolde haue slayne euen theyr onely begotten sones, with moste obedyent mynde, for the hope of his grace and fauour. They at his byddynge, forthwith without any delaye / forsoke theyr countre and all theyr kynnsfolke / we clere contrarie to his comaundement, do couple and ioyne, togyther felde to felde, howse to howse, withoute any measure or ende / and we haue gone so farre forwarde, (whiche I pray god to tourne to good) that we haue left more narrow spaces / & rowmes, and lesse landes to the lay men, than we haue taken from theym / and yet besydes this we do not reste, afore that we styte vpon the resyde we also whiche is left to theym, and vntyll we haue broughte all the people with theyr wyfes and chyldren in seruytute & bondage to vs / and whan we shal haue done this, we woll defende and maynteyne it to haue ben done lawfullye by the example of Abraham and other holy men lyke to hym / Shall not this be (I pray you) a proper & goodly comparyson or symplytude. From whom dyd those men at any tyme take awaye wrongfullye / but the mountenaunce of one chekyn? we dayly because of our owne profyte and auantage, doo ouertrowe and destroye hole howsholdes / and yet neuerthelessse we couete to be accounted the salte of the erthe, (full worthely forsothe) in comparyson of the people. Chryste in many places denyeth other his dyscyples or elles hym selfe also to be of this worlde, sayinge these wordes. If the worlde dothe hate you: knowe you that it hathe hated me afore you / yf you had ben of the worlde: the worlde truly wolde haue loued that whiche was belongynge to it selfe / now because you are not of the worlde / But I haue chosen you from the worlde / therefore the worlde hateth you. Beholde here, howe that man, whom Chryste hathe chosen / is not of this worlde / and therefore Dauid saythe. Yf I dyd please the worlde / I shulde not than be the seruaunte of Chryste / And yet we now fyghte with all maner Armys and hoostes, for worldlye domynyon / and rule none other wyse, neyther after any lyghter fasshyon, than dydde any hethen men, in theyr lyfe tyme, other Alexandre, or Iulius (from the names of whome we doo nowe whytte refrayne

ne) Yes this to be meke, accordynge to Chrystes teachynge and comaundement?
 is this to be poore in spiryte? is this to be mercyfull? is this to hunger and thyrste
 ryghtwysnes? Is this to be consentynge and at agreement shortly with thyne ad
 uersarye by the waye? is this not to resyste euyl? is this, when one strykethe the
 on the ryght cheeke to holde forth also vnto hym thy lefte cheeke? Yes this (I saye)
 when one is wyllynge to take from vs our coote, to deliuer vnto hym also our
 gowne? is this to loue our enemyes / and to do good to them whiche dothe hate
 vs? dare we be bolde to denye that Chryste taughte his Dyscyples thysse thynges
 or maye we do so without moste euident cryme of preuatycacon? what is more
 manifest / what I praye you is more knowen than those thynges. But that we
 may auoyde this, and escape out by some crafte and subtylte / we do say. Thysse
 thynges are not to be vnderstande thus after the lyterall or gramaticall cense / ye
 moreouer / we fercefully pronounce hym to be an heretike forthwith / who soeuer shall
 Judge or thynke that the true cense & meanyng of scripture is rather to be defen
 ded and mainteyned / then the coacte cense imagyned of vs / Affyrmyng that he
 oughte to cleue and leane to the expositiō & declaracyō of holy Fathers, (that
 is to wytte of A. dunce, of Thomas, of Syluester / of Latharinus & suche other
 of the same sorte) Seynge than / that it is not lawfull to gyue credence to the scrip
 ture of hit selfe / in any thyng. But that we must euery where embrace the cense
 whiche the expositōr maketh / for the moste true cense: what other thyng is this,
 I pray you / than to be compelled agaynst our wyl / to gyue credence to men (and
 that to certayne of them but veray tryflers) and not to gyue credence to god? May
 rather what other thyng is this / then to annulle and make voyde the lawe of god
 and to bynde the chrysten people to the lust and appetyte or pleasure of man / and
 openly so to fare and do in this behalfe / as though the churche coulde no longer
 knowe any certayne Gospelles / haue no certayne apostles and prophettes? for
 nowe the wyckednes of some men is bolde to affyrme and say (whiche to thynke
 is abhomynable synne) that the churche shuld haue ben moche better / without the
 gospels / & therfore that it had ben expedient / that they had neyther ben wyrtē /
 neyther receyued at any tyme. A tonge worthy to be tamed / and holden vnder
 with Brennyng fyre / and bymstone / Chryste sayth to his apostles / Goynge in
 to all the worlde preache you the gospell to euery creature / the wycked man sayth
 it had ben better that the gospell had neuer ben spronge vp or ben begon. This,
 this is to gyue chryste a buffet or blowe vpon the cheeke. This thyng (I thynke
 no man doubteth of / but is euident to all men / that there is nothyng almoste
 nowe lefte or remainyng in the holy scripture / whiche hath his owne true natu
 rall & ppe cense or vnderstandyng lefte or saued to hit self / we haue wrested & ap
 plyed al thyngs in y scripture / to our owne pompe / to our own ambicion, to our
 owne power / fede my shepe / folowe me / gyue for the & me / thou beyng ones couer
 ted / conferme & strength or cōforte thy brethren / here be. ii. swerdes / to the wolle I
 gyue y keys of the kyngdom of heuens / what soeuer thou shalt bynde vpon erth,
 it shall be bounden also in heuens. &c. whiche of all thysse sayengs, is not nowe so
 applyed y it seruethe rather our sensual appetytes & lusts / then the intencion & pur
 pose of Chryste? And albeit, the cense or meanyng of all thysse is open and veray
 manifest, and clere to be perceyued and seen, euen of blynde men / yf a man wolle
 consydre the hole hystory of the gospell. Yet neuerthelesse, we contende, and saye
 styfly / that they are so to be taken and vnderstanded, as it shall be moste for our
 profyte, and make beste for or purpose, to abuse them. In lyke maner who of vs
 can suffre nowe / or abyde it, that thysse sentences folowynge, be otherwyse vnder
 standed, than accordynge to our mynde and pleasure / who taketh not his owne
 crosse,

The wykyd
 nesse of some
 papystes.

To gyue chri
 ste buffet, or
 blowe.

THE DEFENCE

The bysshop
of Rome.

I praye the
good reader,
attende & take
hede howe
goodly thys
thynges agre
to gyther.

crosse, and foloweth me, he is no worthy or mete dyscypple for me / do you not gather treasures to your selves, in the erthe / where theuys maye dygge them out, and moughtes and wormes maye eat and consume them. And prynces and rulers of the gentyles vseth domynyon ouer them / and those whiche be greater: exerceyseth power and auctorite vpon them / it shall not be in lyke case amonge you: but who soeuer is wyslyng to be greater amonge you / lette hym be your mynyster. And who soeuer is wyslyng to be chiefe amonge you / he shall be your seruante / euen lyke wyse as the sone of man hath not comen to be mynystrd vnto / but to mynystre vnto other / we can not in any wyse by thys sentences fortifie and strengthe the prymacye and auctorite of the Bysshop of Rome, (whom we do defende) vnlesse that we can by crafte and subteltye so lay a colour vpon them, and couer them ouer with harde playster to kepe vnder the truth / that it may not freely and at lybertie put forth or shewe it selfe, at any tyme. For els, without this, it shall appere more clerely than the sone, that humylytie and lowlynes is there comaunded of Chryste to vs prestes, whan he sayth it shall not be so amonge you: & on the contrarie parte, superioryte (as they call it) of bearynge rule, to be vterly forbydden. Are thysse wordes, there shall be no lord, or maysters amonge you so as the kynges & rulers of gentyles vse domynyon and exerceys auctorite vpon theyr subgettes / as moche for to saye (I beseeche you) as this: Be thou Peter with thy successours heire for euer of the Empyre of Rome. & exprosyon (be cause I wold say no thyng more greuous) worthy to be condemned, and as the prouerbe is, to be marked with a lytle rodde or daffe made with a pen in token of dysallowynge. Furthermore, that whiche foloweth, I cam to mynystre, & not to be mynystrd vnto, to serue, not to be serued (ye god wote) is as moche to say as this. The Emperours and kynges or rules of the earthe, let them fall downe on theyr knees, and with great veneracyon kysse the fete adorned & garnysshed with precyouse stones, of the, and thy successours, syttyng solemply in a seate or chayre of astate, more gorgeouse then any kynges seate. Moreover, that sayeng he that wold be cheiffest amonge you, shall be your seruante / and he that wysleth to be greater than other amonge you: lette hym be your mynystre / sygnyfeyth or betokeneth nothyng els, but this / we onely haue power and auctorite to comaunde / and all the resydue of the churche muste nedely obey. O Peter, yf thy mayster meened this by his wordes / why than dydest thou, whan thou was made the chiefe capytayne & hed of thy bretherne / saye thysse wordes thyne owne selfe. Be you subgettes to every man for the loue of god / whether it be to the kyng / as to a more excellent persone / or to dukes as persones sent by hym. But here a certayne one of our moste holy fathers / greuously rebuketh & sayth with lowde voyce / that thou Peter dydest not speke thysse wordes to thy self / but onely to thy subgettes. O howe conueniently, and metely hath he founde this startynge hole to helpe hym selfe with all. As who shulde saye / that what soeuer Peter taughte he dyd teache it onely in wordes (as we do now a dayes) and not rather & moche more dyd teache it, by his workes or deades / & by contynuell example / folowynge in this poynte also / the custome and maner of his mayster Chryste / of whom the euangelyste Luke sayth / Ihesus began to do / and teache / lyke wyse Paule also sayth. Be you the folowers of me: as I am the folower of Chryste / for whiche cause / the same Paule also / comaundeth the doer or worker of the worde, not hym whiche is onely the hearer or teacher of it / excepte & peraduenture it besemed Peter to teache onely and not to do / and so by a custome begon and brought vp by hym it becometh other his successours to do the same / I knowledg playnely (suche is the dulnes of my wytte) that I do not perceyue or vnderstande this theologie or dynynyte.

dyuynyte. Besyde this, why dyd than & same Peter go to Samarye with Iohā whan he was bydden so to do of the other apostels, or why were not than the apostels, ashamed to abuse the prerogatyue and prehemynence of theyr hedde and ruler to this mynystre or seturce / or why I pray you, doth he hym selfe not shewe forthe nor take vpon hym any suche maner prerogatyue, and auctoryte, and dygnyte at all, about other in his epyistles, sayinge. I one of the felowe bysshops my selfe, and equall with them / beseeche the bysshoppes, whiche are amonge you. I praye the good reader, canst thou perceyue any where in these wordes / any tye or poynthe belongynge to prymacye? what coulde be spoken more meekely, or in more lowly wyse? what more synplye or playnly. fyrste in calling hym selfe fellowe bysshopp, he chalengeth to hym selfe / or taketh vpon hym, none excellence or prehemynence aboue other / but maketh hym selfe fellowe lyke with them. whan he beseecheth them, in so doyng, he chalengeth to hym selfe no rule, no domynion, no prymacye, no power or auctoryte vpon them. And forsooth, yf we wol herken and gyue credence vnto Peter, to Hauke hym selfe, and to other / whiche speake to vs in the holy scripture of god, both profettes and apostels, rather than to our owne dreames and fantasies / certaynly we shall perceyue and fynde, that they do call them selues no thyng els but mynysters, & theyr power nought els but a mynystre / hauynge theyr myndes farre a waye from all kynde, ye appa- raunce of honoure: not onely from the ambycions desyre of prymacye, superyo- rityte. Dothe not our lord and mayster hym selfe, (for this is often tymes to be re- herfed) say, I am not comen to be serued / but to mynystre, and setue. And shall it not be suffycient to the seruaunt to be as his lord and mayster is, but doth he de- syre to be greater than his mayster, what nedeth it to make any more wordes. With our scholpes, gloses comentes, and interpretacions, we haue taken a way & destroyed well nere all the wholen scripture of god. Scripture is not petauenture ouertourned and destroyed / but beyng as it were dombe, in a maner speaketh no more / neyther may do any more vnder vs tyrauntes, then may the chylde: whi- che is vnder the rodde or correccion of his gouernour or mayster: that is to say, no thyng but onely that, whiche shalbe veray lykynge and pleasaunt to vs / as do, mynyons, prymacies, chiefe rulers, kyngdomes. Notwithstandynge that in the meane season (our tryflyng and vayne ymagynacions and fantasies taken a- waye) (he doth put vs in mynde and remembraunce of nothyng more, chiestly in euery place / than that we shulde dyspyse and set at nought all thys thyng / cry- eng out playnly, and openly: that empyres, ryches and golde, are vyle frayle and transytorye thynges. Peter sayd to Symon magus the enchauntour / offerynge golde to hym / kepe thy golde to thy selfe to perdyce. The wyse man sayth in his booke entyled Ecclesiasticus. Golde is the wood or tree of offensyon / wo be to them / whiche coueteth & foloweth it. And yet we (good lord) what hokes, what wykes / what nettes, do we not make contynually now a dayes, to catche this so euyl or myscheuous a thyng? what do we not enterpryse or take in hande bolde- ly and swyftly for the loue of money power and auctoryte / what place of the scrip- ture do we not adulterate / counterseyte / and corrupte. By these fewe wordes (lo here be .ii. swerdes) we haue wyrtthen and wrested the swerde / and empyre of the worlde out of the Emperours hande / and stoutely & manfully god saue vs, cha- lenged it to the churche / Albeit & Chryste hym selfe doth say & affyrme / that his kyngdom is not of this worlde / and Paule also his sworne oratour and Amba- sadoure cryeth out, sayeng. Our weapons & armour are not carnall / but stronge, and myghty in god. And because that no poynthe of boldnes / and presumptuous pryde shulde be wantynge in vs / we haue our selues made a fundament and hed

Nota.
Peter by the
comandement
of & Apostles
went to Sa-
maria.

That w^t our
gloses wel ne
re all dyuyn
scripture is
clene taken
away.

Our armour
or weapons
ar not carnal

of the

THE DEFENCE

Names of dy
gnyte.

The iniuries
and contume
lies done by
the Popes of
Rome to Lo
dowike of Ba
uarie the em
perour.

Cardynalles
and Abbottis
capytaynes i
warre.

of the vniuersall church. Herof came vp those straunge names (whiche in olde tyme were not knowen any thyng at all of the holy men) g. nerall vycar / grea
test bysshop / and many suche other / yet farre more straunge then these / of whiche we do not rede in al Peters epystles, that euer he vsurped or tolke any one to hym selfe / Paule knoweth no hed of the church, but onely Chryste. But we make our selues a hed bothe of the church, and also of the empyre / howe great tragedyes & troubles, we haue for this cause raysed vp hether to / to the church, howe many of vs haue stryuen after a lay maner with Emperours aboute this name and tytle. It were to longe an hystorye, to reherse / amonge whiche emperours, Lodowike of Buarie / that noble and renomed emperour, the beautye and woishyp of the moste honourable stocke of the dukes of Buarie, and whiche was inferiour to none of the prynces in his tyme, in gentle courage of mynde in mercy and pytie, in deuocyon or holynes, in all vertues to be vsed / other in peace or in warre, & to conclude, in all qualtyties or propertyes whiche are comendable, in any emperour / whose defencyon we haue put to here folowynge (for the whiche we wolde that he shuld be beholden to a germayne borne rather than to an other of an out nacyon) was so proude, & presumptuously handled and entreated, and also so dyspytefully, and cotumelyously. Fyrste of John the .xxii. of that name / and after that of Benedicte, the .xii. & last of all of Element the sypte, beyng al thre bysshops of Rome / that it is not possyble to haue handled any man in more proude or dyspytefull maner. And that for no greuous offence / as Baptista Egnatius hym selfe also doth confesse (albeit in other thynges he is wel nere to to great a fauourer of the bysshoppes of Rome) but for this onely / that he durste be bolde to take vpon hym the name of an Emperour, without the assent and agrement of John. This semed to the holynes of that bysshop of Rome a reasonable cause and suffycient. Wherfore he shuld not onely interdicte so excellent and so noble a prynce from the Sacramentes & all dyuine seruyce: but also denounce & publyshe hym (though he were faultles (to be an heretyke, by preachers sent forth a brode by hym in to al places for the same purpose. And moreouer for the entent and purpose to rayse & styre vp rebellyon of his subgettes agaynst hym / he dyd absolue al that were sworne to hym by any maner of othe, what soeuer it were / from theyr sayd othes & theyr allegaunce. And besyde this, vexed hym with warre & bataylle / chosynge Cardynalles and Abbottes for to be the chiefe & pryncypall capytaynes in the same warre. And Element also dyd procure Charles kynge of Boheme, aduersarye to the sayd Lodowike / to be named and made Emperour of the prynces electours / to the ende, that so moch the more dyscorde and mutther myght be kendled amonge the Chrysten prynces / whiche is the onely crafte and subtile practyse / wherby they haue alwayes hytherto maynteyned thus theyr power & auctoryte / whiche hath caused so moche blode to be shedde: & so many lose theyr lyues in the worlde. Yf any vycar of Chryste maye be of suche maners and condycyons, truly I can not se / why any maner tyraunte of the worlde, may not also be the vycar of Chryste. But yf he ought not to take vengeance / yf he ought to praye euyn for his persecutours, and to do good also to them / whiche hate hym, yf he ought to refuse / and excheue erthely kyngdom / yf he ought to absteyne from all maner couetousnes, yf he ought to walke after the spyryte / and not after the fleshe: than I can not se, but that there is exceldynge moche dyfference and dyuersyte, betwene the aforesayd maners / and the ordynaunce of Chryst. Neyther it is vnkowen to me what dyspleasure here I purchase to my self, whyles I styre and trouble in this pompe of theyr abusyon and abhomynacyons. But in the meane feason farewell they, I saye farewell they, who soeuer they be, ye though they be preestes: whose fauour

favoure I can not retayne, excepte that I woll renounce and forsake the truth which truth it selfe hath sayd and tolde before this that the worlde shulde come when the one brother shulde betraye the other brother vnto deathe, and the father the sone, and when moreover the sones shulde rise vp agaynst theyr fathers, and put them to deathe. So farre it is awaye, that other I may or ought to be frende to any man, which is not hym selfe frende to the truth: that I ought not to be: I see any man, or to gyue place to hym, be he neuer so nere of naturall kynne vnto me, no neyther yet to any angell of heuen, yf he preached any thyng contrary to the gospel. Seynge than that this truth (which onely gyueth true peace and cha: rite to men) dothe fearefully warne her scolers awaye euery where, in so many places and by so many maner of wayes from worldly kyngdom, rehersynge and iteratynge so ofte: My kyngdom is not of this world and ye be not of this worl: de. And except a man renounce al that he possesse. Item it is more easy for a Ca mell to entre in through a nedles eye, than a ryche man to entre i to the kyngdom of heues. Moreover you can not bothe serue god and Mammon all at ones. Also the petable of the ryche gloton buried in helle) & of that other ryche man dreamyn ge of the enlargynge of his barnes. Also that moste sharpe and sore comynca: cyon or thretenyng agaynst ryche men, woo be to you ryche men, which haue here your consolacyon and comforte. Woo be to you, which be full fedde: for you shall be hungry. Woo be to you, which do laughe now: for you shall wepe. Are not thysse so many sayings of Chryste & sone of god, euident tokens ynough howe he wolde haue his dyscyples and setuauntes mynded towarde thysse erthe: ly thyngs. And yet this notwithstandinge, Benedicte the. xii. whan at Mylane at Verona, at Vicentia, at Mantua, at Rhegiu, at Carariu, at Padway, at Ferrarye, at Mutine, at Argent, he dyd instytute and make the Mayres and go: uernours of the sayd places, in the Emperours Lodowyses absence, his owne vi cars or deputies, (comaundynge a certayne trybute to be payde yerely, of them) by his craftfull apostolyke spolyngge Lodowyske of the possessyon of Italye: he sayd that all the power & rule of the Emppre was his owne, for asmoche as who soeuer is the successoure of Peter, is the onely vycar or deputie in erthe, of Ihesu chryste the kyng of heuen. Is this I praye you to walke after the spyryte? or is this not to entangle them selues in secular and worldly busynes? accordynge to the comaundement of Paule wyrtynge thysse wordes to Tymothe, Let no man that warreth on goddes parte/entangle hym selfe with secular busynes, that he may please hym. &c. But here is redy at hande for vs two solucyons or answeres the one that the bysshop of Rome is not bounden to the wordes of Paule, for as moche as the inferiour persone hath no power or auctorytie ouer or vpon the supe: rior, the other, that to hym selfe alone belongeth bothe the swerdes to which so luyon the thyrd is put vnto in the stede of an Auctarye to make heaped measu: re/and it is this, that all thynges is the sayd bysshops / because that Chryste dyd saye thysse wordes. All power and auctoryte is gyuen to me bothe in heuen and in erthe. Of thysse wordes we haue goten forth to our selues absolute and persy: te power/ hereof haue we taken to our selves bothe the swerdes hereof, we do at: trybute to our selues auctoryte aboue all the counceils, ye and also aboue the ve: ray gospels/ hereof haue we chalenged emppre, and we haue caught and snatched to our selues domynacyon and rule/ neuer to haue ende or reste/ vpon the kynges and emperours/ albeit that Chryste hath taught vs clene contrary thynges/ that is to wyt, that we shulde not gather treasure here in erthe: but in heuen/ that we shulde beare our crosse: & not to beare a threfolde cotone on our hed of golde gar: nysshed with precyous stones/ that we shulde mynyste and serue: not be lordes

An angell is not to be bele ued spekyng agaynst the gospel.

Because chry ste is kyng in heuen/ therfo re the pope is Emperour or hedde ruler in erthe / is not this a goodly reason. Two solu: cyons.

Men of the churche shuld be mynisters & not lordes.

THE DEFENCE

That neither
the prophetts
neither the a-
postels, dydde
speake or tea-
che to men, a-
ny other thyn-
ge / than the
worde of god.

and rulers / This is the maner and fasshyon of our lypynge now a dayes / thus
the scrpyture is expounded after our mynde and pleasure. Thus now we hear-
ne and receyue & take the sense or meanynge imagyned by men, in the steade of
the true sense and meanynge of the scrpyture / and the spyryte of men, in the steade
of the spyryte of god, we herken to man, we beleue man, we do obey man. But
as for Chrystes wordes: who of vs now any where doth herken, or who doth be-
leue? And yet he sayd my shepe knoweth my voyce, and I agayne of my parte
do knowe them. A straunger they do not here, but runne awaye / yf than the she-
pe of Chryste here the voyce of hym onely, and fleeth or cometh awaye from a
straunger: howe can we (I praye you) proue our selues to be his shepe: whiche in
this moste wretched tyme, not onely do not here his gospell: but moreouer do hate
it and wolde haue it cleane destroyed and rydde out of the worlde / sayenge that
the churche shulde be better (oh abhormynable impyete) without the worde or
gospell of Chryst / whiche in euery place teacheth vs so oft, that his wordes onely
his comaundementes alone, are to be obserued and kepte / sayenge / he that hathe
my comaundementes, and keapeth them / he it is that loneth me / contrary wyse,
what other thynge dothe he more sharply lay to the Jewes charge and rebuketh
them for more greuously, than for this & they regarded not his wordes, nor wold
do after theym / whan he sayth / yf you shall abyde in my wordes: you shall be true
ly my dyscyples / and you shall knowe the truth, and the truth shall despyer you
agayne a lytle after / he & is of god: hereth & wordes of god / but therfore you do not
here / because you are not of god / yf thou seche dplygently & ransake the holy scrp-
ture (good crysten reader) from the begynnyng that man was created: thou shalt
fynde that all those whiche are therein referted to haue pleased god / dyd alwayes
teache men the worde of god, and not theyr owne. When I praye the) dydde euer
Moyse, whan Heliseus, whan Helias, and so forth in ordie vnto the laste pro-
phette, say after this maner: These thynge do I Moyse say / these thynge do
I Helias say / and not rather at all tymes. These thynge sayth your lord god?
whan dyd euer Peter? whan dyd Paule preache other theyr owne gospell, or els
of any man, and not the gospel of Ihesu chryste: doth not Paule playnly & open-
ly wytnesse and recorde, that & gospel which he dyd teache, was not of man / but
of Chryste: & he boldly curseth hym: who euer he be (ye althoughe it were an an-
gell from heuen) whiche wolde presume to teache any other gospell, than that of
Chryste? Besyde this these foure gospels whiche the churche dothe onely alowe
Ezechiell dyd se before (the spyryte of god shewyng them vnto hym) about .vi. c.
yeres before chryste was incarnate / expreßyng perfyctely & prophesye of the .iiii.
gospels, by the symplytude or lyknes of .iiii. sensyble creatures of & whiche the
fyyste was of a man, the seconde of a lyon, the thyrde of an oxe, the fourthe of an
Egle, in eche one of the whiche .iiii. lykenesses, is fygured one mystery of Chryst.
In & lyknes of man, was fygured & bodely natyure of hym / in the shap of a
lyon: was sygnifyed the roynge or great sounde of the preachyng of the gospell,
or & mysterye of his resurreccyon / In & fygure of an oxe was betokened his euer
lastyng presthode, in the symplytude of an Egle: was fygured the mysterye of his
dymnyte and godhed to be vttered & shewd to the churche, whiche shulde be sprea-
de abroad throughe out all the worlde. Shall the churche lacke or wante & gospels
of theym whom the holy ghooste selfe / gaue euangelystes & gospellers to his owne
churche? Matheo whan he was a publycane and called to his offyce, of Chryste
selfe (who can doubt hereof) wrote & sette forth the fyyste the gospell in the hebreu
language, for the Jewes whiche were conuerted to Chryste, Marcus gospell, is
the gospell of Peter / to whom specially chryst dyd say, fede my shepe. And so lyke
wyse

wyse, the gospell whiche Luke wrote: is the gospell of Paule, the doctour of the gentyles / whiche attayned & understode the secrecies and pryuyties of god, whiche is not lawfull to any man to speke / of the whiche paule prayse is gyuen to the same Luke, in the gospell throughe out all congregacyons / Iohn whiche descended to here of Chryste hangynge on the crosse these wordes. Beholde thy mother: at the contynual and seruent request, and instant desyre of all the bysshops of Asye, & theyr Ambassadors wrote the gospell last of all. iiii. And yet he durste not enterpryse or take that worke in hāde, afore suche tyme, that they had purchased the mercy and fauoure of god, by fastynge openly bydden or comaunded to the people, and by prayers also / Shall we thynke perauenture, that the churche (yf it had pleased them) myght haue forsaken and left this gospell, whiche to be wryten, they obteyned with so many intreatynges and desyres, with so many ambassages, moreouer with processyons & fastyngs openly comaunded: wherfore let hym (who soeuer he be) the more safely & more seldome obiecte agaynst vs, & these gospelles were receyued of the churche as though it had ben in theyr choise or lybertie also, not to haue receyued them / & to haue reiected & refused the worde of truthe. Therfore that the churche hath approued and allowe these gospelles, is not thus moche to say, as the churche hath gyuen auctoryte to theym, whiche auctoryte, yf it had pleased them, & same churche myght also haue taken from them, as the workers of Plato and Aristotyle hathe ben hytherto approued and allowed, by the consent of all learned men, and yet no man lyghtly wolde be bolde to dye for the truthe, of the same workes. But to saye, that the churche hathe approued and allowed the gospels, is nothyng else, but & the churche hathe inseparablye cleued to the vndoutable truthe of the sayde gospelles, as it were to the worde of Chryste speakynge presently afore our face / for the whiche truthe, she ought also to dye, yf that she woll be saued. Shulde the churche presume, & be bolde, to take vnto her selfe suche auctoryte and censure ouer the worde of hym, by whose mercye she is saued: as that she myghte dyssemt & dysagree from any (euen the leste) tytle therof, and not rather ought to honour and worshyp it all maner wayes? But it is not thought suffycient now a dayes, to ascrybe this ouermorche lybertie to the churche, that she maye iudge and gyue sentence of the gospell of Chryste, in to whether parte she please other approuynge, or dysprouynge, but there ben also certayne whiche affyrme, that it had ben beste the gospell neuer to haue be made or wryten. And than ergo it shulde be best that thyng not to haue ben wryten at all, whiche no man (excepte he be to tomoche wycked, dothe denye, to haue be wryten by the inspyracyon of the holy ghoft, to the erudycyon and consolation of the churche? And ergo the euangelystes were then bothe pernycyouse, & noysome & hurtfull to the churche? And ergo the apostles / whiche fyrste taughte the worlde this gospell so hurtfull, were no teachers to & churche, but destroyers of the truthe? And ergo chryste hym selfe, whiche gaue them in charge & comaundement to preache it, dyd not comaunde that which was best, but whiche to haue forbidden had ben best. O good god, what a monstrouse thyng is this to say, that it had ben expedyent, for the vtilyte & profyte of the churche, that no gospels had euer ben wryten? And I pray you for Chrystes sake, what maner a church shuld it haue ben of chrysten men, without the worde of chryste? vpon whiche worde alone as vpon a sure stone, it is grounded and buylded. Shulde we thynke, that it shuld haue ben a churche, or els rather some synagoge of Satan, without the gospell of Chryste? why hath the churche selfe instytuted and ordeyned, no Masse to be celebrated, no sermon to be made, without the gospell? why do we ryse vp reuerently, accordynge to the manour and custome, whan the gospell is redde or songe,

The churche had not so auctoryte to approue the gospelles / that it had sye lyke wyse in theyr power to dysallowe & same

Howe the sentence of them is to be vnderstanded that saye, that the churche hathe approued & allowed the gospell.

Take hede & marke this wycked blasphemye.

THE DEFENCE

ge, yf there be no profyte therof, at all in the churche: Beholde, what maner tragi-
call troubles and great busyness or stryfe is rayfed and styred vp nowe a dayes,
and all for the entent that we myght make one wretched man egall and pete to
Christe, in power and auctorite/ whiche we do not hope, that it may be brought
any other wayes to passe, excepte we vnder the pretence of the name of the chur-
che, doo challenge and ascribe to hym auctorite also to forsake or put downe the
gospell, yf he lysted. But Christe sayth he that is of god: hereth the wordes of god
therfore you here not because you are not of god/ yf this sayeng be true: than who
soever dothe not here & gospell, that was shewed by the inspyracyon of god, (whi-
che thyng no man woll denye, but the deuyll hym self as I haue sayd heretofore
who soeuer affirmeth or sayth that it is pernycious and hurtfull to the churche
he is not of god, but of the deuyll his father, whose desyres he coueteth to performe
and fulfill/ yf you shal abyde and contynue in my worde: (sayth the same Christ
our sauour) you shall truly be my dyscyples, and shall knowe the truthe, and
the truthe shall deliuer you/ who soeuer therfore shall not contynue & abyde sted-
fastly in his gospell: shall not be the true dysciple of Christe / of whom than? of
Antechriste? Neyther he shall knowe the truthe/ what shall folowe than? he shall
worke the lesynges or lyenges of his father the deuyll / neyther shall he be deliue-
red by the truthe/ what shall he suffre than? he shall be set on the lefte hande, with
the kyddes, that is to saye with wycked men. But nowe not forgettynge our be-
gynnynge, to retorne agayne to the pryncypall and chiefe poynte of our matyer
or purpose: Seynge that the truthe, that is to saye the belefe of the worde of god,
onely dothe deliuer from dethe, and incredulyte or lacke of belefe dothe destroye/
why do we doubt yet, but that we do sustayne and suffre thys present euylles,
and that we shal dayly suffre more greuous calamities, for that we haue on eue-
ry syde caste out and bannysshed this truthe? Dure lord sayde by the mouth of
Jeremye the prophet, I haue planted the a chosen vyneyard, all true sede, howe
fortuneth it than, that thou arte tourned to me in to a croked and euyl one, thou
vyneyard of a straunge kynde? Beholde, he hath planted all true sede in his cho-
sen vyneyard/ But we haue toined the true sede, in to euyl and noughtye/ ther-
fore also, we be not the chosen vyneyard of the lord / but a straunge one and of
an other kynde/ why so straunge and of an other kynde? because we do adulterate
and corrupte his worde/ he sayd, you shall not put any thyng to the worde which
I speake to you: neyther shall you take awaye any thyng from it. But we no-
thyng dredeynge or ferynge this his threatenynge, in the stede of his holy worde
we compell his churche beyng oppressed, to receyue our sense and Iudgement/ as-
fyrmyng with asseueracyon: that, whiche we speake, to be the worde of the lord:
nothyng remembrynge, that fearefull saynge of the prophete/ woo be to you, whi-
che are wyse in your owne eyes, & whiche are prudent in the syght of your selues/
woo be to you whiche call euyl good, and good euyl/ makynge darkenes lyght,
and lyght darkenes. But what other thyng do we, applyng the scripture to our
owne wyll/ and luste, or appetyte/ than make our owne wordes lyght/ and the
wordes of god darkenes. Therfore Jeremye worthely vpbreydynge and rebukyn-
ge vs, sayth thys wordes/ the prophete & the preeft, be polluted/ and in my howse
I haue founde the wyckednes of synne of them, sayth the lord. Therfore the way
of them shall be as a stypper grounde or place in darkenes/ for they shall be dryuen
and shall fall in hit/ for I shall brynge euylles vpon them, the yere of theyr dys-
tacyon, sayth the lord/ Peter also hath gyuen vs warnynge of the same, sayng
these wordes/ it is tyme nowe, that the Iudgemente begyn at the howse of god/
and yf it shall begyn fyrste at vs, what shall be ende of them whiche hath not gy-
uen

uen credence to the gospell of god? But they speake these thynges to vs all in wayne/ and no more fruyte cometh therof, as touchynge our parte: than shulde come, yf one tolde a tale (as it is comenly sayde) to deafe men/ for we are vtterly hardened and styffe mynded agaynst the truthe/ and as it were yf deesse serpent called Aftoides we obstynatly stoppe our eares, to speke out the voyce or sounde of scripture, enchauntynge, and charmyngge vs to our porfyte. Farewell crysten reader, and sorowe thou, & syghe with me, (seyng that in a maner there remaineth nothyng els that we may do) for the decaye of the ecclesiastycall discyplyne and good ordie, whiche dayly appereth, and waueth worse and worse. The yere of our Lorde. M. LXXX. xxi.

To god onely be honoure and gloze.



Agaynst the vsurped iurisdiction of yf bysshop of Rome, yf boke of Marsilius of Padua, treatynge of the Emperours & the popes, power whiche boke is entituled. Defensor pacis/ & is deuyned in to .iii. partes, whiche the Authour therof calleth diccyons. And this sayd boke was wrytten & dedycated to the moste vasaunt emperour Lodowike of Bauaria (whiche had ben handled after vngoodly maner, & suffered many iniuries done to hym by thre bysshoppes (called popes of Rome) aboute the yere of our lorde god. M. LXXX. xxiii.

Of the sumarye and generall intencion of the thynges whiche shal be treated and spoken of in this worke, and of the cause of the intencion, and purpose, and of the dysposicion of the boke,

The fyrste Chapytre.



Tranquyllite is the thyng doubtles whiche is to be desyred of euery realme and comynaltie/ as in whiche both the people goth forwarde & encreaseth. For the vtyltye or prosypte of nacjons is kept & maynteyned. For this is the beautefull mother of good artes and occupacyons. This tranquyllite, multiplyeng and encreasynge the kynde of man by reperable successyon: enlargeth theyr possessyons and goodes, & beaufeteth theyr maners. And he is knowen to be ignoraunte of these so great thynges: who soeuer is perceyued, not to haue sought after this sayde tranquyllite/ By these wordes and tepte now afore recyted. Cassiodorus in his fyrst boke of epytles, hath expresse the vtilities, prosytes or frutes, that groweth, of the tranquyllite or peace of Ewyle regymentes/ to the intente, that he by these best frutes expresseynge and declarynge the best thyng, that belongeth to man (that is to wote the suffycyence of his lyfe) whiche no man maye attayne without peace & tranquyllite/ he myght excyte, prouoke, and styre vp, the wylls and desyres of men to haue peace, and this tranquyllite amōge them selves, one with an other wherin he spake conformablye to the sayenge of blyssed Job, whiche in the .xxii. chapitre sayde/ haue thou peace, & by it thou shalt haue veray good frutes. This peace chryste verely the sone of god decreed therfore to be the sygne or token & the messenger or shewer of his newe and straunge byrthe, whan in his sayd byrthe he

Tranquyllite is the mother of artes & scyences.

Cassiodorus

The suffycyence of mannes lyfe is the best fruite & cometh of peace.

In the byrthe of chryste, ty;

THE DEFENCE

dynges of pe-
ace was brou-
ghte by aun-
gels vnto me

Christ whys-
shed peas to
his dyscyples

The apostles
wyssheth
peas.

Peas was y
inherytaunce
of christes dis-
ciples.

Example of
the kyngdom
of Italye.

The hurtes
or euels that
growen of
discorde.

would by ꝑ oracle and voyce of heuently aungels this songe to be songe Gloria in
altissimis deo et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis. That is, Glorie and
praise be to god in heuens: & in erthe peas be to men of good wyll. For this cause
also, the same christe very oftentymes wysshed peas to his dyscyples / wherfore it
is wyrtten in the gospell of Iohā. Jesus came and stode in the myddes of his dys-
cyples and sayd / pax vobis / that is peace be to you. He also geuynge them mony
cyon to obserue and kepe peas one with an other: and sayd as it is redde in Mar-
ke / pacem habete inter vos / that is haue or kepe peas amonge you. And not only
he taught them to kepe peas amonge them selues, one with an other. But also he
taught them to wyssh the same peas vnto other men / wherfore it is redde this in
Mathew. And when you entre in to y house: salute it sayeng, peas be to this hou-
se. This same peas also was the inherytaunce whiche christe, whan the tyme of
his passyon & deth approached: by his testamēt lefte to his dysciples, whan he sayd
to them in ꝑ. iij. of Iohā / peas I leue vnto you / my peas I gyue vnto you. And
after the maner of christe, the Apostles also as beyng his very heires & folow-
ers, wysshed this sayd peas vnto all those persones, to whome by theyr epystles
they dyd dyrecte the documentes and monycyons or counsailes of the gospell as
men that knew ryght well the fruytes of peas to be most good, as it hath ben al-
leged of Job, and by Cassiodore more largely declared. But bycause of contrary
causes, contrary effectes naturallly and necessaryly are brought forth / therfore of
dyscorde, which is contrary vnto tranquyllyte, there shall growe vnto euery real-
me or cyuple regyment most euyl fruytes and hurtes, as men may suffyciently
se, and well nere to euery man is euidently known / by the realme or cyuple re-
gyment of Italye / for whyles the inhabytauntes therof lyued togyther peacea-
bly: they receyued of long tyme pleasauntly & afore rehersed fruytes of peas. And
by these & in these fruytes they prosperyd and went forwarde so greatly that they
haue subdued all the habyttable partes of the worlde, vnto theyr domynyon and
empyre. But after that dyscorde or stryfe was ones rysen or spronge vp amonge
them: theyr kyngdome or comunytie and empyre hath ben vexed with manyfold
and sondry maner incommodyties and euyls / and hath ben subdued and brought
vnder the empyre and domynyon of other straunge and hatefull nacyns. And
moreouer agayne the countrey of Italy is by the reason of stryfe and dyscorde so
torned on euery syde, and in a maner losed & vtterly febleysshed, that it is no harde
thyngge or masterye, for any man that lyst to wyne it, & is any thyngge of power
at all, to entre therunto: And that it hath thus chaunced or come to passe, it is no
thyngge meruayle worthy, sc: as Salustius wytnesseth, where hemaketh menti-
on of Catyllyne. By vnyte & concorde: small thynges growe & encrease, through
dyscorde and debate: very great thynges fallen awayne and goen to nought, By
the reason of this sayd dyscorde verely the Italyens, beyng seduced and led in to
the bypath of erroure: are depriued and berefte of theyr suffycient lyuynge. And
in the stede of quyetnes and rest, whiche they sought for: they do contynuelly suf-
fer and abyde more and more greuouse labours and paynes. And in the stede of
lybertye, they are contynually subdued and brought vnder the harde and cruell
yokes of tyrauntes / and so in conclusyon are made more miserable and wretched
then other nacyns and peoples which lyue a cyuple and honest lyfe, and are coi-
men to that poynthe that theyr patronymyke name, whiche was wonte to gyue
glorie immortie and lybertie to all that called on the sayde name: is now vpbrai-
ded and caste in theyr tethe of other nacyns, and torned in to the cause of suffe-
ryngge ignomynye and dysshonour. Thus than the wretched Romayns are car-
yed hedlonge in to these darkenesses, by the reason of the dyscorde stryfe and debate
amonge

amonge them selues. And lyke wyse as that man or sensyble creatur, is knowen to be out of frame which is troubled with sykkenes/euen so is þe dysposicion ordie, comen weale, and cyuple regyment of Italy knowen to be out of tempie, fasyon and croked, by the debate and stryfe that is amonge them. Of the which sayde dyscorde or intranquyllite albeit that there are many prymytue causes, and that not a fewe, yea and suche as well nere all that are possyble to happen or chaunce after the wonte maners and fasyons, the chiefe of all phylosophers Aristotell in his ciuple science or polytykes hath describied: yet is there for all that besyde them a certayne specyall and veray pryncipe or hyd cause, through which the empyre of Rome hath of longe tyme ben vexed and dysseased, any contynualy is vexed/which cause, as a sykkenes excedyngly contagious, is as redy to crepe or spiede in to all other cyuple comunyties and realmes. Ye moreouer through it gredynes hath alredy assayed to inuade a great many of the sayd realmes and comunyties. And this cause or the begynnynge or kynde of it neyther Aristotell neyther any other of the phylosophers beyng in his tyme, or afore his tyme, coulde se or espye or perceyue. For the cause that I do meane is a certayne peruerse and lewde oppnyon, that is and hath ben in men (which we shall open and declare here after) which oppnyon occasionally was taken of a meruaylouse effect or worke, which longe after the tyme of Aristotell was brought forth or wrought by þe moste hygh cause (that is to wyte by god) contrary to the possybylite of the inferiour nature/and contrary to the wont operacion or working of the inferiour causes in the worlde. For this sophistycall oppnyon cloked with the viscene and face of honestye, and profyte/ is utterly pernycious to the kynde of man/and yf it be not stopped or letted: it shall at lengthe and conclusyon gendre and be the cause of intollerable noyauce and hurte to euery realme & countrey. Thus than (as we haue sayd) the fruytes of peas and tranquyllite are very good/and of dyscorde or stryfe which is contrary to it there cometh intollerable hurtles and damage. Wherfore we ought to desyre peas/and whan we haue it not/to seche for it/and get it/and whan we haue gotten it, to kepe it/and with all our enforment to eschewe and put awaye the contrarie, stryfe and dyscorde. And herunto all bretherne, & so moche more colleges and comunyties, are bounde to helpe eche other, both by affeccon of godlye charyte, and also by the bonde or lawe of humayne socyetie/ which thyng Plato also teacheth vs/as Tulle wytnesseth in his booke de officiis, which sayd/we are not borne for our selues onely/but parte of our byrth our countrey doth chalenge/and parte also our frendes/after which sentence of Plato. Tulle forthwith addeth these wordes folowynge/and after the mynde and oppnyon of the stopke philosophers and all other thynges which are gendred on the erth, are created to the vse of men: but men are gendred for mennes sake (that is to wyte one to helpe an other) In this thyng we ought to folowe the gydynge of nature/and to bring forth comune vtylities. And bycause it is no lytle comune vtylitye, but moreouer also great necessytye, to open the sophyme of this sayd synnguler cause of dyscorde, which threateneth to all realmes and comunyties no lytle noyauce or harmes: euery man is bounde to geue watchefull care and dilygent labour hereunto, that is wyllynge and able to se the comune profyte / for excepte this sophyme be opened and declared, this pestylence or myschefe in no wyse may be eschewed or auoyded/neyther the pernycious effecte of it can be perfytely cut awaye from realmes or cyuple comunyties. And no man ought to be neglygent in this behalfe or to refuse this sayd care / through secrete or skouthfulness, or through any other spryde of malignytie / for as saynt Paule sayth in the seconde epystle to Tymothe, and in the fyrste and seconde chappre,

The hurtles that cometh of stryfe or intollerable.

Wherfore we are bounde to those thynges, which apperteyneth to peas.

Let no man for feare spare to speke þe truthe.

THE DEFENCE

Chryſt came
in to þe world
to beare wytnes
vnto the
truth.

They that a-
re wyttie and
full of know-
lage are bound
to defende the
truth.

The prayſe
of Lodowicke
the emperour

God hath not gyuen to vs the ſpyrite of feare or drede, but of vertue or boldnes
(of loue / of boldnes (I ſaye) and of loue, to publiſſe and ſprede abroad the truth
wherefore the apoſtle in the ſame place conſequentially ſaythe in this wyſe. Be not
therefore aſhamed of the teſtimonye the truth, for the bearynge of whiche teſti-
mony, chryſt ſayd that hym ſelfe came in to the world / whan he ſayd in the. viiii.
of Iohn / herfore was I borne, and for this haue I comen in to the worlde: that
I myght beare wytnesſe to the truth / that is to ſaye to that truth which guydeth
or leadeth mankynde to eternall ſaluacyon. After the example therfore of chryſt
to teache the truth wherby the aforeſayde myſchefe of Reaſines and ciuyle regy-
mentes may be ceaſed, namely from the ſorte of chryſten men / to teache the truth
(I ſay) whiche guydeth or leadeth to the welth of ciuyle lyfe / & alſo is not a lytle
auayleable or helpfull to the eternall ſaluacyon: he is more bounde to gyue his
dyligence, to whome the gyuer of graces hath more largely inſpyred the percey-
uynge or vnderſtandynge of theſe thynges. And who ſoener hath cunningge and
habilitie to do this, and leueth it vndone: he as beynge vnkynde, offendeth great-
ly / as wytnesſeth James in the. iiii. chapitre of his canonicall epyſtle, whan he
ſaythe / who ſoener knoweth, how to do good, and doth it not, it is ſynne to hym
For this wycked myſchefe, the commune enemye of mankynde, can not by any
other meane, be perſpity cut vp / neyther the peſtylent & pernycyous frutes which
it hath hitherto brought forth can otherwyſe dye vp, excepte the iniquite of the
cauſe or rote therof be fyrſte openly ſhewed, and reprobued / for by this waye, and
none other, may the coactyue power of prynces and gouernours ſaffely begynne
and go aboute, ſynally and vtterlye to ouercome and deſtroye the ſrowarde and
ſtyffe maynteyners and defenders of this malyce. I therfore, which am a pataup
an borne, regardynge and obeyenge the aforeſayd monycyons and counſayls of
chryſte, of ſayntes, and of phyloſophers / of the ſpyrite of intellygence or vnder-
ſtandynge of theſe thynges (yf any grace hath ben lende to me) and of the ſpिरितe
of conſydence, & boldnes mynyſtred to me from aboue (from whence as James
wytnesſeth in his fyrſte chapitre of his canonicall epyſtle) cometh all goodnes /
whan he ſayth / euery beſt gyfte & euery perſpitye gyfte is from aboue, descendynge
from the father of lyghtes, for the reuerence of hym that hath geuen it to me / and
for the loue of publiſſhyng and ſhewynge openly þe truth / & for the ſeruent cha-
ryte and loue that I haue to my countre and bretherne / that is to wyte for pytye
and reſeruacyon of them that are oppreſſed / and for the reuocacyon and callynge
backe agayne of them that are the oppreſſours, from the bypath of arrogace / and
for the excoytacyon and ſtyrynge vp of them / whiche ſuffereth theſe thynges to
be done, and yet ought, and are alſo of power to reſpyte, and withſtande them / ha-
uynge alſo a ſynguler reſpecte vnto the as vnto the mynyſtre of god, which ſhal
gyue to this worke that ende, which he deſyret in outwarde beynge. A moſt no-
ble Lodowicke emperour of the Romaines, in whome by olde and in a maner by
a certayne ſpecial ryght or tytyle of blode & eke by thy ſynguler heoroycal nature,
& excellent vertue, is graſſed and faſte roted a deſyre and loue to cut vp heresy-
es from the rote, and vtterly to deſtroy them, to auance, to kepe and defende the ca-
tholyke veryte, and all other vertuous dyſcipline and lernynge / to kylle vyces / to
promote and ſette forwarde the ſtudies and exercyſes of vertues / to quench
debates and ſtryues / to ſprede abroad and to noyſſhe euery where peace or tran-
quyllite. I haue after the tyme of dyligent and intente ſerchynge made, put the
ſume of theſe ſentences folowynge in wyrtynge / bycauſe I do ſuppoſe and
Iudge, that by them ſome helpe maye happen or come to your dyligent maiesty
and grace whiche intendeth and ſetteth his mynde, to prouyde for the aboue
wyrtyn

wryten fautes, and other that do happen maye happen and chaunce / and also for other publyke and comune vtyltyes. It is my purpose therfore, god helppynge, onely to declare, and shewe openly this synghuler and speciall cause of stryfe / for it shulde be superfluous to iterate and recounte the nombre and nature of those causes, whiche hath ben assygned by Arystotell / but of this cause, (whiche neyther Arystotle coulde se, neyther any other man after Arystotle which myght se it, yet hath taken vpon hym the determinacyon of it) I wyll so open the couerynge, and sette it forth to the ease of men: that from henceforth it may easely be excluded from all Realmes & cyuyle comunyties / and that whan it is excluded: vertuous prynces and subgiettes maye the more without feare or drede lyue in quyet and tranquyllyte / which is the thyng desiderable purposed in the begynnynge of this worke and necessarye to all those that oughte to enioye cyuyle felicitye / whiche felicitye semeth to be the beste of all thynges that is desired and maye happen to man in this worlde, and also to be the ende of all the Actes or operacions done by men. And this matyer nowe rehersed purposed or intended of me I wyll delyue by thre dyctions. And in the fyrste of the sayde.iii. I wyll proue my purposes by sure wayes founde out by mennes wytte / and by demonstracyons made of suche proposicions, whiche are euidently known & vndoubted to euery man, whose mynde is not corrupted by nature, custome, or elles through some croked affectyon. And in the seconde dyccion, suche thynges as I shall suppose ben proued by demonstracyons: I shall confirme with the substancyall and perdurable testymonies of eternall veryte / & by the auctorities also of the sayntes, whiche hath ben the interpretours or exposityours of the same truthe or scripture / and also of the other approued doctours of the chrysten saythe / to the intente that it maye be substancyall ynoughe of it selfe, nedynge none other extrynsecall probacyon / That done, I shall afterwarde also impugne the falsities, whiche are contrarye to my determinacyons / and shall open and dyssolue the combrous sophystycall argumentes of the aduersarie parte, and vtter the deceyte that is hydde in them / In the thyrde dyccion I shall inferre certayne conclusyons or veray profytable documentes, to be obserued bothe of Lynyle gouernours and subgiettes, whiche conclusyons haue euident certayntie of the thyngs afore determyned in the other two dictions. And euery one of thys.iii. dictions I shall deuyde by chapitours / & eche chapitre I shall departe and deuyde in to certayne partes, other moo or fewer in nombre, after the quantytie of the chapitre / And of thys sayd deuyssyons of this worke, one profyte that shall come therof shall be the easynes or redynes of fyndynge out the thynges that shall be sought for / for the fyndynge of whiche, the reader of this worke shall be remytted and sent from the hyndermore dictions & chapitres, to the formere / of whiche also shall folowe the seconde vtyltye, that is to wytte the abbreuyacyon and shortenynge of this volume and worke / for whan it shall happen or chaunce vs in our latter saynges to take any veryte or true proposicion other for it selfe, or for any other thynges to be proued by hit, the probacyon or certayntie of whiche veryte hath ben suffyciently shewed in the former saynges or chapitours: without any superfluous iteracion of any probacyon of the sayd veryte, we shall remytte and sende the reader to the dictyon and chapitre, & also to the parte of the chapitre, in whiche the probacyon or certayntie of suche veryte was shewed / that so by reason therof, he maye easely fynde the certayntie of the thyng, that he secheth for.

What the author wol wyte in the fyrst dyccion.

The argument or matters of the seconde dyccion.

The contentes of the thyrde dyccion.

Of the pryncypall questyons to be determyned in this booke / and the distynccyon and assygnacyon of the dyuerse synnyfycacions of this worde Regnum.

The

The seconde Chapytre.



And now at the begynnynge or fyrste settinge vpon the thynges purposed & intended of vs, we wyll shewe & declare, what is the tranquyllytie or ittranquyllytie of a Realme or comunyte / & fyrst of the .ii. what is þe tranquyllytie / for this beyng not known: it can not be chosen, but that we must nedes be ignorant, what is intranquyllytie. And for as moche as bothe thyse, that

is to wytte tranquyllyte, and intranquyllyte, semeth to be dysposicions of a cytie or Realme, (whiche thyngge lette it be supposed of Cassiodorus, and it shall also by and by be declared of vs) we woll consequently shewe and declare, what is a cytie or Realme or comunyte, and for what ende it is ordeyned. Wherof also the descrepcions of tranquyllytie, and of his contrarie intranquyllyte, shall the more largely appere / we therfore wyllng accordynge to the ordie premysed & afore wyten, to descrebe the tranquyllyte of a cytie or Realme: lest by the reason of the equiuocacyon & manyfolde sygnifycacyons of the nownes in our purpose, any ambygnyte or doubtfulnes myght happen: we ought fyrst to knowe, þe this worde Regnū in one of his sygnifycacions, betokeneth a pluralytie or multytude of cyties or prouynces cōtayned vnder one regyment & gouernaūce. And after this accepcon or takynge, this worde Regnū dyffereth nothyng from Ciuitas in þe kynde of Ciuile gouernaūce: but rather the one dyffereth from the other in quantytie bycause regnum is greater and larger in quantytie than Ciuitas / and so regnum maye be Englysshed a realme or kyngdom and ciuitas a cytie. In an other sygnifycacyon this worde Regnum betokeneth a certayne maner or kynde of ciuile regyment or temperate gouernaunce, whiche Aristotell calleth Monarchiam temperatā / and after this accepcon of this worde, Regnum maye be as well in one cytie alone, as in many cyties euen so as it was aboute the fyrste begynnynge of Ciuile comunyties, whan for the most parte there was in eche one cytie one gouernour, whiche was called Rex, that is a kyngge. The thyride sygnifycacyon and the moste famouse of this worde, is composte or made of the fyrste and the seconde sygnifycacyon Joyned togyther in one. The fourthe sygnifycacyon or accepcon of this worde, is a certayne comune thyngge to all kyndes of Temperate regymente and gouernaunce. whether it be in onely one cytie, or els in many cyties / after whiche sygnifycacyon Cassiodorus vsed this worde Regnum in his oracyon or speche, whiche we haue made the begynnynge of this our boke. And in this sygnifycacyon also we woll vse this nowne, in the determynacions of our purposes / Nowe than we owynge to descrebe tranquyllyte, and the contrarie of it intranquyllytie: Lette vs suppose with Aristotell in the fyrste and the fyfte bookes of his Politikes, in the seconde and thyride chapytres, that a Cytie is as it were a certayne naturall lyuynge and sensyble creature / for in lyke maner as a beaste or any sensyble creature, whiche is well dysposed or ordied accordynge to nature, is made of certayne proportionate partes ordied or sette in an ordie amonge them selues, and eche of them cōmunicatyngge theyr workes to the other amonge them selues, and also to the hole euen so after the same fascon, a cytie or comunyte is made of certayne suche maner partes, yf it be so, that it be well ordied and instytuted accordynge to reason / suche maner comparyson therfore, as is of a beaste or a sensyble creature, and of this partes vnto helthe, euen after suche maner comparyson shall it seme to be of a comunyte, and of his partes, vnto tranquyllytie. And that this illacyon is true / we maye take a sure

The fyrste sygnifycacyon of regnum.

The seconde.

What cytie or comunyte is.

A sympletyude.

sure probacyon of that / that all men comprehend as touchynge bothe of theym / that is to wote both of helth / & tranquyllyte. For helth al men iugen to be the best dysposycyon of a sensyble creature / accordynge to nature. And so also they iuge tranquyllyte to be the beste dysposycyon of a cōmunytie / whiche hath be begon and instytuted accordynge to reason. And helth (as the moſte cūnyng naturall phylosophers do ſaye deſcrybyng it) is a good dysposycyon of a ſensyble creature, by whiche euery one of his partes may perſytele worke the operacyons conuenient and agreeynge to theyr nature / accordynge to whiche Analogye, tranquyllyte ſhall be a good dysposycyon of a realme or cōmunytie, by whiche euery one of the membres or partes of the ſayd cōmunytie maye perſytele do the operacyons conuenient and fytte for them / accordynge to reason and to theyr instytucion. And becauſe whoſoever dyſſyneyth thynges well / dothe at one tyme gyue knowlege of both contraries. Intranquyllyte ſhall be a croked or euyl dysposycyon or ordie of a realme or cōmunytie / lyke wyſe as infirmyte or ſyckenes is a croked or euyl dysposycyon of a beaſte or ſensyble creature / by whiche other all or ſome of his partes are letted to do the operacyons and workes cōuenient and ſyetyng for them / other I ſay to worke them utterly or any whytte at all / or at the leſt wyſe they are letted to worke them perſytele / Of tranquyllyte therfore & of the contrarye intranquyllyte let it be thus ſpoken of vs ſygnurall. Of the orygy nall and fyrſte begynnynge of the cyuple cōmunytie.

What ſaynte
or helth is.
What tran:
quyllyte is.

What intran
quyllyte or di
ſcorde is.
What infirmi
te or ſyckenes

The thyrde Chaptyre.

We for as moche as we haue ſayd, that tranquyllyte is the good dysposycyon of a cōmunytie to the workynge of the partes therof / conſequēſly we muſte conſydre what is a cytie or cōmunytie / and for what ende it is ordeyned pryncypally / and whiche, and howe many be the pryncypall partes therof / moreouer what is the conuenient operacyon of eche one of thoſe partes. Furthermore of the cauſes, and ordie of the ſayd partes amonge them ſelues / for thyſe thynges are veray neceſſary to the proſyte determynacyon of tranquyllyte / and of his contrarye intranquyllyte. But yet for al that afore we do treat of a cytie, whiche is a perſytele cōmunytie / and of the dyuerſe kyndes or maners therof: we ought fyrſte to brynge in and declare the orygy nall begynnynge of cyuple cōmunyties, and theyr regyment & maners of lyuynge / from whiche as beyng leſſe perſytele, men dyd procede to perſytele cōmunyties / and to the regymentes & maners of lyuynge uſed in theym / for both nature, & alſo arte or craſte, whiche counterſayteth & foloweth nature do al wyſes procede from the leſſe perſytele thyng, to the more perſytele. And men do not thynke, that they haue the ſure knowlege whiche is called ſcyence of any thyng any other wyſe / but onely whan they ſhall haue knowen & fyrſt cauſes & the fyrſt pryncyples of it, cūen to the veray orygy nall cauſes of it whiche are called elemēta. We therfore procedynge accordynge to this maner, ought to knowe & perceyue, that cyuple cōmunyties / accordynge to dyuerſe regyons and ſundry tymes began of a lytle thyng / and ſo by lytle and lytle takynge encrease, at the laſt hath ben brought to cōplement or perfeccion / lyke wyſe as we haue ſayd & it happeneth or cometh to paſſe in euery operacyon or worke of nature or craſte / for the fyrſt and the leaſte cōbynacyon or cōmunytie of all humayne cōmunyties, & out of whiche all other cōmunyties or ſocyties hath ſpronge was & copulacyon & ſocytie of man & woman / as the chyef of al phylosophers Arystotell ſayth in the fyrſte booke of his Politykes / and the fyrſte chaptyre / and the ſame appereth alſo more largelye

Sure know:
lege of a thyn
ge is hadde /
whan the cau
ſes of it are
known.

Whiche was
the fyrſte cō:
munytie.

THE DEFENCE

What is a
strete.

Adam punys
shed not chain
that slew his
brother: becau
se of the pan
cite & smalle
nōbre of men
at that tyme.

gyfte of his oeconomykes / wherein he treateth of the gouernynge and ordynge of
an howse or howsholde / for of this cōbynacyon or copulacyon of man & woman
verely men and women were brought forth and multiplyed, whiche fyrste reple
nysshed onely one howse of whom no such maner cōbynacyons or copulacyōs
beyng made so great ppagacyon and increase of men was made that one howse
coude not be suffycient to receyue them. But it was necessarye to make many
howses the pluralytie or multytude of whiche howses beyng ioyned togyther /
was called in the Latyn tonge vicus or vicina in Englyshe a strete / & this was
the fyrst cōmunytie of men / as it is wyrtē in the place afore alleged. But as lon
ge as men were but onely one howse : all theyr actes & dedes, namely suche actes
whiche we shall hereafter call cypyle actes, were sette in ordie by hym that was
moste auncient and moste aged amonge them / as beyng moste dyscrete & wyse /
but yet without any lawe or custome: for because lawes and customes coude not
yet be founde out or deuysed. And not onely the men & were togyther all in onely
one howse / were gouerned after this maner / but also the fyrst cōmunytie called a
strete, was gouerned well nere after the same maner / though in some thynges
they were gouerned after a sondry maner / for albeit that the gouernoure or good
man of onely one howse myghte forgyue or punyshe the domestycall iniuries &
trespasses done within his howse, all maner wayes euen after his pleasure / & as
he lyst hym self / yet for all & it was not lawfull for hym to do the same / that was
the presydent and ruler of the fyrste cōmunytie called a strete / for in this cōmuny
tie it was necessarye, that he / whiche was moste auncient and aged: shuld dyspo
se and ordie ryght wyse and profytable thynges / by some reasonable ordynaunce
or lawe in maner naturall / because it semed so conuenient vnto all men by a cer
tayne equyte without any great serchynge forthe onely by & cōmune Judgemēt
of reason and a certayne duetye of the humayne socyetie and felowshyp. And the
cause of this dyuerse and sondry maner of regymēt or gouernaunce in one howse
and in an hole strete : is and was for that that yf of onely one howse, and of the
fyrste oeconomye or domestycall sample, one brother hadde slayne or otherwyse
hurte or offended an other brother / without any dailger or Jeoperdye therof hap
penynge or solowynge the gouenour or good man of the howse myght lawfully
yf he wolde, not haue punysshed the trespasser with extreme ponysshment / that
is to wyte with deathe / partely because the iniurye or offence semed to be done one
ly to the father / whiche dyd forgyue it / & partely because of the fewnesse & small
nombre of men that were at that tyme. And also because it was lesse losse and he
uynes to the good man of the howse, to lacke one sone / then to want two / whiche
thyng also our fyrste father Adam semed to do. whan his fyrste begotten sone
Ehah slew his brother Abel / for there is not properly cypyle Justyce of the fa
ther to the sone / as it is wyrtē in the .v. booke of Etykes / where treatyse is made,
of ryghwysnes. But in & fyrste cōmunytie called a strete, neyther it was lawfull
neyther is lawfull to do so / because of the dysagrement & vnlykenes of the afore
sayd thynges / yf moreouer excepte vengeance or equalytie of the iniuries done
shuld haue ben or be made by & most senyout or auncient / there myght haue hap
pened, or now myght happen by the reason therof fyghtynge and sepetacyon of
neighbour. But after that stretes we multiplyed, and the cōmunytie made lar
ger, (as it muste nedely be, euer as men and women were multiplyed by propa
gacyon, yet were they gouerned styll of one man / other through defaute & lacke
of many wyse men: or elles for some other certayne cause / as it is wyrtē in the
thyrde booke of the Polytykes, & the .ix. chaptre / But yet of hym whiche was coun
ted moste aged, or best of all other / howbeit by ordynacyons lesse vnperfyte than
those

those, by which they were ordeyned or gouerned in a citie. And yet had not those fyrste cōmunyties so great a distynccyon or ordie of partes, or so great a sūme of necessarie craftes, and of rules of the maner of luyng, as was afterwarde successyuelly founde one after another, in the perfyte cōmunyties. For in the olde tyme otherwhyles the same man was a pryncce or gouernour, & an husbāde man or keper of shepe. As Abraham, and many other moo after hym, whiche thynge for all that neyther is expedyent neyther myght well be, in perfyte cōmunyties. But after that in processe of tyme cōmunyties were augmented, the experyence of men also was augmented / Craftes, occupacyons / and more perfyte rules and maners of luyng, were founde and deuysed / and the partes of cōmunyties also were more largely distyncte, departed, and, dysseuered one from another / and in conclusyon those thynge, whiche are necessarye to lyfe, and to a good lyfe: by the reason and experyence of men, were brought to perfeccyon / and a perfyte cōmunytie was instytuted and begonne / and called in the lāten / ciuitas / in the Englysshe a cytie or a cōmune weale / with the distynccyon of the partes of the same the determynacyon wherof we shall forthwith take in hande / of the orygynall begynnynge of a cytyle cōmunytie, let thus moch as we haue spoken, be suffyccient at this tyme.

The same man a gouernour, and an husbāde mā or a keper of shepe.

¶ Of the fynall cause or ende of a cytie or cytyle cōmunytie / and of the distynccyon in generall of the partes therof.

¶ The fourth Chapytre.



A cytie, after the mynde of Aristotle in the fyrst booke of his politykes, and the seconde chapytre is a perfyte cōmunytie hauynge in it selfe all thynge necessarye to the suffyccencie of lyfe, and ordeyned not onely for men to lyue in, but pryncypally to lyue well in. In the which desynccyon Aristotle sygnifyeth the perfyte fynall cause of a cytie. For men luyng cytyllie, do not onely lyue (which thynge bestes also or bonde men doth) but also they lyue well / that is to wytt, gyuyng thei mynde to lyberall and honeste workes / as ben the workes of the vertues, both of the practyue & also of the speculatyue soule. Now then after we haue thus determyned a cytie to be ordeyned for luyng and well luyng, as for the fynall ende of it, we muste now fyrste treate of luyng or lyfe, and of the maners therof. For it is the thynge (as we haue sayde) for whose cause a cytie was instytute or begon / & it is the necessitye of all thynge, which are and be done by the cōmunytie of men, in the sayd cytie / let vs therefore grounde vpon this, as vpon a pryncypale of all thynge here after to be proued, beyng naturally had and beleued, and wyllingly graunted of all men: that all men hauynge thei wyttes and beyng not otherwyse impedyte or letted / naturalllye doth desyre a suffyccient lyfe. And moreouer also doth refuse & eschewe noysome or hurtfull thynge / which thynge also is not onely euident of men: but also of all other kyndes of bestes or sensyble creatures, accordynge to the mynde of Tully in his fyrst booke / de officiis and the thyrde chapytre, where he sayth thus. Fyrst of all to euery kynde of sensyble creatures this proprietye is gyuen of nature, to saue and defende them selues / thei owne body, & lyfe / & to eschewe those thynge whiche semen to be noysome and hurtfull vnto them selfe / and to purchase and

A cytie is a perfyte cōmunytie.

The ende of cyties or cōmune weales is a good lyfe or to lyue wel

What all men desyre haue thei wyttes.

THE DEFENCE

The wordly
lyfe and the
heuenly lyfe.

What is the
cause of mā-
nes corrup-
cyon.

Wherfore mā
nedeth artes
or crafes.

gette all those thynges, whiche are necessary and nedefull to the preseruacon of theyr owne lyfe / whiche thyng also euery man maye perceyue euidently, by sensyble experyence, in the kynde of sensyble creatures. But the lyfe and good lyfe conuenient and syttyng for men: is after two maners. There is one lyfe: whiche is wonte to be called a temperall or wordly lyfe / and there is an other lyfe: whiche is wont to be called an eternall or heuenly lyfe. And bycause the hole vniuersyte of Pphylosophers coude not by demonstracyon or reason proue this seconde lyfe / that is to wytte the eternall lyfe, neyther it was a thyng euidently knowen of hit selfe / therfore they busyed not them selves, neyther gaue any great force to eche thysse thynges, whiche are necessarye for the gettyng and obteynyng of the sayd lyfe. But of lyfe and lyuynge well, or good lyfe after the fyrst maner that is temperall and wordly / and of the thyngs whiche are necessarye for it: the glorious & proude Pphylosophers comprehended and perceyued by demonstracyon the matyer in a maner complete / wherfore for the obteynyng of this lyfe, they concluded that a cypyle cōmunyte was necessarye / without whiche sayd cypyle cōmunyte this sufficyent lyfe in no wyse can be obtayned or had / Amonge whiche Pphylosophers, he that is the pryncypall, that is to wytte Aristostle, in his fyrste boke of the Polytikes, and the seconde chapitre sayd that all men are desyrous of a cypyle cōmunyte / and naturallly haue an appetyte vnto it herefore / whiche thyng albeit that sensyble experyence doth teach: yet that not withstayndyng, we woll induce and brynge in the cause of it, whiche we haue sayd, more dystinctely say: enge, that because a man is borne naturallly made of contrarye elementes, by reason of the contrary accyons and passyons of whiche sayd elementes, in a maner continually somwhat of his substaunce is corrupted: And agayne because he is borne naked, and vnarmed and vndefenced apte to suffre & be corrupted and destroyed of the excesse of the ayre, wherin he lyueth: and of the other elementes, (as it hath ben shewed in naturall Pphylosophye) he had nede of crafes and occupacyons of dyuerse kyndes and maners to auoyd, and put by the aforesayd incommodyties or annoyances / whiche artes and crafes, because they maye not be exercysed but of great multytude of men, neyther they may be had, excepte the sayde multytude do cōmunycate & kepe socyetie amōge them selues one with an other it was necessarye, that men shulde congregate them selues togyther for the wyngynge of that that is cōmodyouse and profytable, & for the auoydynge of harme or euyll, by the sayd artes or crafes. But for as moche as amonge men so congregated & gathered oftentymes chaunceth contencyons, bralles and stryffes, whiche, excepte they be strenghtened and ordred by the rule of Justyce, myght cause fyghtes, bataylles, and seperacyon of men / and so in conclusyon myght be cause of the destruccyon of the cytie. It was necessarye in this cōmunycacyon & cōmune societie of men to ordeyne a rule of Justyce / and one to kepe and execute the sayd Justyce. And because this keeper, defender, and executer of Justyce oughte to pōnyssh the iniuryouse trespassours, and to kepe of other men, other beyng within the same cōmunyte, or in any other oute cōmunyte, whiche eyther trouble any synyguler persones, or go aboute to oppresse the cōmunyte, it was necessarye that the cytie shuld haue somwhat in it selfe, wherby it myght resyste these sayd persones. Moreover because a cōmunyte hath nede of some cōmodityes repetacyons, and custodies of certayne thynges, & not alwayes one / but in the tyme of peace of one maner, and in the tyme of warre, of an other maner. It was necessarye, that in the sayde cōmunyte there shulde be purueyours of suche maner thynges / that whan it shuld be expedyent or necessarye, some succoure and helpe myght be redye to the cōmune necessitye / But besyde thysse thyngs whiche we haue now spoken of, whiche

of, whiche onelye are succurrynge and helppynge to the necessyte of this presente lyfe: there is an other thyng whiche they that lyue in a cyuyle cōmunitie haue nede of as beyng necessarpe for the state of the worlde to come, promysed vnto mankynde by supernaturall reuelacyon of god, the whiche thyng is also profytable for the state of this present lyfe / And this I meane to be the honourynge, and wo:shyppynge of god, and the gyuyng of thankes vnto hym, bothe for the benefyte receyued of hym in this worlde, and also for those that are to be receyued in the worlde to come. For the teachynge wherof, and for to dyrecte men in the same: it was necessarie, that the cytie or cyuyle cōmunitie shulde determyne assygne and appoynte certayne doctoures or teachers. Of all these thynges and eke of the other aforesayde, we shall exquisitely and perspytely speke in the treatyses folowynge / bothe what they be and of what nature. Men therfore (as I haue sayde) were congregated for a suffycient lyfe, beyng able to gette vnto them selues thys necessarie thyng afore rehersed, and cōmunicatynge them selues one with an other / And this congregacyon so made perspyte, and hauynge in it selfe all thyng necessarie to a suffycient lyfe, was called *Liuitas* / a cytie. The fynall cause wherof, and of the pluralitie or multytude of the partes therof: hathe ben somwhat shewed of vs alreedy / and in the chapytre folowynge more largely and dystynctely shall be treated and spoken of. And for because that dyuerse thynges are necessarie to them that desyre to lyue well / whiche al can not be procured and done by men of one ordre or offyce: it was necessarie that there shulde be dyuerse and sondrye sortes, ordres & offyces of men, in this cyuyle cōmunitie / whiche myght exerceise and procure suche dyuerse thynges, whiche men neded for the suffyciencye of theyr lyfe. And thys dyuerse and sondrye ordres or offyces of men, are nothyng elles than the pluralitie, multytude and dystynccion, of the partes of a cytie. Than what a cytie is / and for what fynall cause suche a cyuyle cōmunitie was begonne and made / and also of the dyuysyon of the partes of the sayde cōmunitie: to haue thus fygurallye passed throughe. Lette it be suffycient at this tyme.

Why the ho:
nourynge of
god is neces:
sary to men.

Doctours or
teachers ar ne
cessary to cy:
ties or cyuyle
cōmunities.

The begyn:
nyng or cau
se of a cytie.

Of the dystynccyon and assygnacion of the partes of a *Lyte* or cyuyle cōmunitie / and of the necessyte that suche partes shulde be, and also that they shulde be dystyncte and separated one from an other for an ende possyble to be assygned by mannes inuencyon.

The. v. Chapytre.



After that we haue now spoken generally of the partes of a *Lyte*, in the perspyte operacyon of whiche partes, and cōmon conuersacyon of them selues eche with other, beyng not letted of any exterynsecall thyng, we haue sayde the tranquyllytie of a cytie or cyuyle cōmunitie to stande consistyng and reste: to the entente that by the more large determynacion made of them, as well of the workes and endes of them, as of the appropriate causes of them, the causes of tranquyllytie and of his contrarie intranquyllytie maye the more largely be shewed, declared, and opened

THE DEFENCE

The sye partes or offyces of a cytie or ciuyle cōmunitie.

Husbandrye craftes men, knyghthode marchandysse preefthode, saypers.

A cytie or ciuyle cōmunitie was Instituted to the ende that men myghte lyue well in it.

wordly lyfe.

Vita is take for anima.

Whan a man lyueth well.

ned, nowe begynnynge agayne to speake of the sayd partes, let vs saye / that the partes and offyces of a cytie or ciuyle cōmunitie are of sye kyndes or sortes / as Arystotle sayd in the .vii. booke of his Politykes and the .viii. chapytre / that is to wytte, husbandrye or tyllynge of the grounde, handecraftie, chyualtrye, marchandysse, factorye, and Iugement / whiche sayde partes or offyces are exerceysed of sye sondry sortes of men / that is to wyte of husbunde men / of Artysyers, of men of warre, marchaunte men, of preeftes. & of Iuges of necessarye and profytable thynges / Of the whiche sye partes, thre / that is to wytte preefthode, Chyualtrye & Iugement are simpliciter ptes of a cytie / whiche also in ciuyle cōmunitie they are wonte to call the honourable or worshipfull of the cytie. But the other are called partes after a large maner of speakynge / as because they are offyces necessarye to a cōmunitie or cytie accordynge to the mynde of Arystotle in the seuenth booke of the Politykes & p. viii. chapytre. And the multitude of thys men, is wonte to be called the cōmune sorte or rascall of the cytie. Thys sye than at the most famouse partes of a Cytie, cōmunitie or Realme, vnto whiche all other partes maye conueniently be reduced. The necessarye of whiche sayd parties albeit that it hath ben spoken of, and shewed somewhat in the chapytre afore gone: yet woll we speake of the same agayne more dystinctely / supposynge this fyrste as a thyng proued euidently, that a cytie is a cōmunitie begon to the ende & men myghte lyue, and also lyue well in it. And of lyuyng well or good lyfe, we haue determyned afore, that it maye be after two maner of fashyons / one waye it maye be vnderstande of the lyfe of this worlde, that is to wyte of the temperall or wordly lyfe and an other waye it maye be vnderstande of the lyfe of an other worlde to come that is to wytte of the heuently lyfe. Of whiche two maners of lyfe or lyuyng, whiche are desyred of man as endes: we shall assygne the necessarye of the dystyncyon of the partes of a ciuyle cōmunitie or cytie. The lyfe of man, or to lyue after the fyrst maner, that is to wytte wordly or temperally, other whyles is taken for the beyng of men lyuyng / as it is sayde in the seconde booke de anima diuere diuicibus est esse, that is lyfe to lyuyng thynges is theyr beyng, after whiche maner lyfe is nothyng elles then anima / other whyles lyfe or to lyue is taken for the acte, or for the accyon or passion of the soule or lyfe. And agayne both of thys maye be taken two maner of wayes / for other they maye be taken or vnderstande in eodem esse naturali, or elles in consimili esse, whiche they do call esse specificum. And though lyfe taken after eyther other of thys sayd wayes, as well lyfe proper to man, as the lyfe cōmune to hym & to other synsible creatur, doth depende and hange of naturall causes: yet the present consyderacyon of lyfe or of accyon or passion of the soule is not of it, in that it cometh or is caused of them / for suche maner consyderacyon is had or made in that parte of naturall Philosophy, whiche treateth de planetis et de animalibus / But our present inquysicion or consyderacion at this tyme is of them, after as they do take or receyue complemente and perfeccyon of craftie & reason, by whiche the kynde of man lyueth. And therefore we muste attende and note well, that yf a man ought to lyue & to lyue well, it is necessarye and nedefull, that his accyons be done and wel done / and not one by his accyons: but also his passyons / I saye well done / that is to saye inconuenient temperament. And because we haue not receyued of nature perfectly and in euery poynte those thynges, by whiche thys temperament is made complete and perfecte. It was nedefull to man, beyonde or ouer the naturall causes, by reason to forme & fashyon or make some thynges / by whiche the operacyon and consyderacyon of his accyons and passyons bothe as to wyte the bodye, and also the soule, myghte be made complete & profyte. And thys are the kyndes of workes and

kes and workers, procedyng, caused and brought forth of vertues, artes and sciences, bothe practyue and also speculatyue. Furthermore of the accyons of man, and also of his passyons: some comen and are brought forth of naturall causes, without knowledg reason and vnderstandyng / as ben those whiche are done or caused throughe or by the contrarytie of the Elementes, wherof our bodies are composte & made, by the reason of the permixcyon or mynglyng of theym toggyther one with an other. And of this kynde, all the accyons or operacyons of the nutrytyue parte or power, maye conuenientlye be sayde to be. Of the same sorte also be all the accyons, that the Elementes do cause whiche do conteyne oure bodies, or wherin we do lyue, by the alteracyon of theyr qualyties / of whiche kynde are also the alteracyons whiche are caused of & thynge enterynge in to mēces bodies / as of meates, drynkes, medycynes, popsons, and other thynge lyke vn to these. And there be other accyons and passyons caused of vs, and in vs, by our intellectyue and appetatyue powers of the whiche certayne are called actiones immanētes, that is intrinsecall or inwarde operacyons: because they do not passe forth in to any other subiecte or body from the doer or worker of theym / neyther they are exercysed by any the exteryour organes or membres beyng moued as to wchynge to mocyon locall / as ben the thoughtes of men / and also theyr desyres or affeccyons. Other there be, and they are called actiones transeuntes outwarde operacyons / because that other one waye or other of thys afore sayd, they are contrarye in theyr maner and facyon to the accyons laste spoken of / that is to wyt to the inwarde accyons whiche are called actiones immanentes / for the temporyng therfore of all thys accyons and passyons, and to make them complete & perfyte in that thynge to whiche nature can not bryng them: dyuerse kyndes of craftes and occupacyons hathe ben founde and deuysed, And of other vertues also as we haue heretofore sayde, and men of dyuerse offyces hathe ben instytuted ordeyned and appoynted to exercyse them for the supplyeng of mānes Indygence and nede / whiche ordres of men are none other thynge, than the partes of a cytie afore reherfed and rekened vp / for to temprie and to saue the actes and operacyons of the nutrytyue parte of the soule (whiche ones crassynge, it coulde not be chosen but that the sensyble creature, whether it be man or elles any other beest muste nedes vtterlye be corrupted and destroyed, bothe as to wchynge to the synygulares / and also as to wchynge to the hole kynde) husbandrye or tyllynge of the felde, and the keepynge and orderynge of bestes and cattall, was Instytuted and ordeyned. Vnto & whiche two kyndes conuenientlye may be reduced all the kyndes of huntynge of bestes, lyuyng in the londe or in the water, or flyenge in the ayre / as of foure foted bestes / fysshes and fowles, and also all other bestes, by whiche noysshment or foode is gotten by any comunycacyon or chaunge / or elles is dyghte and made redy to be dater: to the ende that by the sayde noysshment, in conclusyon, that thynge maye be restored whiche is loste and consumed of the substaunce of oure bodye / and be conserued and kepte in his immortall beyng to contynue euermore: so far forth as nature hathe graunted man to be immortall. But to measure and temprie the accyons and passyons of oure bodye, whiche are outwardely caused of the Elementes, wherof we be made / and of theyr impressions: there was founde and deuysed the kynde of mechanycall artes as Aristotle in the .vii. booke of his Politykes calleth theym / as ben the makynge of all maner clothe for the vse of mānes bodye, with all thynge apperteynyng therunto / whiche all Aristotle comprehendeth vnder this one worde laificiū / Loryers crafte, shomakers, and taylours crafte. And all kyndes of Carpenters crafte / and certayne other mechanycall craftes doyng seruyce to other offyces of

Two maner
of accyons &
passyons of
men.

Actiones im
manentes.

Actiones trā
seuntes.

Why craftes
were diuysed.

Husbandrye.

Why art? me
chanycall we
re foude or de
uysed that is
to wyt suche
craftes which
are wrought
both wth wyt
and hande.

THE DEFENCE

the cytie medpattly or immediatlye / and not onely those that tempre the accyons or passyons of thysse .ii. senses touchynge and tastynge: but also of the other senses or wyttes / whiche artes are more for pleasure and to lyue well, than for the necessytie of mānes lyfe / as paynters crafte, with suche other lyke / of the whiche Arystotle in the thyrde booke of his Polytykes and the .iiii. chapitre sayth in this wyse And of thysse mechanycall artes or crases: some muste nedes be of necessytie / and other some apperteyne and are ordeyned onely for pleasure / to the deckynge and adornynge of our lyfe / vnder whiche kynde also is comprehended the practyse of seche crafte.

Consules et iudices.

Why iuges & rulers were instituted & ordeyned.

Why a partie of the crafte of Armes.

Bondage or thraldome is contrarie to a cytie or cypyle cōmunytie.

And to measure and tempre the excesses of the actes or operacyons, whiche ardon or caused of the motyue powers locall by knowledg or vnderstandynge, and by appetyte or desyre (whiche actes we haue called afore actus transeuntes, outward Actes, and whiche are possyble to be done to the profyte or good, or elles to the dysprofyte, iniurye, or hurte of an other persone dystyncte from hym that is the doer or worker, for the state of this present worlde / then was necessarilly ordeyned in a cytie a certayne parte or offyce, by which the excesses of suche maner actis shulde be corrected or amended, and be broughte to equalytie / or due proporcion. For elles yf there shulde not haue ben ordeyned suche an offyce by the reason of thysse excesses there myght be caused fyghtynge / and of it separacyon of the Lityzens / and so in conclusyon myght folowe corrupcyon or destruccyon of the Litye, and the pryncyacyon of a suffycient lyfe. And this parte is called of Arystotle pars iudicialis or pryncypans / and consultina / that is to saye the parte or offyce of Judges or Rulers / with other that do seruyce or helpe vnto it / to whiche parte or offyce it belongeth to dyrecte, Rule, and ordre the thynges concernynge the cōmune ryghtes and vtylities. But for as moche as a suffycient lyfe can not be ledde the Lityzens beyng oppressed or broughte in to seruytude or thraldome by extrynsecall oppressours of theyr cōmunyties, and agayne because it was necessarye, that the sentences of the Judges shulde be executed agaynst iniurious and rebellious persones within the sayde cōmunytie by coactyue power: it was nedefull to ordayne in a Litye an other parte, whiche is called Pars militaris or propugnativa / that is to say the offyce of men of Armes and defenders of the Litye / to whiche parte also many of the mechanycall Craftes do seruyce / for a Litye is ordeyned because that men myght lyue and lyue well, as it was sayd in the chapitre afore gone / whiche thyng is impossyble to be done: the Lityzens beyng broughte in to seruytude or bondage & thraldome. For this thyng that is to wytte to be in seruytude: the moste excellent of all the Philosophers affyrmeth to be agaynst the nature of a Litye or cypyle cōmunytie. wherfore in the .iiii. of the Polytykes and the .iiii. chapytre, assygnynge and shewynge the necessytie of this parte he saythe thysse wordes folowynge. The .v. parte of a Litye is defenders or men of armes / whiche parte is no lesse necessarye to a cytie: than any of the other partes afore rehersed yf they woll defende theyr lybertie agaynst them, that do inuade them / & not be broughte in to thraldome / for it is impossyble that the cōmunytie which is worthy to be called a cytie, shuld be by nature thral or bonde / for a cytie is of it selfe suffycient / but that thyng / whiche is thral or bonde: can not be suffycient of it selfe. And the necessytie of this parte because of rebellious persones intrynsecall or within the same cōmunytie which must be compelled to obaye rulers is had of Arystotle in the .vii. booke of his Polytykes & the .viii. chapitre. But we haue left out his wordes here / for cause of shortnes or

nes or spede / & because we wold brynge them in, in the. viii. chapitre of this diccy
 on & the. viii. parte of þ same chapitre / moreouer because in þ yeres of this worlde
 somtyme is fertilytie & great plentie of frutes / & other whyles there is sterilytie &
 scasete agayne because a cytie is somtyme peaceabyle dysposed, and at vnytie or
 concorde with þ other cyties or cōmunyties beyng nere vnto it: & somtyme other
 wyse dysposed to warde them: and also because there are cōmune oportunities or
 cōmodityes of a cytie, wherof it hath nede: as the makynge & reperacion of wayes
 and bygges / with the settynge vp and reperacions of other buyldynge / and such
 other lyke cōmodityes, whiche it is not mete but were to teduous and longe for
 to rehearse here. It was nedefull for the procurynge of thys sayd cōmodityes, in
 conuenient tyme to ordeyne in a cytie, the pte or offyce called ptem thesaurisan:
 tem of Ryche men gatherynge treasure, whiche of Arystotle is called pars pecu:
 niatiua / for this parte gathereth and kepeth money / corne / wyne / oyle / and o:
 ther necessarye thynges / & procureth and secheth from all places suche thynges / as
 are profytable to the cōmunytie: to succoure & helpe them in theyr necessitye & nede
 hereafter to come / vnto whiche also certayne of the other partes do seruyce. And
 this parte Arystotle calleth partem pecuniatiuam: bycause that in the keepynge
 of money semeth to be the treasure of all thynges for that that all thynges are
 tourned & chaunged in to money. Nowe it resteth for to speke of the necessitye of
 the power and auctoritie or preeft: or preesthode / of the whiche necessitye, all men
 were not so agreable in oppynion, as of the necessitye of the other partes of a cytie
 And the cause hereof was, for that that the very and pryncypal necessitye of this
 parte coulde not be comprehended or perceyued by demonstracyon, or proued by
 reason / neyther it was a thyng euydent of it selfe / yet that notwithstandinge,
 all gentyll nacyns agreed in this, that it was conuenient to instytute the offy:
 ce of preeft, for cause of the worshyppynge and honourynge of god / and of the pro:
 fyte folowynge therof, for the state of this worlde, or of the worlde to come. For
 veray many of the lawes or sectes do promyse to well doers rewarde, and to euyl
 doers payne or punysshment, whiche rewarde and punysshmentes shall be dy:
 strybuted by god in the worlde to come. But besyde the causes of makynge lawes
 whiche causes are beleued without demonstracyon or profe: Phylosophers consy:
 dred and noted veray conuenientlye an other (in a maner) necessarye cause, euen
 for the state also of this worlde, of the tradycyon or grynynge of dyuine lawes or
 sectes. Amonge whom was Hesiodus, Pythagoras, and veray many other of
 the olde Phylosophers. And this cause was the goodnes both of the monastycall
 and also of the cyuyle actes of men, of which actes the quyetie or tranquyllytie of
 cōmunyties & synallye the suffycient lyfe of this present worlde in a maner doth
 hole depende / For albeit that some of the Phylosophers, whiche were the fynders
 out or deuyfers of suche maner lawes or sectes, haue not thought or beleued the re:
 surreccyon of men to come / and that lyfe whiche is called the lyfe eternall or euer:
 lastynge / yet that notwithstandinge they dyd sayne or Imagyne, and broughte
 the people in belefe, that there is suche a lyfe / and that in it there are delectacyons
 or pleasures / and sorowes or paynes, accordynge to the qualyties of mēnes wor:
 kes or dedes done in this mortall lyfe / that by the reason hereof they myght indu:
 ce men to the reuerence & drede of god, and to desyre of eschewynge vyces & of lo:
 uynge & exerceynge vertues / for there be certayne actes, whiche the lawe maker
 can not rule & strayghten by mānes lawe / for as moche as it can not be proued þ
 any man hath such act, or elles þ he is without them / whiche act for all þ can not
 be hyd or vnknoen to god, whom they dyd sayne to be the maker of such lawes
 & the cōmaūder of the to be obserued & kept vnder þ cōmunicacion of eternal payne
 to euyl

The treasure
of a cytie.

Preesthode or
the offyce of
preestes.

The necessitye
of preestes
can not be cō
prehended by
demonstracyō

The necessarye
causes of
dyuine lawes.

THE DEFENCE

The Imagis
or fygyres of
sterres or con
stellacions.

The soules
of men to en
tre in to y bo
dyes of brute
beastes.

The fable of
Tantalus.

Tartara hell

The preeftes
of y gentyles

what maner
men were in
stytuted to be
preeftes amo
ge y gentyls.

Of wat ma
ner men god
is to be wor
shypped.

to euyl doers, and of eternall rewarde to well doers / wherfore they sayde of dy
uerse men, whiche had ben vertuose whyles they lyued in this worlde: that they
were placed or set in the firmament of heuen. And hereof peradventure came the
names to certayne of the sterres and constellacions or fygyres celestia. And
of those that wrought vnglaciously, whyles they lyued in this worlde they sayd
of some, that they soules entred in to dyuers bodies of brute bestes / as that in to
the bodies of hogges entred the soules of them whiche had ben glotons, and intem
perant in thynges apperteynyng to tastynge / as meates, drynkes, and suche
other thynges. And that in to the bodies of goates entred the soules of them whiche
had ben lecherouse, and intemperant in thynges apperteynyng to touchynge, and
flesshely luste / and so semblable the soules of other men, in to the bodies of other
beastes / accordynge to the proporcion and lyknes of menes vyces vnto the da
nable and vyle properties of the brute beastes. After the same maner also they
assygnd dyuerse kyndes of tormentes ordeyned for the wycked or euyl workes
of men / as for example, to intemperant Tantalus perpetuall hongre and thyrst
haupnge water and frute present and nere vnto hym, wherof he maye neyther
eate ne drynke, because euer as he maketh any profte towarde them, they do ste
backe from hym, farther than that he maye reche to them. They sayd also that
there is a certayne place of suche tormentes, both depe and full of darkenes: whi
che they called Tartara / in englyshe it maye be called helle / describyng suche
maner tormentes, after the moste terribble and hatefull fashyons that they coulde
Imagyne / by reason of the feare of whiche tormentes: men eschewed to do euyl
and vycouse workes / and were excyted to doo vertuose workes of charytie,
mercy or pytie / and were also well disposed and ordred them selves and other men
And by the reason of thysse thynges many contencions and iniuries were ceased
in the comunyties / by reason wherof, bothe peace and the tranquyllytie of cyties
and the suffycient lyfe of men for the state of this present worlde, was with lesse
dyffycultie, and the more easely kepte / whiche was the thyng synallye intended
of those wyse men, by the makynge of suche maner lawes or sectes. The offyce
therfore of the hethen preeftes amonge the gentyles was the gyuyng & teachyn
ge of suche maner preceptes / for the teachynge wherof: they ordeyned in theyr co
munyties temples, in whiche theyr goddes were worshypped / and dyd appoynte
thereto teachers of the sayde lawes or tradycyons, whom they called Sacerdotes
preeftes / because they medled and had the ordynge of the holy thynges appertey
nyng to the temples / as of the booke / of the vesselles / & of suche other thyngs whi
che serued to the honourynge and worshyppynge of goddes. Thysse thynges were
by theyr ordred sempyngly and syttyngly accordynge to theyr saythe, custome and
vsage / for they dyd not instytute and admytte all maner of men to be preeftes /
but onely they instytuted certayne vertuose and approued Elytzens to be pree
ftes whiche had ben of the offyce of Elyualtre, or of the offyce of Iuges / Elyt
zens I saye whiche had forsaken or gyuen ouer secularie or wordely busynes /
and whiche were nowe excused from cyuile offyces and workes, because of theyr
great age. For of suche maner men than beyng separate and free from passions
and to whose sayenges the more credence was gyuen because of theyr age, & the
graunte of theyr maners. It was semely & accordynge that the goddes shuld be ho
noured or worshypped, & the holy thynges of them to be handeled and ordred and
not of handy craft men, hyred labourers, or other whiche had exercysed vyle and
fylthy offyces / wherfore Aristotile in the .vii. booke, and the .ix. chapytre of the
Politykes saythe thysse wordes folowynge. For neyther an husbunde man,
neyther an artyfycer or handye crafter man, is to be made or ordeyned a preefte.

But

But for as moche as the gentyles, with all other lawes and sectes of men, whiche are nowe or haue ben in tymes paste, besydes the catholyke Chrysten faythe, or besydes the helyse of the holpe fathers, whiche was afore the chrysten faythe, and to speake generallye, for as moche as all that are or hathe ben without or besyde the tradycion of those thynges, whiche are conteyned in the holy Canon, called the Byble, had not the ryght oppnyon of god, whiche ought to be had of hym in that they folowed the wytte of man, or false prophetes, maysters and teachers of errours, and therfore also neyther theyr oppnyon was right of the lyfe to come neyther of the felicitye or myserye of the same, neyther of the true & veray priesthode instytuted and ordeyned therfore, yet neuerthelesse we haue spoken of theyr vsages and ceremonyes, to the entent that the difference of theyr priesthode from the true priesthode, that is to wytte from the priesthode amonge Chrysten men, and to the entent also that the necessytye of the parte or offyce of priestes to be had in comynyties maye the more euidently appere.

The lawes or sects of the gentyles had not right oppnyon of god.

¶ Of the fynall cause of a certayne parte of a cytie or cyuyle comynytie, that is to wytte the offyce of priestes / whiche cause maye be proued by the tradycion or indyate relacyon and scrypture of god: but it is impossyble to be proued by mannes reason.

¶ The. vi. Chapytre.



Mowe it remayneth, to speake of the fynall cause, wherfore the veray and true offyce of priestes hathe ben instytute in the comynyties of chrysten men. This fynall cause was to moderate and gouerne manes actes and appetytes as well inwarde as outwarde by knowledg, to the ende that they so moderated and tempered by knowledg, mankynde is ordeyned to the best lyfe of the worlde to come. And therfore we muste attende and consydre well, that albeit the fyrste man Adam was created pryncypally for the gloire of god as other creatures were: yet for all that he was created after an other synghuler maner & a specyall dyuers fascyon from all other kyndes of corruptyble and mortall creatures / for he was created and made to the Image & synpitude of god, to the ende that he shulde be apte to receyue & be partaker of eternall felicitye after & state of this present world he was made also in the state of Innocencie or of orygynall Justyce, and also of grace (as some sayntes do probablye saye and certayne also of the cheyfe doctoures or teachers of holy scrypture) In which state verily yf he hadde cōtynued neyther he neyther any of his posteritye shuld haue neded the instytucion or destynccion of cyuyle ptes or offycs / because & nature shuld haue brought forth to hym all thyngs mete cōuenyent & pleasurable to the suffyciencie of this lyfe, in paradyse terestryall or in the gardyne of pleasure withoute any maner payne or werynes of hym. But because he corrupted and destroyed his innocencie or orygynall Justyce and grace by the eatynge of the forbydden frute, and therin transgressynge and breakynge of the cōmandement of god sodaynely he fell in to synne, mysery and payne / the payne I saye of the pryuation and losse of eternall blysse and felicitye vnto whiche

Adam was created to the image of god

what maner was the fall or offence of Adam, and what maner one the punisshment therof

THE DEFENCE

**Originall
synne.**

**Chryste was
free from oꝝ
gynall synne**

**Ma was ma
de sycke in
soule by oꝝ
gynall synne.**

**Ritus holo
castrum.**

Circūsycon.

**The lawe of
Moyſes.**

**Sacerdotes
ac leuite.**

**The utilitie
of the lawe
of Moyſes.**

whiche he with all his posteritie was synally ordeyned by the benefyte & goodnes of almyghtie god. He deserued also by the transgressynge of the sayd comāndemente: to propagate all his succession in flesshely luste, in whiche also and with whiche every man afterwardes hath ben conceived & borne / by the reason here of contractynge or gatherynge a spotte or synne, whiche in the lawe of chrysten men is called oꝝgynall synne / onely Chryste. Jesus excepted, whiche without all maner synne, flesshely lust or pleasure was conceived by the holpe ghost and borne of Mary the vyrgyn / whiche thyng was wrought and done, whan one of the thre persones in deite, that is to wyte the sone, beyng veray god, in þe vnyte of his person, and as (dvyynes do speake) in unitate sui suppositi, toke vnto hym the nature of man. And through this transgressyon of our fyrste parentes all the successyon and posteritie of mankynde was made sycke, and is borne sycke, as to wyche the soule / whiche afore the sayd transgressyon was created in the state of persyte sayntie and helthe / and of innocencie and grace. And through the sayde trespase was also berefte and depriued his beste ende, that is to wytte eternall felycitie: wherunto he was ordeyned. But because it is properly belongynge vnto god: to haue mercye & pytie vpon mankynde his creature, and made to his owne Image, and whom he had afore ordeyned to blyssed and eternall lyfe. It pleased hym, and was his wyll, whiche neuer dothe any thyng in vayne, neyther fayleth in necessarye thynges: to exhybyte and shewe the remedye of mānes falle / by gyuyng certayne preceptes of obedyence to be obserued of man whiche as beyng contrary to the transgressyon, shulde heale the sykkenes of synne, that came of the sayde transgressyon. And in gyuyng of those preceptes he lyke vnto a cunnynge Physycyan or leche proceeded after a veray good ordie from the more easye or lyghter thynges, to the harder thynges, for fyrste he comāunded to men the ceremonyes, and maner of makynge sacrafyses, whiche were called holocausta / that is to say of breennynge the hote beastes in sacrafyce, and of offerynge vp the fyrste fruytes of the earth, and the fyrste begotten of all sensyble creatures, as one wolde saye to proue the repentaunce and obedyence of man / whiche ceremonyes the olde fathers kepte and obserued to the reuerence of god, sayth / obedyence / & gyuyng of thankes to hym: euen vntyll the tyme of Abrahā. To whom accordynge to that we haue aforesayd: he gaue an other more harde and greuous precepte of Circūsycon / (that is to wytte of cuttrynge every male chyld in the toppe of his preuey membre) as yf god wolde seme, agayne to proue the repentaunce and the obedyence of man. And thys preceptes were obserued & kepte by some men, euen vntyll the tyme of Moyſes / by whom god gaue afterwardes to þe people of Israell a lawe / besyde the aforesayd thynges he ordeyned greater and moo preceptes, both for the state of this present worlde, and also of the worlde to come: and ordeyned also the preeſtes and the leuytes to be mynysters of the sayde lawe. And the vtyltye or proſyte that came to the obseruers and fulfyllers both of all those preceptes, and also of the lawe of Moyſes: was this a certayne purgacyon and clensynge of synne, both oꝝgynall, and also actnall and wyllynghly comytted / and a certayne escapyng and preseruacion from the eternall a tempall pena sensus alterius seculi sensyble payne of an other worlde / howbeit by the obseruacyon of theym, men dyd not merite eternall felycyte or blyſſe. But because our moste mercyfull god hadde ordeyned mankynde to his sayde blyſſe, wyllynge to reduce and restore hym after his falle vnto the same agayne after a conuenient ordie, laste of all by his sone Ihesu chryste beyng veray god, and veray man in unitate suppositi, (that is to saye in the vnyte or syngularyte of personage) he gaue the lawe of the gospell containynge the promyses and preceptes of thynges

of thynges to be beleued the preceptes of thynges to be done, of thynges to be esche-
wed / and the counsaillies appertaynyng to the same. By obseruacyon and ful-
fyllynge wherof men are not onely preserued from a sensyble pene, as they were
by the obseruynge of the fowmore preceptes, but also (suche is his gracious ordy-
nauce) by suche thynges (in the blode of *Chryste*) they do meryte or deserue of a
certaine congruitye or conuenyencie eternall felicitye. And therfore it is called
the lawe of grace or fauoure / partly, because throughe the passyon and dethe of
Chryste, mankynde is redeemed from synne, and from the payne of the losse of eter-
nall blysse, whiche he was bounde to, by reason of the falle or synne of our fyrste
parentes / and partly, for that by the obseruacyon of this lawe and by the recey-
uynge of the Sacramentes instytuted with hit, the grace of god is gyuen to vs /
and after it is gyuen: it is coroborated and confirmed in vs / and when it is losse
it is by the same meanes recouered and gotten agayne / so that by the merytes of
Chrystes passyon of a certaine congruitye, as we haue sayd our woorkes or dea-
des are made merytoure of eternall felicitye. And by the meryte hereof, that is to
wytte of the passyon of *Chryste*, not onely those that haue ben syns the tyme of
the sayde passyon, haue receyued grace, wherby they may meryte and deserue eter-
nall lyfe: but also the obseruers and keepers or fulfyllers of the fyrste preceptes, and
of the lawe of *Moyse*, throughe the same blyssed passyon haue gotten the grace of
eternall beatitude, whiche they hadde not afore but remayned in a place, whiche
men do call *Limbus patrum* vntyll the comynge of *Chryste*, & his passyon / deth /
and resurreccyon / by whom they receyued the repromysse and promyse of god
longe before gyuen or made vnto theym. Albeit that the promyse of suche manner
grace / was gyuen to them in the fyrste preceptes of the prophetes, and of the lawe
of *Moyse*, vndre an obscure and darke maner, in shadowes and fygyres / for all
thynges chaunced to theym in fygyre / as saynt *Paul* saythe in the fyrste chapy-
tre to the hebrues. And this deduccyon, processe and ordre vsed of god, was veray
conuenient, for begynnynge at the lesse perfyete thyng: from it he proceeded to the
more perfyete / and in conclusyon to the moste perfyete of all thynges beyng conue-
nyent for the saluacion of man. Neyther is it to be thought herefore, but that god
yf he had wolde myghte forthwith at the begynnynge haue gyuen the perfyete re-
medy of mānes fall, and haue restored hym agayne / but he dyd vse suche an ordre
as we haue sayde, because it so pleased hym / and so was conuenient to be done,
mānes trespase requyrynge it / lest yf he had ben ouer redye & easye to haue for-
gyuen man: it myghte haue gyuen occasyon vnto man to haue trespassed more
largely agayne. And to be teachers of this sayd lawe / and mynisters of the Sa-
cramentes accordynge to the same lawe: certain men were instytuted in the co-
munyties, whiche were called preestes / and deacons or leuytes / whose office is to
teache the preceptes & counsaillies of the *Chrystiane* lawe of the gospel / in those
thynges whiche are to be beleued to be done / & to be eschewed / to the ende that we
maye gette and obtayne the blyssed state of the worlde to come / and auoyde the
contrarye state of the same worlde, that is to wytte eternall myserye. The ende
therfore or the fynall cause of the instytucion of the offyce of preestes: is teachyng
and gyuyng instructyon to men of suche thyngs, whiche accordynge to the lawe
of the gospel / it is necessarie for them to beleue, to do / and to leaue vndone: for the
gettyng and obtaynyng of eternall blysse and saluacyon / and the auoydynge
of euerlastynge dampnacyon and myserye. And vnto this offyce conuenientlye
appertayne all dyscyplynes founde out and dyuyssed by mānes wytte, bothe spe-
culatyue and practyue, whiche doo moderate, tempre and gouerne the Actes of
of men, as well the inwarde as the outwarde Actes, proceedynge of appetyte
and

The lawe of
grace.

why our wo-
rkes are called
merytours

Vntyll the co-
mynge of *Chry-
ste* & fathers
remayned in
Lumbo.

why man
was not re-
stored forth-
with after
his fall.

The offyce
of preestes &
deacons.

The ende or
fynall cause
of the offyce
of preestes.

THE DEFENCE

The fynall
causes.

Lybertie is
fynall cause
of warre.

and knowlege / By whiche dyscyplines a man is well disposed and ordered in his soule, for the state as well of this present worlde / as of the worlde to come / for all these dyscyplines well nere we haue of the tradycyon of the meruaylous philosopher, and of other gloruous men. Yet haue we lefte out the rehersayle of them here for breyfnnes / and for that that the necessytye of such maner dyscyplines apperteyne not to our present consyderacyon. But we ought to vnderstande by this chapitre, & the other nexte folowynge after this & there are other causes of the offyce of a cytie, as touchynge to euery kynde of them, in that they are offices of a cytie and other causes of the same, in that they are qualyties of manes body or mynde: for the fynall causes of them in that they are qualyties of the body or soule of man / be the workes whiche procede or are brought forth immediatly of them / as of the shypwryghtes crafte, the fynall cause is & shyp / and of cheualtrye, the fynall cause is the vse and occupyenge of armour or fyghtyng / and of preesthode the fynall cause is the preachynge of the lawe of god, and the admynystracyon of the sacramentes accordynge to the same lawe / and so conformably in all other offyces, and ptes of a cytie or cyuyle comynytie. But the fynall causes of them takynge them as they are offyces determyned and instituted in a cytie, are the comodyties and suffycyencies whiche do make perfyte the accyons and passyons of men & do procede, or are brought forth and caused by the workes of the sayd qualyties / whiche suffycyencies can not be had without the sayd qualyties / as for example, of fyghtyng or batayle, whiche is the acte, worke, and ende of chyualtrye: lybertie is caused or brought forth, and also is kepte in a cytie / whiche lybertie is the ende of all the actes and workes of chyualtrie. So lyke wyse of the worke or ende of the carpenters crafte, that is to saye of a house: there cometh or is brought forth to men or to the cytie, defence from the impressyons of the ayre whiche are noysome / as from excessyue heate / colde / moystnes / or drynes / whiche defence trulye is the fynall cause, wherfore the offyce of carpenters crafte was ordeyned in a cytie or cyuyle comynytie. And after the same maner of the obseruacyon of goddes lawe, whiche is the ende of preesthode: cometh forth or groweth vnto men eternall felicitye. And after the same maner also we ought to Iudge of the other partes or offyces of a cytie. And after this same maner or lyke: the other kyndes of causes of & sayd offyces are dystyncte and dysseuered one from an other of them / that is to wyt the materiyall cause / the formall cause / and the effectyue cause of them / as it shall appere of those thynges whiche hereafter doth folowe. Of the nombre than of the partes of a cytie, and of the necessytye and also the dystynccyon of them for cause of the fynall suffycyencies to be gotten by them let thus moche as hath ben spoken of vs be suffycient.

¶ Of the other kyndes of causes both of the beyng, and also of the seperacyon and dystynccyon of the offyces & partes of a cytie / and of the dysposycon of euery kynde by two maners apperteynyng to the present purpose.

The. vii. chapitre.



Now after the premysses: it foloweth consequently to speke of the other causes of the offices or partes of a cytie / and fyrste we shall speake of the causes materiyall and formall / and than afterwarde we shall make inquysycon & serche of the effectuell cause of them. But

But for as moche as in thyngs whiche receyue perfeccyon, the matier is existens
or hath his beyng afore the forme: Lette vs fyrste speake of the materpall cause/
And here we doo saye, that the proper matyer or materpall cause of dyuerse of
fyces, in that the sayde offyces doo name or sygnifye to vs the qualtyes of the
soule: are men by theyr natyurtye or generacyon inclyned to dyuerse crafter or
dyspyplynes. For in as moche as nature dothe not fayle in necessary thynges, as
beyng alwayes mooste careful and dyslygent aboute the mooste noble creatures,
whiche verely is mankynde aboue all other corruptyble thynges, of whiche sayd
kynde of man (beyng made perfyte by dyuers Artes or dyspyplynes) as of the
matier or substaunce, It is necessary to constytute a cytie, and to dystyncte & dy
seuer partes in it whiche are necessary to the gettyng or obteynnyng of the suffy
cyencie of this lyfe: (as it hath ben shewed in the. iiii. & v. chapytres of this dys
cussy) nature her selfe began this dystynccyon of the sayd partes, euen about the
generacyon of men/ bryngyng forth some men in theyr naturall dyspocysyons
apte and inclyned to husbandry/ and other some to Lhyualtie/ & other men to the
kyndes of other Artes and dyspyplynes/ But yet dyuerse men to dyuerse dyspyply
nes/ And she hath not inclyned onely one man to one kynde of Arte or dyspyply
ne: but she hath inclyned many men to one and the same kynde of crafte or dyspy
plyne/ as the necessitye of the suffyciencie of manes lyfe dyd requyre/ She brou
ghte forth some therfore Apt to prydencye/ bycause the parte of the iudges or of
counseylours in a cytie ought to be made and instytuted of wyse men. And some
men she hath brought forth apte and mete to strengthe and boldenes: bycause of
such maner of men is made the parte of warrours, or men of Armes in a cytie.
And so lyke wyse she hath made other men apte & mete to the kyndes of practyue
and speculatyue halpyes or scyences/ whiche are necessary & conuenient to lyue
and to lyue well, to the ende, that by this dyuersytye of the materpall inclynacy
ons of men to dyuerse kyndes of habytes or scyences and crafter: she myght per
forme and make vp that whiche was nedefull to the dystynccyon or dyuersytye
of the partes of a cytie or cyuyle cōmunytie. But the materpall causes of the offy
ces of a cytie, as touchyng to & whan they do name or betoken, to vs the partes
of a cyuyle cōmunytie: is in a maner euident aforesayd. For they are men habytua
ted or indued with dyuerse kyndes and maners of artes & dyspyplynes, of whom
dyuerse ordres and partes are ordeyned in a cytie for cause of the fynall suffycy
encies whiche groweth & cometh/ of theyr artes and dyspyplynes/ and after this
maner the partes of a ciuyle cōmunyties are pperly called officia quasi obsequia
because the sayd partes consydered as they are so ordeyned and instytuted in a cy
tie: are ordeyned to the obsequie of man, or to do man pleasure or seruyce. And the
formall causes of these sayde offyces consydered as they are abytes or permanent
qualtyes of the mynde of man: are none other but the veray qualtyes selues/ for
the sayd qualtyes are formes of the hauers of them makynge complete and per
fyte the inclynacions of men, whiche are in them gyuen by nature. Wherfore in
the. vii. booke of the Polytykes and the laste chapytre it is wyrtten euery crafte &
dyspyplyne intendeth to supplie and performe that, whiche is wantynge vnto
nature. But the formall causes of the offyces consydered as they are parts insty
tuted in a cytie are the preceptes of the mouent or effectyue cause taught or impry
nted in them, whiche are deputed and assygned in a cytie to exerceyse certayne deter
mynde works. And the motyues or effectyue causes of the offyces considered as
they doo name or sygnifye to vs qualtyes of the soule, are the myndes & wylls
of men by theyr cogytacions and desyres/ other seuerallye, or ioyntlye, indyffe
rently. And of certayne of the sayd offyces: the mouynge and the exerceyse of the

Of what ma
ner men iud
ges ought to
be made.

The ptes of
a cytie ar me
profytable to
the comen
weale.

THE DEFENCE

organes or instrumentes of the bodye, is the motyue or effectyue cause, besyde the myndes and wylls of men. But the effectyue cause of the sayd offyces consyde red as they are partes of a cytle or cyuple cōmunytie is the humayne lawe maker cōmenty for the moste parte / albeie that in olde tyme, veray seldome, and in veray fewe the immediat cause effectyue of some one or mo of them was good with out any determynacyon of man / as it shal be sayd in the. ix. chappytre of this dyccyon, and in the. xii. and. xv. shal appere more largely of them. But as touchyn ge to preefthode or the offyce of preeftes: there is a certayne dyuerse and dystyncte maner of the instytucion therof / of whiche it shal be spoken suffyciently in the. xv. and. xvii. chappytres of the seconde dyccyon. Of the partes therfore of a cy uple cōmunytie, and of the necessytie of the instytucion of theym, by the other. lii. kyndes of causes, let this determynacyon at this tyme suffyce.

Of the. ii. generall kyndes of Regymentes / that is to wyte de Regimine temperato et viciato of the temperat gouernaunce & the corrupte go uernaunce / and of the dypysyon of them in to the more spe ciall kyndes conteyned vnder them.

The. viii. Chappytre.



Nowe for as moche as in the premysse we haue somewhat shewed, but yet muste shewe more certaynly and euidentlye, that the insty tucion & dystynccion of the partes of a cyuple cōmunytie is made or done by some cause motyue or effectyue, whiche in the last chapp tre afore gone, we haue called the lawe maker, & because y the same lawe maker doth ordeyne, seperate, & dyssouer thysse partes, one of them from an other, workyng in lyke maner to the nature of a beaste or sensyble creature, y is to wyte fyrste formynge instytutyng one parte in a cyuple cōmunytie, whiche in the. v. chapytre of this diccyon we haue called partē principantē siue iudicialē: the parte or offyce of gouernours or iudges / and by this parte dothe instytute y other partes, as it shal be declared more largely in the. xv. chapytre of this diccyon it is cōuenient therfore for vs, fyrste of all to speke somewhat of the nature of the sayd parte / for in as moche as it is the fyrste and pryncypall or cheyfe of all other as it shal appere of those thynges whiche hereafter foloweth / the declaracyon fyrste had of the cause effectyue of this parte: we shal conueniently from it entre to the declaracyon of the instytucion and actyue dystynccion of the other partes of a cy tie or cūple cōmunytie. And of the parte principatyue, Regymen: or gouernaū ces there are two sortes / the one is a regyment well tempered / the other is a corru pte or intemperate regyment / I call that kynde of Regyment, a ryght and well ordred cōmen weale after the mynde of Aristotle in the thyrde boke of his Poly tykes / and the. iiii. chappytre, in the whiche the hedde gouernours gouerneth to the cōmune profyte, that is to saye not ryght or euyl ordred by the consent and wyll of his subiectes. And I call that regyment viciate, corrupte intemperate or yll or dedered in whiche it is other wyse than so Agayne of thysse. ii. kyndes, eyther of them is dypyd in to. iii. specyall kyndes. The fyrst, that is to wytte regymen tempe ratū: is dypyd in to thysse. iii. in Regalem monarchiam / in aristocratiam / et poli tiam. And the other that is to wytte Regimen viciatum: is dypyd in to. iii. con trary kyndes / whiche are called Tyrannica monarchia / olygarchia / and democra tia. And every one of thysse sayde specyall kyndes hathe agayne certayne dyuerse maners /

Regimen tē
peratum.
Regimen vi
tium.

Wherof to treate or speake equyfytely it belongeth not to our present busynesse & purpose / for of thysse Aristotle hath spoken suffyciently in the thyrde & fourth booke of his Polytiques. But to haue more large knowledg of thysse sayd kyndes whiche knowledg is somewhat necessarye & nedefull for the declaracyon of those thynges whiche hereafter do folowe / let vs describe eche one of the sayde specyall kyndes of rulyng and gouernaunce accordyng to the mynde of Aristotle / sayenge fyrste that Regalis Monarchia is a temperate Regyment or ryghtfull gouernaunce, in whiche there is but onely one gouernoure rulyng accordyng to the comune profyte and with the wyll and consente of his subiectes. And tyrannye the contrarie to it is a vnitate, intemperate and vnrighfull regyment in whiche onely one man gouerneth and ruleth haunyng respecte all togyther to his owne profyte or pleasure / and contrary to the wyll of his subiectes. Aristocratia is a temperate regement in whiche onely the beste, or worshippfull men of the Cytie gouerne and rule, accordyng to the wyll and constute of the subiectes, and to the comune vtylytie and profyte, Oligarchia whiche is contrary to Aristocratia is a viciate or corrupte maner of Rule and gouernaunce, whan some of the Rycheeste or moste myghtye men gouerne and rule haunyng respecte all togyther to theyr owne profyte, and contrary to the wyll of the subiectes / politia all be it that in one sygnifycatyon it is a certayne comune thyng to all kyndes or sortes of Regymentes or gouernaunces: yet neuerthelesse in one sygnifycatyon it betokeneth / a certayne specyall kynde of Temperate gouernaunce and power in whiche every Cytizene or eche maner person of the cyuyle comunytie is somewhat parte taker of the principatyue state, by course accordyng to the degre facultie, condycyon, and estate of the person that is to say, whan the multytude gouerneth to the comune profyte also and by the wyll and consente of the cytyzens Democratia the contrary to it is a kynde of rule or gouernaunce, wherin the raschall comunes, or the multytude onely of pore men and nedy doth gouerne and rule / contrary to the wyll and consent of the other cytyzens / and not vterly to the comen profyte accordyng to couenyent proporcyon. Nowe whiche of thysse wel tempered Regymentes is beste, and whiche of the vtyate or intemperate regymentes is the worst, Also to speke of the ordre of other Regymentes in goodnes or euylnes, it belongeth not to this present consyderacyon. But yet to haue spoken thus moche of the dysposyon of regymentes in to theyr specyall kyndes, and of the dyscrypcyon of them: Let it be suffycient at this tyme.

Monarchye
Regall.
Tyrannye.

Aristocratia.

Oligarchia.

Politia.

Democratia.

Of the maners of instytutynge regall monarchie / and of the assignacyon of the perfeccyon therof / & of the maners also of Instytutynge other Regymentes, polities or gouernaunces bothe temperate and vitiate.

The ix. Chapytre.



Thysse thynges thus determyned: it resteth cōsequently to speke of the maners of makynge and instytutynge the parte or offyce of prynces, gouernours and rulers / *Ex ipsorum namqz natura meliori vel deteriori prouenientibus hinc ciuili regimini tamqz actionibus arguere oportet causam agentem, a quam tam ipsi quam pars principis per ipsos ad politiam vtilius debeant peruenire.* But because we do intende

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organes or instrumentes of the bodye, is the motyue or effectyue cause, besyde the myndes and wylls of men. But the effectyue cause of the sayd offyces consyde red as they are partes of a cytle or cyuple cōmunytie is the humayne lawe maker cōmenty for the moste parte / albeit that in olde tyme, veray seldome, and in veray fewe the immediat cause effectyue of some one or mo of them was good with out any determynacyon of man / as it shal be sayd in the. ix. chappytre of this dyccyon, and in the. xii. and. xv. shal appere more largely of them. But as touchyn ge to preesthode or the offyce of preestes: there is a certayne dyuerse and dystyncte maner of the instytucion therof / of whiche it shal be spoken suffyciently in the. xv. and. xvii. chappytres of the seconde dyccyon. Of the partes therfore of a cyuple cōmunytie, and of the necessytye of the instytucion of theym, by the other. iiii. kyndes of causes, let this determynacyon at this tyme suffice.

¶ Of the. ii. generall kyndes of Regymentes / that is to wyte de Regimine temperato et viciato of the temperat gouernaunce & the corrupte gouernaunce / and of the dyspysyon of them in to the more specyall kyndes conteyned vnder them.

The. viii. Chappytre.



Nowe for as moche as in the premysse we haue somewhat shewed, but yet muste shewe more certaynly and euidentlye, that the instytucion & dystynccion of the partes of a cyuple cōmunytie is made or done by some cause motyue or effectyue, whiche in the last chappytre afore gone, we haue called the lawe maker, & because y the same lawe maker doth ordeyne, seperate, & dysseuer thysse partes, one of them from an other, workyng in lyke maner to the nature of a beaste or sensyble creature, y is to wyte fyrste formynge instytutyng one parte in a cyuple cōmunytie, whiche in the. v. chapytre of this diccyon we haue called partē principantē siue iudicialē: the parte or offyce of gouernours or iudges / and by this parte dothe instytute y other partes, as it shal be declared more largely in the. xv. chapytre of this diccyon it is cōuenient therfore for vs, fyrste of all to speke somewhat of the nature of the sayd parte / for in as moche as it is the fyrste and pryncypall or cheyfe of all other as it shal appere of those thynges whiche hereafter foloweth / the declaracyon fyrste had of the cause effectyue of this parte: we shall conueniently from it entre to the declaracyon of the instytucion and actyue dystynccion of the other partes of a cytle or cyuple cōmunytie. And of the parte principatyue, Regymen^t or gouernauntes there are two sortes / the one is a regymen well tempered / the other is a corrupte or intemperate regymen / I call that kynde of Regymen, a ryght and well ordred cōmen weale after the mynde of Aristotle in the thyrde boke of his Politykes / and the. iiii. chappytre, in the whiche the hedde gouernours gouerneth to the cōmune profyte, that is to saye not ryght or euylly ordred by the consent and wyll of his subiectes. And I call that regymen viciate, corrupte intemperate or yll or ordred in which it is other wyse than so Agayne of thysse. ii. kyndes, eyther of them is dyspyded in to. iiii. specyall kyndes. The fyrst, that is to wytte regymen temperatū: is dyspyded in to thysse. iiii. in Regalem monarchiam / in aristocratiam / et politiam. And the other that is to wytte Regimen viciatum: is dyspyded in to. iiii. contrary kyndes / whiche are called Tyrannica monarchia / oligarchia / and democratia. And every one of thysse sayde specyall kyndes hath agayne certayne dyuerse maners /

Regimen tē:
peratum.
Regimen viciatum.

Wherof to treate or speake equyfytely it belongeth not to our present busynesse & purpose / for of thysse Aristotle hath spoken suffyciently in the thyrde & fourth booke of his Polytikes. But to haue more large knowledg of thysse sayd kyndes whiche knowledg is somewhat necessarye & nedefull for the declaracyon of those thynges whiche hereafter do folowe / let vs describ eche one of the sayde specyall kyndes of rulyng and gouernaunce accordyng to the mynde of Aristotle / sayenge fyrste that Regalis Monarchia is a temperate Regyment or ryghtfull gouernaunce, in whiche there is but onely one gouernoure rulyng accordyng to the comune profyte and with the wyll and consente of his subiectes. And tyrannye the contrarie to it is a vniuersite, intemperate and vnrighfull regyment in whiche onely one man gouerneth and ruleth hauyng respecte all togyther to his owne proffyte or pleasure / and contrary to the wyll of his subiectes. Aristocratia is a temperate regement in whiche onely the beste, or worshippfull men of the Cytie gouerne and rule, accordyng to the wyll and constute of the subiectes, and to the comune vtylytie and profyte, Oligarchia whiche is contrary to Aristocratia is a viciate or corrupte maner of Rule and gouernaunce, whan some of the Rycheeste or moste myghty men gouerne and rule hauyng respecte all togyther to theyr owne profyte, and contrary to the wyll of the subiectes / politia all be it that in one sygnifycatyō it is a certayne comune thyng to all kyndes or sortes of Regymentes or gouernaunces: yet neuerthelesse in one sygnifycatyō it betokeneth a certayne specyall kynde of Temperate gouernaunce and power in whiche euery Cytizene or eche maner person of the cyuyle comunytie is somewhat parte taker of the principatyue state, by course accordyng to the degre facultie, condycyō, and estate of the person that is to say, whan the multytude gouerneth to the comune profyte also and by the wyll and consente of the cytyzens Democratia the contrary to it is a kynde of rule or gouernaunce, wherin the raschall comunes, or the multytude onely of pore men and neddy doth gouerne and rule / contrary to the wyll and consent of the other cytyzens / and not vterly to the comen profyte accordyng to couenyent proporcyō. Nowe whiche of thysse weltempered Regymentes is beste, and whiche of the vtyate or intemperate regymentes is the worste, Also to speke of the ordie of other Regymentes in goodnes or euylnes, it belongeth not to this present consyderacyō. But yet to haue spoken thus moche of the dyspyson of regymentes in to theyr specyall kyndes, and of the dyscrypcyō of them: Let it be suffycient at this tyme.

Monarchye
Regall.
Tyrannye.

Aristocratia.

Oligarchia.

Politia.

Democratia.

Of the maners of instytutyng regall monarchie / and of the assygnacyō of the perfeccyō therof / & of the maners also of Instytutyng other Regymentes, polities or gouernaunces bothe temperate and vitiate.

The ix. Chapytre.



These thynges thus determyned: it resteth cōsequently to speke of the maners of makynge and instytutyng the parte or offyce of prynces, gouernours and rulers / *Ex ipsorum namq; natura meliori vel deteriori prouenientibus hinc ciuili regimini tamq; actionibus arguere oportet causam agentem, a quam tam ipsi quam pars principis per ipsos ad politiam vtilius debeant peruenire.* But because we do intende

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The wyll of
god is the cau
se of Regall
preefhode.

Monarchie.

in this booke to speake of the causes and actions, by whiche the parte or offyce of Prynces or gouernours ought to be created, we woll afore speake of the maner and cause by whiche this parte hath ben all redy created, though he seldome / to the entent that we maye dyscerne this maner or accyon and the cause immediat of it / from the maners or accyons and the immediat causes of them, by whiche such maner parte regularly and for the most parte ought to be created / whiche accyons with theyr immediat causes we maye also conuynce or proue by humayne demonstration or syllogisme / for comprehensyon or preuynge of the maner wherof we speake for make: can not be had by sure or vndoubted demonstration. And this maner or accyon and the immediat cause of the sayd accyon, by whiche the parte of prynces and gouernours, & the other partes of a cyuyle comynytie, hath ben all redy formed or created and instytuted, and namely preefhode: was the wyll of god immediatlye comaundynge hit by the terminat oracle or speche of some synghet creature, or els peraduenture by it owne selfe alone immediatlye after whiche maner god instytuted and oppoynted the gouernaunce and rule of the people of Israell vnto the person of Moyses, & of certayne other Iuges after hym. And he instytuted or appoynted preefhode also in to the person of Aaron / and of his successours. Of whiche sayd cause truly, and the free Accyon of it, to teache or shewe why this thyng was so done or other wyse, and that thyng not so done: we can saye nothyng by demonstration / but we knowe it by synple credulytie or belefe without reason. But there is an other instytucion of gouernours, whiche is caused of manes mynde immediatly: though he cometh of god as of a farre cause, (and as they call it tanq̃ a causa remota) whiche graunteth also all wordely power or gouernaunce (as it is had in the .xix. of Ihoñ and the Apostle sayth openly in the .xiii. to the Romaines / and saynt Augustyne also in the .v. booke De ciuitate dei and the .xxi. chapitre) but yet he doth not this alwayes immediatly but for the moste parte and well nere euery where he instytuteth and maketh the sayd powers or gouernours the myndes of men, to whom he hath graunted the Arbytryment of suche maner instytucion. And of this cause: what it is / or by what maner accion, it ought to instytute suche maner thyng? It maye be assygned and shewed by humayne certytude or demonstratyue syllogisme taken of the vtylytie or hurte of the comen weale. That maner therfore of Instytutynge prynces and rulers, whiche can not be certyfied by demonstration, beyng ouerhypped, we woll fyrste treate and speke of the maners of the instytucion of gouernours done by the wyl of man immediatlye and afterwarde we woll shewe, whiche of the sayd maners is the most sure and moste synple maner or waye of instytutynge prynces or gouernours / Afterwarde of the beste nature of that maner, we shall argue or proue the motyue or effectyue cause, of whiche cause onely it ought & maye be brought forth or caused / of whiche thyngs consequently shall appere also the cause / whiche ought to moue the best instytucion and determynacion of the other partes of a cytie. And last of all, we shall speake of the vnytie of a prynce or gouernour / by reason of whiche vnytie: It shall appere also, what is the vnyte of a cytie or Realme. Nowe than persecutynge thys thynges purposed / fyrste of all we shall reken vp the maners of the instytucion of Regall monarchy, speakyng of the orygyall begynnynge of them / for this kynde of gouernaunce semeth in a maner cousyn or naturall vnto vs, and very nere or nexte to domestycall conynie or the gouernaunce or ordynge of an housholde / as it appereth of those thynges, whiche hath ben sayde in the thyrde chapitre. And the determynacion of this / it shall appere consequentye of the maners of instytucion of the other dyuysions or sondry kyndes of gouernaunce and rule.

The

The maners or instytucyons of regat monarchie, be fyue in nombre / after the
 ende of Arystotle in the thyrde of the Polytykes and the .v. chapytre. The fyrst
 is, whan the ruler or gouernoure is ordeyned or appoynted to some one de-
 mynate worke, but yet concernynge the regyment or gouernaunce of a comu-
 nite / as vnto the guydynge or capytayneship of an hoste, outhet he with the suc-
 cession of the same kynted : or els for the tyme of lyfe of onely one person / after
 the maner Agamemnon was instytuted capytayne of y^e hooste by the grekes.
 And this offyce is called in the comunyties of thysse dayes, capytayneship or co-
 munitie. And this capytayne or ruler of the hooste or army, medled not with
 iudgement in the tyme of peap, but yet whyles the hooste dyd warre or duryn
 the tyme of Batayle he was lorde haupnge power and auctoritie, to kysse or
 rebuysse to punyshe the transgressours. The seconde maner is, that maner after
 the certayne men are Rulers or gouernours in Asia / haupnge domynion or
 after theyr predecessours by successyon / but yet gouernynge more to the pro-
 fyte of hym selfe than to the comune profyte. And this verely is a kynde of Re-
 gat monarchie / yea and suche a kynde that as concernynge the successoure there
 be none better, but yet it is somewhat Tyrannycall : because the lawes of it
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 fyte of the kyng or gouernour. The thyrde maner of Regat gouernaunce or po-
 tye is, whan one man is made gouernour by eleccyon, not by successyon of kyn
 or because his fathers or auntytries were gouernours afore hym / but yet go-
 uernynge accordynge to the lawe, whiche is not made to the comune profyte one
 but more to the profyte of the gouernour, and is in a maner a tyrannycall lawe
 whiche cause Arystotle in the aforesayd place calleth it electam tyrānidem .i.
 tyrannye made by eleccyon / he calleth it tyrannye : because of y^e domynacion of
 lawe / & he calleth it electam because it is not agaynst the wyll of the subiect.
 The fourth maner is whan any man is made pryncce or gouernour by eleccyon,
 whiche all y^e succede of his kynted or blode, according to y^e lawes, whiche are made vt-
 terly to y^e comon profyte. And this maner of instytutynge gouernours : they vsed
 vnto the heroycall tymes, or tymes of the noble men whiche were called heroes
 he sayth in the same chapytre. And those tymes were called heroycall, outhet be-
 cause than y^e constellacyon brought forth such maner men, whiche were beleued to
 be heroes (that is to say diuine or godly persons) for theyr exceedyng vertue. or els
 because such maner men were made prynces or rulers & none other, for theyr ex-
 ceedynge vertues & benefytes / as bycause they gathered the multytude, whiche lyued
 vnto one from an other in to ciuyle comunytie / or els bycause by manlynes &
 strenght in fyght and batayle, they dyd dyspue the regyon or coun-
 trey from the oppressours of it / or els bycause peraduenture they bought the regy-
 on / or els gat it by some other conuenient maner / and dyuided it amonge the sub-
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 warde

The maners
 of gouernou-
 res in Asia.

Heroycall ty-
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Who were he-
 roes.

THE DEFENCE

The wyll of
god is the cau
se of Regall
preefhode.

Monarchie.

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 suche certayne men are Rulers or gouernours in Asia / haunynge domynyon or
 after theyr predecessours by succession / but yet gouernynge more to the pro-
 fyte of hym selfe than to the comune profyte. And this verelye is a kynde of Re-
 gall monarchie / yea and suche a kynde that as concernynge the successoure there
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 or whiche cause Arystotle in the aforesayd place calleth it electam tiranidem .i.
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 with all þe succede of his kynred or blode, according to þe lawes, whiche are made vt-
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 aboute the heroycall tymes, or tymes of the noble men whiche were called heroes
 he sayth in the same chapytte. And those tymes were called heroycall, other be-
 cause than þe constellation brought forth such maner men, whiche were beleued to
 be heroes (that is to say diuine or godly persons) for theyr exceedynge vertue, or els
 because such maner men were made prynces or rulers & none other, for theyr ex-
 ceedynge vertues & benefytes / as bycause they gathered the multytude, whiche lyued
 scapled one from an other in to ciuyle comunytie / or els bycause by manlynes &
 valour or strength in fyght and batayle, they dyd delyuer theyr regyon or coun-
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 ward

The maners
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 mes.

Who were he-
 roes.

THE DEFENCE.

warde or orderer of a house dysposeth and ordereth all thynges whiche are in his owne house, as he lyst hym selfe. But yet that these saynges of Aristotle maye be made more euident & open, & also yf all the other maners of instytutynge other gouernours may be reduced to a chapytre or to a general summe / we shal say, yf all maner power or gouernaunce eyther it is ouer them that wyllynge are subiectes or els ouer them that are subiectes agaynst theyr wyl / the fyrste of these.ii. is general to all well tempered powers or gouernaunces / the seconde to all viciate or intemperate and vnyghetfull gouernaunces / And eche one of these.ii. general kyndes is deuyded in to .iii. speciall kyndes / or maners / as it hath ben sayd in the .viii. chapytre of this dyccion. And bycause regall monarchie is one of the specyall kyndes of well tempered gouernaunces / and peraduenture the most persyte of them all, therfore now makynge recolleccion of yf premysse let vs begyn our speche or processe at the maners of it / saynge that Rex or Monarcha that is to saye a kyng or other is instytuted by the eleccion of the inhabytauntes or cytyzens / or elles he hath the powre and auctorite of gouernynge ryghtfully and duely without theyr eleccion / yf he be prynce or gouernour without theyr eleccion, other it is because eyther he dyd fyrste inhabyte the regyon, or els his predecessours of whose lynage he descendeth or els because he bought the lande and Iurisdyccion /

There are .ii. sortes of prynces or gouernours the one ouer volunta:rie subiectes / the other ouer inuoluntarie subiectes.

or els wan it by ryghtfull batayle / or els gatte it by some other lawfull maner or waye / as for example, by a gyfte made therof to hym, for his good seruyce done. And yf it be so that the kyng or prynce that gouerneth hath ben instytuted by the eleccion of the inhabytauntes, it is conuenient that it be done by some of these maners folowynge, for eyther he is instytuted gouernour with all the posteritie & successours of blode, or els not / yf he be instytuted gouernour, but not with all his posteritie / this maye be done many maner wayes / for eyther he is made gouernour for all the lyfe tyme of one man onely : or els for the lyfe tyme of one man and also of some one or els more than of one of his successours / or els he is not instytuted for the hole lyfe tyme of any man neyther of hym that is fyrste, neyther of any of his successours / but onely for some determinate parte of tyme, as for the space of one yere, or of .ii. or for longer or for shorter space / & agayne he is instytuted eyther to exercyse all maner Iudycyall offyce : or els to exercyse but onely one Iudycyall offyce / as to be the guyde or capytayne of the hoste and so forth.

Of the dysynctyon or dyuersyte, and the assignacyon of the signyfy-
cacyons of this nowne lex/and of the mooste propre signyfy-
cacyon of this worde, & whiche is intended & ment in this booke.

The .x. Chapytre.



As moche as we haue sayde, that election is the most pfecte
and the beste forme or maner of instytutynge gouernoures and
rulers: it shall doo very well to serache forth the effectyue cause
of it/ that is to saye who oughte to be the electours, or doers of
this election/ or of whom it ought to be made, as touchynge the
complement of the goodnes therof/ that is to saye, yf it shulde be a perfecte good
election/ for of this, it shall also appere, whiche is the factyue or effectyue cause
of the elected gouernoure, and lyke wyse of the other parties or offyces of the E-
myle Lōmynalte. But for as moche as the Prynce or gouernoure ought to mea-
sure and rule the Emyle actes of men, (as we haue shewed in the .v. chapytre of
this dictyon) and that by or accordynge to a rule, whiche is and oughte to be the
forme or formall cause of the Prynce of Gouernoure in that he is gouernoure: it
is necessarye fyrste to serache out, whether there be any suche maner rule/ then af-
terwardes what it is, and wherfore, or to what ende it is ordeyned/ for peraduent-
ture the same is the effectyue cause of this sayde rule/ whiche is the effectyue cau-
se of the Prynce or gouernoure. We therfore supposynge this a thyng euydent
lye knowen by experyence in all perfecte Lōmynaltes, that there is suche a rule,
whiche men do call an ordynauce or custome, & by y comen name a lawe. Fyrste
we shall shewe, what this rule is/ & afterwarde we shall shewe the fynall cause/
wherfore it is necessarye to be hadde / and laste of all we shall determyne by de-
monstratyue syllogisme, to what persone or persones, and by what maner acty-
on, it belongeth/ to ordeyned and make this sayde rule/ whiche thyng shall be no
thyng elles, but to serache out the lawe gyuer, or the cause effectyue of the lawe
vnto whiche cause, we suppose, that the electyon of Prynces and gouernoures
also dothe belonge/ and we wyll proue that it is so, hereafter by sure and substan-
ciall reasons or demonstracyons. Of whiche thynges it shall also appere, and be
open or euydent, what is the mater or subiecte of the aforesayde rule, whiche we
haue called the lawe/ for the mater or subiecte of it (to vse the scole tearmes) is the
Prynces or gouernoure/ to whom it belongeth for to measure and streyghthen or
rule the Polytyke or Emyle actes of men. Nowe therfore procedynge to the deter-
myncyon of these sayde thynges, leaste peraduenture by the reason of the ma-
nyfolde signyfyfycacyons of this worde lex, any Ambignite or erroure myghte
happen to any man: it shal be couenyent & accordynge, fyrste to shewe the dyuerse
intencyons or signyfyfycacyons of this nowne lex. For this worde beyng of the
nombie or sorte of hym, whiche be called equinoce dictiones/ that is to saye, wor-
des hauynge many dyuerse signyfyfycacyons/ in one of his signyfyfycacyons beto-
keneth a naturall sensitiue inclination to some action or passyon. And in this
signyfyfycacyon the Apostle vsed this worde in the .vii. chapytre to the Romanes
when he sayde/ I se an other lawe in my membres / repugnaunt and stryuyng
agaynst the lawe of my mynde / and in an other accepcon or signyfyfycacyon,
this nowne Lex lawe is sayde of every practyue habyte / and generallye of all
maner forme of any thyng to be wrought, whiche forme is in the mynde/ out of
whiche as out of the exampyle or paterne and mesure all the formes or fascions of
thynges

This worde
lex hathe ma-
ny signyfyfyc-
acyons.
Lex is put
for an incly-
nacyon.

THE DEFENCE

thynges made by crafte, are brought forth or caused. And after this maner sygnifycacyon of this worde, it is sayd in .v. .xliii. chapitre of the prophete Ezechyel. *Hec ergo lex domus, iste autem mensura altaris.* This therefore shall be the lawe of the house & these shall be the measures of the altare. In his thynde sygnifycacyon this worde *lex* is taken for a rule conteynyng monitions of the imperated or volutarie actions of men, as they be ordeyned to glorie or to payne in the worlde to come. And after this sygnifycacion: the lawe of Moyses was called a lawe as touchyng to some parte of it, and so also the lawe of the gospel as touchyng to it selfe hole is called a lawe. Wherfore? Apostle speakyng of these two lawes to the Hebrewes: sayth thus. The priestode beyng translated / it is necessarye, or it muste nedes be, that a traslacyon is made of the lawe / So also the doctryne of Gospel is called a lawe in the fyrste chapitre of saynt James epystle, where he saythe thus / But who soever shall loke in to the perfecte lawe of libertie, & shall contynue in it. .i.e. that man shall be blyssed in his dede. And in this accepcon or sygnifycacyon of this worde all sectes also be called lawes / as for example the secte of Machomete, or of the Persians, eyther as touchyng to them selues hole / or elles as touchyng to some partes of theym. Albeit that amonge all these, one ly the lawe of Moyses, and the lawe of the Gospel / that is to wytte the chrysten lawe, done conteyne the veryte. And after this sygnifycacion also Aristotle called sectes lawes: when he sayde in the seconde of his Philosophye / Howe great vertue or strenght custome is of: the lawes done shewe / and agayne in the .xii. of same / *Reliqua vero fabulose iam adducta sunt ad persuasionem multorum ad leges et conferens. i.* The other thynges were ymagyned and brought in for to perswade many men to the lawes or sectes, & to theyr profyte. Fourthly this nowne lawe and moste famously betokeneth the knowledg or doctryne or vnyuersall iudgement of the thynges whiche are ryghtuous and profytable in a cyuyle comynalte, and of the contrarie thynges. And this worde *lex* taken in this sygnifycacyon maye be consydered two maner wayes / one waye as touchyng to it owne selfe, as by it onely is shewed, what is ryght or wronge / what is profytable or what noysome or hurtfull / and thus the science or doctryne of the ryght / is called the lawe / An other maner of waye it maye be consydered, after as a precepte is gyuen of the obseruacyon or fulfyllinge of the sayde lawe, vnder a payne or rewarde to be dystributed to the fulfyller or to the breaker of it, in this present worlde / or elles after as it is gyuen by the maner of suche precepte or comauendement / & this worde consydered after this maner / is moste properly of all other sygnifycacyons called a lawe / and this worde taken in this sygnifycacyon / Aristotle dothe defyne, in the .v. booke of his Ethics and the .ix. chapitre when he saythe thus. The lawe hathe power to compell, whiche is a speache made by some wysdom and reason / that is to wytte by polityke reason, whiche can ordre and dyspose of the ryghtuous and profytable thynges, and of the contrary thynges / and the lawe hathe coactyue power, for as moche as there is a precepte or comauendement gyuen, that the lawe shulde be obserued, whiche precepte men be compelled to kepe and obserue / or els because the lawe is gyuen by the maner of suche precepte. Wherfore not all the true cognicyons or knowledges of the thynges, that be ryghtuous or profytable in a cyuyle comynalte, are lawes oneses suche a coactyue precepte or commaundement be gyuen of the obseruacyon of theym / or elles it be so, that they haue ben gyuen by the maner of a precepte. Albeit that suche true knowledg of the sayde thynges, is necessaryly requyred to a perfyte lawe. Yea moreouer other whyles fals knowledg or iudgemēt of right / wyse & profytable thynges, ar made lawes when there is a comauendement gyuen that

Lex is put
for a secte.

Lawe maye
be taken two
maner of way
es.

Howe & law
es is acoacti
ue precept.

that they shulde be obserued / or els if they be gyuen by the maner of a precept / as it appereth in the reppons of certayne barbarous people, whiche do cause this to be obserued as a ryghtuous thynge, that a murtherer or manqueller shal be quyet and absolved from cypyle blame and the cypyle payne or punysshment, so that he do paye money or some other thynge of value, for such maner offence, and yet for all that this thynge is playne vterly ryght / and so consequently the lawes of theym are vterly vnperfecte. For the case put & graunted that the sayd lawes haue a due forme, that is to wytte a coactue precepte of theyr obseruacyon / yet for all that they do wante or lacke due condycyon that is to wyte, due and true ordynacyon of ryghtfull ryght. And vnder this accepcon or sygnifycacyon of this worde ley / are comprehended all the rules of Lypyle ryghtes and vtylyties whiche rules haue ben instytuted by & auctoryte of man / as customes, statutes, ordenaunces or actes made by the comens / decretalles / and all other lyke rules, whiche as we haue sayd are grounded vpon the auctoryte of man / But yet we ought to knowe, that as well the lawe of the gospel as the lawe of Moyses, and peraduenture the other sectes dyuersely consydered, and compared in the hole or in the parte of theym vnto the Actes of men for the state of this present worlde or of the worlde to come: other whyles dothe belonge or haue belonged hitherto, or shall belonge to the thyrde sygnifycacyon of this worde ley / and other whyles to the laste sygnifycacyon of the sayd worlde / as it shall be opened and declared more largely in the .viii. & the .ix. of the seconde diccion. Certeyne of & sayd lawes or sectes as touchynge or accordynge to the trouthe, and other certayne of theym after or as touchynge to a falsse Imagynacyon or fantasye and a vayne promyse. Thus then there is a certayne rule or a lawe of the Lypyle actes of men / and what it is: it appereth euidently of these thynge, whiche we haue now sayde.

Of the necessitye of makynge lawes takynge this worde in his mozte proper sygnifycacyon / and that it is expedyent, no Prynce or gouernour be he neuer so moche vertuous & ryghtuous: to gouerne without lawes.

The .xi. Chapptre.

We that we haue thus dynyded this worde Lawe in to his accepcons or sygnifycacions: we wyll shewe the synall cause wherfore it is necessarye, that Lawes be hadde takynge this worde in his laste and mozte propre sygnifycacyon. The mozte pryncypall cause is the Lypyle ryghte and the comen vtylyte or profyte / the nepte cause to this: is a certayne securitye of the Prynces or gouernours / specially of and namely of those, whiche are gouernours by inherytaunce and successyon of blode / and also the diuturnite or longe contynuaunce of theyr gouernaunce and powet or auctoryte / That it is necessarye to haue lawes for the former cause, that is to wytte for the Lypyle ryghte and comen profyte. I proue it thus / for it is necessarye to ordeyne that thynge in a comen weale or cypyle comynalte, without whiche Lypyle iudgementes can in no wyse be well gyuen, and by whiche they be gyuen duelye, and so as they ought to be, and by whiche also they be preserued from defalte as moche as is possyppe to the Actes of men.

The necessitye of makynge lawes is declared.

But

THE DEFENCE

Judg^s be cor-
rupted throu-
ghe euyl af-
fectyon.

Werpe fewe
thynges be to
be comyted to
the pleasur of
the Judges.

Mānes myn-
de is not with-
out synyster
affectyons.

No thyng is
to be iudged
without a
lawe.

But suchē maner thyngē the lawe, when the gouernour is appoynted to gyue cō-
nyte iudgements accordyng to it / ergo the instytucion or makynge of a lawe
is necessarye in a cōmen welthe. The fyrste proposicion of this syllogisme is in a
maner euident and knowen of it selfe / and very nere vnto the fyrste pryncypples
(as they are called) whiche can not be proued by any thyngē more euident, then
they be them selues / the certentie wherof also oughe, and maye be taken of the .v.
chapitre of this diction, and the .vii. parte therof. The seconde proposicion of this
demonstracyon shall be made euident by this / sayeng that to the completēment of
a iudgement in goodnes, (that is to saye, to this that any iudgement be perfecte-
ly good) is requyred ryghte and vncorrupte affectyon of the iudges / and also true
knowledge of the thyngs that be to be iudged / the contraries of whiche two thyng-
es done corrupte cōnyte iudgements. For the croked wronge & lewde affectyon
of the iudge, as hatred / loue or couetousnes: puertert & desyre of the iudge. But al-
these thyngs be kept away from iudgement & iudgment is preserued from these /
when the iudge or gouernour shall be appoynted or assygned to gyue iudgements,
accordyng to the lawes / because the lawe is without all peruerse affectyon / for
it is not made onely for the frende, or for the enemye, or for hym that dothe good,
or hym & doth hurte / but it is made vniuersally or generally for hym who soeuer
he be & doth Euylye wel or cōnylye euyl / for all the other thyngs ar but acciden-
tall to the lawe & without the lawe, but they be not so without the iudge / for the
persones whiche be sette to be iudged maye eyther be frendes, or enemyes profyta-
ble or noysome persones to hym, that sytteth as iudge by gyuynge or promysyn-
ge somwhat eyther good or euyl to hym. And so lykewyse in all suche intency-
ons, whiche maye cause in a iudge affectyon peruertynge or corruptynge his iud-
gement / For whiche consyderacyon, no maner iudgement (as moche as possyble
is) oughe to be comyted and put all togyther to the arbytrement or wyll & plea-
sure of the iudge / But oughe to be determyned by the lawe, and sentence or iud-
gement to be prononced and gyuen of them, accordyng to the same lawe. And
this was the sentence of Aristotle in the thyrde of his Politykes & the .xi. chapp-
tre, wherin purposynge to serche out, whether it is better for a cōmen wele to be
gouerned of the beste man without any lawe, or elles of the beste lawe he saythe
in this wyse, that thyng is better to gouerne, or to be iudge, whiche hath no pas-
syon at all, that is to saye no maner affectyon whiche maye peruerte the iudge-
ment, than that thyng whiche hath passions in hit selfe by nature, but the lawe
is without all suche maner passion or affectyon, and the mynde of euery man
muste nedes haue passions in it, he sayth of euery man, exceptyng no man be he
newer so vertuous, whiche sentence he repetyng agayne in the fyrste boke of his
Rhetorikes and the fyrste chapytre sayth thus. *Omnium quidem maximū queri-
tur scilicet nihil aliq3 lege iudicandum relinque debet arbitrio iudicātis. &c.* That
is to say, of all thynges it is mooste necessarye that no thyng be lefte to the arby-
tryment or pleasure of the iudge, to be iudged without a lawe. *Quia iudicium le-
gislatoris. &c.* for the iudgement of the lawe maker (that is to saye the lawe) is
not made for any pertyculer person, but it is of thynges to come and of generall
thynges, but the offyccer and the iudge syttyng in iudgement do iudge of thyngs
present & of determinate or pertyculer thyngs (& to these, that is to wote, to the go-
uernour and iudge) is oftentymes annexed loue or hatred & desyre of theyr owne
synguler profyte / so that they can not yet suffycently se the trouthe or ryghte in
iudgement: but dothe regarde, and hath respecte in iudgemente to theyr owne
proprie pleasure and profyte, or elles theyr owne dyspleasure and dysprofyte / and
this also he sayth in the same fyrste boke and the seconde chapytre, when he sayth
thus,

thus, we do not gyue lyke maner iugementes, when we be glad or mery, and when we be sad or sorre, when we do loue and when we do hate agayne / the iugemente is corrupted otherwhyles by reason of the ignorance of the iudges, all though they be of good affectyon or intencion whiche euyl or defaute is taken awaye and is supplied by the lawe: because in it is determyned in a maner partlyghtly, what is ryght / and what is wronge / what is profytable, and what is noysome or hurtfull / as touchynge to euery one of the cyuple actes of men. But this thyng could not be suffyciently done by any one man alone / nor yet peraduenture all the men of any one tyme could not be able to fynde out and deuise or to kepe and holde in remembraunce all the cyuple actes, whiche are determyned in the lawe / yf moreouer all that euer the fyrste fynders out / or deuysers and also all the men of the same tyme whiche obserued and marked the cyuple actes of men, dyd saye of them was but a very small thyng (an vnperfyghte / whiche afterwarde was made perfyghte and fynysshed by the addycyons of those men, that came after theyr tyme, whiche thyng it is easye ynoughe to perceyue, by the experyence that we haue had / as in that that some thynges haue ben added to the lawes, and some thynges taken awaye from the same / & otherwhyles howe the lawes hath ben chaunged in to the contrary, accordynge to the dyuersyte of ages and also accordynge to the dyuersyte of the state of tymes euen in one & the same age / and hereunto Aristotle beareth wytnesse in the seconde boke of his politykes and the thyrde chapytre when he sayd thus / this thyng we ought to knowe that we ought to haue respecte and to loke vnto longe tyme and to many yerres afore gone / in whiche yerres we muste knowe whether these thynges haue done well, or els no / that is to wyte, these thynges, whiche ought to be instytuted and ordayned as lawes / the same he sayth also in the fyrst boke of his thetorykes and in the fyrst chapytre. Afterwardes he sayth, geuyng of lawes are made of thynges, whiche hath ben consydered and had in deliberyacon a long season. And this thyng is confyrmed by reason, for the makynge or geuyng of lawes, requyret and nedeth prudence and wysdome / as it appered here tofore of the descripcion of this worde lawe, and wysdome requyret longe experyence / and experyence requyret longe tyme / wherfore in the .vi. boke of the Ethikes and the .viii. chapytre, it is wyrtten thus. A token of this whiche we haue sayde, is this / for many yonge men are geomatrycians and mathematycans & wyse or hauyng knowledge in suche thynges / but not therfore euen by and by prudent / & the cause hereof is, because that prudence is of synguler or pertyculer thynges: whiche are made knowen by experyence / now a yonge man wanteth experyence / for it is longe contynuaunce of tyme: that causeth or maketh experyence / And therfore that, whiche one man alone fyndeth out or may knowe by hym selfe alone, as well in the knowlege of thynges whiche are ryghtuous and profytable in a cyuple comynite, as in other sciences: is very lytell or els no thyng / Agayne also that, whiche the men of one age or tyme can obserue or marke: is but an vnperfyghte thyng, in comparyson of that thyng, whiche is obserued or marked of men of many dyuers ages or tymes / and therfore Aristotle treatynge of the inuencion and fyndynge out of the trouthe, as touchynge to euery arte or dyscypline and science, in his secōde boke of Philosophy and the fyrst chapytre, sayth thus / as concernynge the inuencion of any arte or science deuysed by one mans wyte onely, lytle or no thyng of the assured truthe in the same science can be founde by hym / but yf that is gathered togyther in the same science by the wittes of many men, may drawe to some quantytie of truthe. But after the translacyon out of the arabical tonge this tēpte is more open and playne / the meanyng wherof is this / & eche one of

Jugementes are geuen after dyuers manners.

The lawe whiche at the begynnynge is vnperfyte, is fynysshed & made perfyte by the addycyons of them y come after.

Long deliberyacon is to be taken before that any sentence or lawe be pronounced.

Prudence requyret long experyence.

What maketh an experte man.

Artes are not made perfyte by one man alone.

THE DEFENCE

them, that is to wyt, of the deuyfers and fynders out of any maner arte or dyscy-
 plyne/perceyued outther very lytell, or els nothyng of the verytie or trouthe. But
 whan all those thynges shal be gathered togyther, whiche al men hath comprē-
 ded, & obserued or marked: than the hooke shal amounte to summe quantite or great-
 nes/whiche thyng maye be moſte eydentlie perceyud by the ſcyence of Aſtro-
 nomye/ſo than by the helpe that men haue had amonge them ſelues eche one of
 other, and by the addycyon of the thynges afterwardeſ founde, vnto the thyngs
 afore founde: all craftes and dyscyplynes haſte receyued theyr perfeccyon/whiche
 thyng Aristotle ſygurallic by an example declareth in the ſame place, aboute
 the inuencion or fyndynge of Muſyke, whan he ſayd/yf Timotheus had not ben
 we ſhuld not haue moche melodie, or we ſhuld lacke a great parte of muſyke/But
 yf Phrynes had not ben: Tymothe ſhuld neuer haue ben ſo perſyghte in melody:
 es: that is to wyt yf he had not had the thynges inuented afore by Phrynes/whi-
 che wordes Auerois expoundynge in the ſeconde cōmente ſayth thus/ And that
 whiche Aristotle ſaythe in this chapitre: is eydent and manyfeſte/for no man
 may or is able by hym ſelfe, to inuente or fynde out the practyue or ſpeculatyue
 ſcyences, for the more parte / for they are not made complete or perſyghte: but by
 the helpe whiche he that was before, hath leſte to hym that ſolloweth or cōmeth af-
 ter. And the ſame he ſayth in the laſt chapytte of the ſeconde booke of the Eleuches
 of the inuencion of Retyrke, and of all other ſcyences howe ſouer it be of the
 inuencion of Logyke/whiche Aristotle aſcribeth perſyghtlie and hōlye to hym
 ſelfe alone, without & inuencion or helpe of any other man & was afore his tyme
 wherin he ſemeth to haue ben ſyngulare amonge all other / But this he ſaythe in
 the .viii. booke of the Etikes & the fyrſt chapitre. Two men ioynynge them ſelues
 togyther, may or are able to do and to perceyue more/vnderſtāde thou, than one
 man alone. But yf it be ſo, that two men may do and perceyue more: moche more
 than moo than two, both togyther. and alſo ſucceſſyuelie, may do and perceyue
 more than one man alone/and this is it whiche Aristotle ſaythe concernynge
 this preſent purpoſe in the thyrde of the politikes and the .xi. chapitre. But peras
 uenture it ſhall ſeme to ſome man agaynſt reaſon that one man ſhulde perceyue
 & dyſcerne better, iudgynge with .ii. eyes and .ii. eares/or els that he ſhulde worke
 better with his .ii. feete and .ii. handes: than many men with many eyes/ eares/
 feete/and hādes/for as moche therfore as the lawe is an eye made of many eyes/
 that is to ſaye, a comprēſencyon or knowlege expampned of many comprēſenſy-
 ons, to the auoydynge of erroure aboute the cyuple iudgmentes/and iudgynge
 ryght or well: it is the more ſure waye and leſſe leopardouſe, that ſuch iudgmen-
 tes be done accordynge to the lawe, than accordynge to the arbitrement or wyll
 and pleaſure of the iudge/ And for this cauſe it is neceſſarie, that a lawe be made
 and ſet/yf cōmune weales ſhulde be very well ordied as touchynge to the cyuple
 ryghtes and vtyltytes of them/for by the lawe, the cyuple iudgmentes are pre-
 ſerued from the ignorance, and from the petuerſe or croked affeccyon, whiche
 elles myght be in the iudges/ And this was the ſeconde propoſycyon and the mi-
 nor (as they call it) of our demonſtratiue ſillogiſme, by whiche from the begyn-
 nyng of this chapytte, we haue gone a boutte to proue, that it is neceſſarie, that
 lawes be had in a cōmune weale/ but howe, and in what maner a ſtryfe or cyup-
 le cauſe and controuerſie ryſen, whiche is not determyned by the lawe, ought to
 be deſyned and determyned or iudged/it ſhall be ſhewed in the .xiii. chapitre of
 this diſcepon. To conclude than, lawes are neceſſarie for the excludynge of the
 malyce, and erroure or ignorance of the iudges, from cyuple iudgmentes or ſen-
 tences/ And for theſe conſyderacyons Aristotle counſayled, that to no iudge or
 gouernour

gouernour shuld be graunted arbitrement or fre lybertie, to iudge or comaunde of cnyple maters without a lawe, in suche thynges, wherin the law myght haue determyned/ wherfore in the .v. boke of the Etikes and the fyrste chapytre Arystotle treatynge of iustyce and iniurie: saythe in this wyse/ for this cause we do not suffre a man to gouerne and rule, but accordyng to reason/ that is to wyte, accordyng to the lawe / And he assygneith the cause here afore alledged/ that is to wyte, the peruerse and croked affectyon whiche maye happen or chaunce to be in hym. Also in the thyrde boke of the politikes and the .vii. chapytre he saythe thus By the answere to the fyrste doubte or questyon / it is euident & open, that none other thyng ought so moche to gouerne and rule: as the lawes whiche are well made/ that is to say, as they whiche gouerneth & ruleth accordyng to the lawes. The same also he sayth in the same .iii. boke and the .vii. chapytre in this wyse/ who soeuer therfore byddeth or wylleth the lawe to gouerne and rule: he semeth to byd or wyll, god and the lawes to gouerne / but he that byddeth or wylleth, a man to gouerne: vnderstande without a lawe after his owne pleasure: he ioyneth or putteth to also a beeke/ and he sheweth the cause why he so sayth a lytle after, sayenge/ Propter quod sine appetitu intellectus lex est, as who shulde saye, that the lawe is vnderstandyng and knowledg or reason without appetite or luste/ that is to saye without any affectyon/ and this same sentence he repeteth also in his fyrst boke of retoykes and the fyrst chapytre, where he saythe thus/ it is most conuenient therfore, that the well made lawes do determyne all thynges, what soeuer doth happen or chaunce/ and to comytte very fewe thynges to the arbitrement of iudges: and he assygneith there the afore alledged causes/ that is to wyte the exclusyon or auoydynge of the malyce or ignoraunce of the iudges, from the cnyple iudgements/ which sayd malyce or erreure and ignoraunce can not chaunce to be in the lawe lyke wyse as they maye in the iudges/ as it hath ben shewed here before. And Arystotle speaketh more largelye than thus, openly in the .iiii. boke of his politikes and the .iiii. chapytre, sayenge in this wyse/ where the lawes do not gouerne and rule: that is to saye where the prynces and rulers do not gouerne accordyng to the lawes: there is no comune weale / vnderstande thou temperate, or well ordred/ for the lawe ought to be gouernour and ruler ouer all. Nowe it resteth or remayneth to shewe, that all prynces and gouernours ought to gouerne accordyng to the lawe, and not without or besyde it / and namelye moste of all other, these prynces or kynges, whiche are made gouernours with al theyr yssue or offsprynge/ that theyr kyngdome or powre maye be more sure from all maner ieopardye or peryll: and also may endure and cōtinue the longer/ whiche was the secundarie synall cause of the necessaryte of lawes to be had, assygned of hus in the begynnynge of his chapytre/ and fyrste it may be proued by this/ because to gouerne and rule accordyng to the lawes, preserueth the iudgements of the sayde gouernours from the defaulte, whiche myght happen by the reason of the ignoraunce or peruerse affectyon in them/ by whiche lawes they beynge gydded and well ordred in theyr owne selues, and towarde theyr comunes or subiectes: do lesse suffre sedycyons and so consequentye do lesse suffre solucyons or destruccyons of theyr kyngdomes, whiche myght happen or chaunce to them, doynge lewdlye accordyng to theyr wyll and pleasure / as Arystotle sayth openly in the .v. boke of his polytykes, and the .v. chapytre. Regnum (sayth he) that is to saye a kyngdome: is very seldome or lytle destroyed of those thynges, whiche are extrynsecall & without it selfe/ but of it selfe and of intrynsecall causes it chaunceth very ofte to be corrupted and destroyed/ and that .ii. maner wayes/ the one is whan sedycyon ryseth betwene them whiche are partyners of the kyngdome. The

A goodly sentence.

What thyng
destroyeth
kyngdomes.

THE DEFENCE

The hystorye
of Susanne.

seconde waye is whan they begyn to ruse and gouerne tyrannously, despyng and wyllynge to be lordes of many, and contrarie to the lawe / But peraduenture some man wyll obiecte agaynst me, and saye that the best man or a very good man is without ignorance, & peruerse or croked affeccyon. But let hus make answere and saye: that this cometh to passe very seldome / and though it chaunce one very good man to be without passyons: yet is he not so moche without them as þe lawe is / as we haue shewed heretofore by the auctorite of Arystotle, by reason / and sensyble experyence / that euery mānes soule or mynde hath other whyles some synystre affeccyon / whiche thynge we maye beleue by þe whiche is red in the.iiii.chapptre of Danyel / where mēcyon is made, & there came.ii.priestes of a wycked mynde & purpose, agaynst Susāna / & they myght put her to deeth & they were olde men, & priestes, & the iudges of the people & pere / whiche al this notwithstanding yet gaue false testimony & wytnesse agaynst her. Because she wold not cōsent & applye her selfe to theyr wycked & fylthie concupyscence & lust. Nowe therefore, yf they that were priestes / & aged men (of whom a man wolde lytle thynke it) were corrupted throughe carnall concupyscence, and howe moche more than throughe couetousnes and other vyces: what is to be thought of other men? doubtles that no man, be he neuer so vertuous: can be without peruerse or corrupte affeccyon, and ignorance: so as the lawe is. And therefore it is most sure way, that the cyuyle iudgementes be dyrected by the lawe: than to be cōmytted to the arbitrement or wyll of the iudge, be he neuer so vertuose a man. But to the case put and admytted (whiche for all that is a very seldome thynge, and in a maner impossible) that there were a prynce or gouernoure so heropcall and passynge vertuous, that there coulde be neyther passyon, neyther ignorance in hym: yet may it be that his sones shall be subiecte to some synystre and euyl affeccyon, wherof the rulyng accordynge to theyr wyllfull affeccyon, without any certayne lawe or ordre, may ensue moche inconuenience to the whiche yf ye wyll replie, saynge & theyr father beyng so good a man as is before supposed peraduenture wyl not deliuer his powre or auctorite to them / I answere that suche sayenge is not to be beleaued or regarded / partlye, because it lyeth not in hym to depriue them of his successyon or inheritaunce of his kyngdome, for as moche as it is due, and belongeth to the successours or yssue of that kynred: & partlye, because althoughe it were in his powre to translate the regall powre vnto whom soeuer he lyst: yet wolde he not dyssherte his owne sones, were they neuer so lewde and vngacious as the thynge wherof comenlye he hath no knowledge / wherfore Arystotle in his thyrde boke of politikes and the.vi.chapptre, answeryng to this obieccyon: sayth in this wyse / it is not easye to beleue this: that is to wyte, that the father wyll dyssherte his owne sones of his kyngdome and powre / for it is an harde thynge: and of greater vertue than belongeth to the nature of man / wherfore it is expedyent to the prynces or gouernours, to be rather ruled and determyned by the lawe / than to gyue cyuyle iudgementes after theyr owne wyll and pleasure for in doyng accordynge to þe lawe / they shal do nothyng, that shal be other wyse than well, or worthy retriue / by the reason wherof, theyr kyngdome and powre shall be made the more sure from all daunger and also more contynuall and durable. And this was the cause the counsaile of the most excellent phylosopher Arystotle, vnto all prynces and gouernours (wherof for all that they take lytell heade) in his fyrste boke of þe politikes and the.vi.chapptre, whan he sayde thus The fewe thyngs that they haue powre ouer (vnderstāde thou without a lawe) so moche the longer tyme euery kyngdome or powre muste nedes contynue / for they

they that is to wyte, the prynces and gouernours selues / are the lesse lordely / and are made more demure in theyr maners / and also are the lesse enuyed at of theyr subiectes / and by and by after he byngeth in the testymonye of a certayne wyse kynge or gouernoure called Theopompus / whiche gaue from hym parte of the powre and auctorite graunted vnto hym / wherfore we haue iudged it conuenient, to bynge in here the texte and very wordes of Aristotile : because of the singularite and excellent vertue of this prynce, suche as neuer in a maner hath ben herde by the space of many hondreth yeres, to haue ben in any other prynce. The wordes of Aristotile are these. And afterwarde Theopompus mesurige, that is to saye mynysshynge or bynngynge more to a meane his powre, whiche peraduenture semyd to excede measure: added the offyce or auctorite of them whiche

Theopompus.

The exam-
ple of Theo-
pompus.

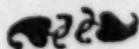
were called Ephory, in dede mynysshynge the powre: that is to wytte his owne powre / but yet makynge the regall powre more, and increasynge it in tyme / that is to saye makynge it more durable / wherfore after a certayne maner he made it not lesse, but more so as men saye, that he answered to his wyse, whan she asked the questyon of hym, whether he were not ashamed, to leaue the regall powre lesse to his sones: than his father had left to hym / no verely saythe he / for I leaue it now to them moch more durable

Wherof call voyce of Theopompus, procedynge of
his meruaylous

great wysdome / and greatly to be noted of them whiche without the lawes wyll vse fulnes of powre ouer theyr subiectes / whiche sentence many prynces and gouernours nothynge mar kynge or takynge hede of it / haue had a fall, and haue ben destroyed. And we our selues haue sene now in our tyme for lacke of takynge hede hereof, not the leaste kynngdome of all in a maner hole lyke to be destroyed: whyles a certayne prynce or gouernoure therof, wolde haue charged

his subiectes, and layde vpon theyr neckes a certayne vnwonted exaccyon, and contrarie to the lawe.

So than of these thynges whiche we haue sayd it is euident open / that lawes are necessarye in comune weales. yf they ought vterly to be well ordered, & the kynngdomes or regall powers to cōtinue longe and endure.

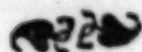
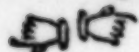
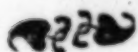


It is not law-
full for a
prynce to gre-
ue his subiec-
tes with any
exaccyon con-
trary or by-
de and with-
out the lawe.

THE DEFENCE

**Of the effectyue cause of the lawes of man/both
of that cause, whiche maye be proued by demon-
stratyue syllogysme: and also that cause,
whiche can not be proued by demon-
stracyon/whiche thyng is nought
elles, but to serche out
the lawe maker.**

The. xii. chapytre.



Mowe it foloweth consequentye, to speke of the effectyue cause of lawes/whiche cause may be shewed by demonstracyon/ for of that instytucion of lawes, whiche is possyble to be made or hath ben made imedyatly by the worke or reuelacyon & oracle of god, with- out mannes arbytrement or wyll (after whiche maner we sayde afore the lawe of Moyses to haue ben instytuted, euen also as touchynge to those preceptes of cyuyle actes whiche are in it for the state of this presente worlde) I entende not here to make assygnacyon / but onely of that instytucion of lawes, and of prynces or gouernours: whiche is made, or brought forth and caused imedyatly of the wyll and arbytrement of the mynde of man/ vnto whiche assygnacyon we nowe begynnynge to entre in/ let thus saye, that to fynde out the lawe taken as it were materpallie and accordynge to this thyrd sygnyfycacyon (that is to wytte, the knowledge of the thynges ryghtuousse, and the thynges profyt- able in a comune weale or cyuyle comunyte) may belonge and appertayne to any maner cytezen or persone of the cyuyle comunyte / albeit that this inquisycyon maye be more conuenientlie done by the obseruacyon of them that may intende to suche inquisycyon/as of the moste aged men, and hauynge moste experyence of cyuyle actes, whome they do call pudent or worldye wyse men / than by the consyderacyon of artyfycers or handycraftes men, whiche must intende, and dys- lygently applye them selues to theyr workes and occupacyons, for to gette the thynges necessarye to the sustentacyon of theyr lyfe. But because the true know- ledge or inuencyon of the thynges ryghtuousse, and of the thynges profytable in a cyuyle comunyte, and of theyr contraries, is not a lawe accordynge to the last and the moste propre sygnyfycacyon of this worde, by whiche it is made the mea- sure of the cyuyle actes of men, vnlesse it be, whan a coactyue precepte shall haue ben gyuen of the obseruacyon therof, or elles that it hath ben gyuen by the ma- ner of suche precepte, by hym, by whose auctoryte the transgressours ought and maye be ponysshed / therfore it is conuenient and accordynge, to tell or shewe, to what persone or persones the auctoryte belongeth of gyuyng suche maner prece- pte, and of ponysshynge the transgressours of it whiche thyng is nothyng elles: But to make inquisycyon, and to serche out who is the gyuer or maker of the la- we/ And lette vs saye accordynge to the trouthe, and to the counsaile of Arystot- le in the thyrd of his politikes, and the sypte chapytre, that the lawe maker or the chiefe and propre cause effectyue of the lawe: is the people or the hole multytude of the cytezens inhabytauntes/or elles the byggest parte of the sayde multytude, by theyr eleccyon or wyll by wordes expressed in the generall congregacyon partly

The dyscryp-
cyon of the
lawe

He meaneth
here of those
lawes which
do passe by ac-
te of parlya-
ment.

parlyamente or assemble of the cōmunes cōmaundynge or detemynynge any thyng to be done, or to be lefte vndone, aboute the cyuple actes of men, vnder a temporall payne or ponysshement / the bygger parte I meane the quantyte consydered in that cōmunyte (vpon whiche that lawe is gyuen) whether the hole multytude aforesayde of the people in that cōmunyte, or elles the bygger parte therof do this by theyr selfe imedyatly / or elles shall haue cōmytted it to some person or persons, to be done of hym or them / whiche persone or persons are not, neyther maye be vtterly and holly and generally the maker of the lawe : but they are onely after a certayne maner / and otherwhyles / and by the auctoryte of the pryncypall lawe maker / and consequently to this I do saye / that by the same pryncypall auctoryte, and by none other / the lawes, ought to take theyr necessary approbacyon / Moreover I saye, that of the same auctoryte the lawes, ought to take addycyon, or dymynucyon, or theyr hole mutacyon / interpretacyon / suspensyon accordynghly as the places and tymes, and other cōcircumstances dothe requyre : to whiche any of these aforesayde thynges shal be mete or conuenient, for the cōmune profyte / and by the same auctoryte also, the lawes ought to be publysshed or proclaymed after the instytucyon of them / leste any man, outhet cytezen, or straunger, trespassynge agaynst them : myght be excused by the ignorance of them. And a cytezen or cōmuner (whiche in the latyn worde is called ciuis) I call hym, accordynge to the mynde of Arystotle in the thyrd boke of his politikes, and the fyrste / the thyrd / and the .vii. chapytres, whiche is in habyltye to be partaker in the cyuple cōmunyte of the publyke powre & auctoryte of counsaynyng of iudgynge / & gouernynge / or bearyng offyce / accordynge to his degre / by whiche discripcion, chyldren are excluded & bondmen / straungers / & women / from y name of cytezens or cōmuners / though after a dyuers maner / for y chyldren of cytezens or cōmuners & fre men, are ciues in potencia propinqua / that is to say in a nyghe possyblyte : wantynge nothyng but onely suffycient age and dyscrecyon. And whiche is bygger parte of the cytezens : we muste consydre & iudge accordynge to y honest custome & vsage of y cyuple cōmunytes / or els we ought to detemyn it / accordynge to the mynde of Arystotle, in the .vi. boke of his politikes, & the thyrd chapyt. Nowe therfore after we haue thus detemyned what is a cytezen / & what is the stronger and bygger partye of cytezens or cōmuners : let vs nowe retorne to our purpose intended / that is to wytte, to shewe by demonstracyon, that the humayne auctoryte of makynge lawes appertayn to the hole multytude of cytezens, or cōmuners, & fre men or els to y bygger parte of them assembled in the parlyament whiche we shall go about to proue, fyrst in this wyse : for vnto them belongeth the fyrst & very pryncypall humayne auctoryte of y makynge & instytucyon of humayne lawes / of whome onely the best lawes maye procede and be brought forth / but suche is the hole multytude or congregacyon of cytezens, or the bygger parte of it, whiche representeth the hole multytude / for it is harde or vnpossyble, that all the persons in a cōmune weale shulde agre vnto one sentence / & be all of one mynde / because of the vnperfyte nature of certayne men, outhet of malycce, or els throughe ignorance, dyscordynge and dysagreyng from the cōmune sentence or iudgement / for all whose vnreasonable contradyccyon and gaynsayng, the cōmune vtyltyes or profytes ought not to be letted or lefte vndone / wherfore it maye be concluded, that vnto the hole congregacyon or multytude of cytezens or fre men, or elles to the bygger parte of them gathered in the parlyament : belongeth the auctoryte of instytucyon or makynge of lawes / The fyrste proposycyon or (as they call it) y maior of this demonstracyon, is in a maner euident ynough of it

Howe the promulgacyon of lawes is to be made.

The dyscrecyon of a cytezen. &c.

The auctoryte of makynge or gyuyng lawes.

THE DEFENCE

The best law
is that which
helpeth to the
cōmune pro-
fyte.

Howe and of
whom y law
is to be gyue.

In all this
longe tale he
speaketh not
of the rascall
multytude,
But of the par-
lyament

A cytie is a
cōmune socie-
tie of fre mē.

of it selfe, and very nere to those whiche are called pryncyples albeit the strength and uttermost certaynte of it, maye be taken of the .vi. chappytre of this dyccyon / and the seconde proposycyon called the minor, that is to wyt, that by the hearyng and cōmaundement of the hole multytude onely, the best lawe is instytuted or made I proue, supposynge with Arystotle in the thyrde of his politikes and the .viii. chappytre, that lawe to be beste, whiche is gyuen to the cōmune profyte of the cytezens / wherfore he sayde in this wyse those lawes are ryght or good whiche equally and indyfferently haue respecte to the vtyltyte of the hole cyuple cōmunyte, and to the cōmune welthe or good of all the cōmunes, or inhabytaunce of the sayde cōmunyte / And that this maye be done best onely by the hoolle multytude of the cytezens, or by the byggeft parte of it (whiche from hensforth lette it be supposed to be bothe one) I proue thus / for the veryte or trouthe of that thyng is more suerly iudged, and also the cōmune vtyltyte of it is more dylygently consy-
dered and marked, vnto whiche thyng the hole multytude of cytezens geueth hede with all theyr wytte or reason, and also affeccyon / for the greater the multytude is the better it maye perceyue the defaulte that is aboute the lawe whiche is pur-
posed to be made or instytuted than maye any patre, what soeuer it be, of the sayde multytude. For as moche as euery bodely thyng beynge hole / is at the leaste wyse greater in quantyte and vertue than is any parte therof by it self. Agayn the cōmune vtyltyte of the lawe is more consydered and regarded or taken hede of of the hole multytude / for as moche as no man wyttynge doth hurte his owne selfe, but there euery man maye consydre, whether the lawe purposed do more de-
cline or leane to the profyte of any certayne persone or persones, than to the profyte of the other, or of the cōmunyte / And also maye speake agaynst it, to the contra-
rie / whiche thyng coude not be done, yf the lawe were gyuen or made by any persone, or els a fewe certayne persones, regardynge and haurnge respecte more to theyr owne propre vtyltyte / than to the cōmune profyte / And to this sentence helpeth well all those thynges / whiche we haue sayde and spoken concernynge to the necessytye of lawes to be had, in the .vi. chappytre of this p̄sent dyccyon. Nowe agayne to the pryncypall conclusyon I reason thus. The auctorite of makynge or gyuyng lawes, belongeth onely to that p̄sone or persones by whom they beynge made or gyuen, are better or elles vterly obserued / but suche is onely the hoolle multytude: ergo to the hole multytude onely, belongeth the auctorite of instytu-
tyng or makynge lawes. The fyrste proposycyon of this syllogysme is a maner euident of it selfe, and very nere to the pryncyples / for the lawe shulde be voyde, & serue for nothyng / yf it were not obserued / wherfore Arystotle in the .iiii. of his politikes and, the .viii. chappytre, sayth thus it is no good instytucyon of lawes: yf there be lawes well made or set, but not obeyed. And agayne in the .vi. boke of the same politikes, and the .viii. chappytre he sayth thus / it auayleth nothyng at all, to gyue sentences or iudgements of ryghtfull thynges / yf they be not put in excecucion / and the seconde proposycyon of this syllogysme I proue for that lawe is better obserued and kepte of euery maner man of the cytie / whiche euery man semeth to haue made by the hearyng and by the p̄cepte of the hole multytude of the cōmunes: ergo. &c. The fyrst proposycyon of this last syllogysme is in in a ma-
ner euident by it selfe. For in as moche as a cytie is a cōmunyte of fre men, as it is wyrtē in the thyrde boke of the politikes and the .iiii. chappytre / euery cytezen ought to be fre, and not to suffre or beate the scruple domynyon of an other man-
tie of fre mē. But this coude not be brought to passe, yf any one man or elles a fewe per-
sones of the cyuple cōmunyte, dyd gyue or make a lawe by theyr owne pryuate
and

and prople auctorite ouer the hoolle multytude of cytezens / for so they that dyd make the lawe / shulde be lordes of the other / and therefore the other cytezens, that is to wytte the more parte, shulde be greued and myscontente with suche lawe / were it neuer so good / or elles peradventure wolde in no wyse receyue that lawe / but because they were contemned and despyed, and because they were not called to counsaile at the makynge of the lawe they shall speake agaynst it and in no wyse obserue or obaye it / But the lawe whiche is made or gyuen by the iudgement or consent of the hoolle multytude althoughe it were lesse profytable eche one of the cyuple cōmunyte shulde easelye obserue and be contente with it for as moche as euery man shulde seme to haue ordayned or made that lawe to hym selfe / and therefore he ought not to speake agaynst it but rather to suffre it with a quyet mynde . Nowe agayne to the pryncypall conclusyon I reason thus / for that agyble or operable thyng in the due instytucion wherof consysteth and resteth the moste parte of the cōmune suffycyence of the cytezens in this lyfe and in the euyl instytucion wherof most cōmune hurte is lykely to ensue or folowe ought onely to be instytuted by the hoolle multytude in the cyuple cōmunyte but such maner thyng is the lawe ergo the instytucion of it belongeth onely to the hoolle multytude. &c. The fyrste proposycyon of this syllogysme is so euident of it selfe that in a maner it is as vndoubted as any pryncypale and it is groundedypon the immediate verities whiche hath ben put in the.iiii.and.v.chapptres of this dyccyon for men came togyther and assembled to the cyuple socyete for profyte and the suffycyence of lyfe to be gotten and & contrarie to be auoyded. Those thynges therefore whiche toucheth the cōmune or dysprofyte of all men oughte to be knowne & herde of all men that they may get the profyte and auoyde the contrarye. But suche maner thynges are the lawes as we sayde in the seconde proposycyon of this syllogysme for in the lawes well made or in the well makynge of the lawes consysteth a great parte of all and the hoolle suffycyence of mānes lyfe / and vnder vniuste lawes is nought elles but the bondage and oppressyon and myserye intolerable of the cytezens by reason wherof in conclusyon chaunceth destruccyon of the cōmune weale / And agayne this is as it were an abbreuyacyon or some of the demonstracyons afore gone / Outher the auctorite of makynge lawes appertayneth to & hoolle multytude as we haue sayd, or els to one mā or to a fewe men. But to onely one it doth not for a truth belonge, for cause of those thynges whiche hath ben sayd in the.xi.chapptre of this dyccyon / & in & fyrste demonstracyon whiche we brought in for & same purnose, for he myght by & reason of ignorauce or malycie or els both make an euyl & vntygthuous lawe / by lokyng more to his owne peculyer profyte than to the cōmune profyte, by reason wherof it shuld be a tyrānycal lawe, & for the same cause also it belongeth not to a fewe men for they myght do amysse in makynge the lawe as we haue sayd to the synguler or partyculer profyte of a certayne fewe persons & not to the cōmune profyte, as we may take exāple in those cōmunyties where a fewe myghty men doth gouerne & rule wherfore to conclude the makynge of the lawes appertayneth to the vniuersyte or hoolle multytude of cytezens, or to the bygger parte of the sayde multytude, of whom it is farre other and contrarye wese / than it is of one persone alone, or yet of a fewe / for in asmoche as by the lawe all men of the cyuple cōmunyte ought to be measured, accordynge to due proporcyon, & for as moche as no man wyttyngly dothe hurte or wyll wronge to his owne selfe therefore of necessity where all or els & most parte shall wyll to make a lawe, it is not to be thought that they wyll make any but suche as shall be conuenient to the cōmune profyte of the cytezens
or cōmones

THE DEFENCE

or comones, that is to wyte to them selues / and by the same demonstracions one /
by the lesse extremyte as they do call it, that is to wytte this terme ma-
kyng or geuyng of lawes, chaunged: it maye be proued that
the approbacion, interpretacion, suspencion of the
lawe and other thynges purposed or reser-
ced in the thyrde parte of this
presente chapytre dothe
appertayne and belonge to the
auctoryte of the lawe
maker or par-
lyament.

Of certayne obieccions that maye be made agaynst
the contentes of the chapytre last afore gone, and
of the solucion of the sayd obieccions and
more large manifestacion or decla-
racion of the present purpose.

The .xiii. chapytre,



But peradventure some man shall doubte of these thyngs whiche
we haue sayde, dysputynge and reasonynge that the auctoryte
of makynge of the instytucion of lawes, dothe not appertayne
or belonge to the hole multytude in a cyuyle comynye. First be-
cause that thyng whiche is euyl or croked, & without wysdom
or dyscrecyon, for the most parte ought not to instytute or make
a lawe / for these .ii. lawes ought to be excluded from the lawe maker / that is to
wyte malycie and ignoraunce / For the auoydynge of whiche .ii. lawes in cyuyle
iudgmentes, we proued the lawe to be necessarie in the .xi. chapitre of this dyscy-
on / but suche maner one is the people or hole multytude of cytezens. For the most
parte of those men are euyl and folysshe, as it is wyrtten in the fyrste chapytre
of Ecclesiastes. The nombre of fooles is infynyte / agayne because hit is very
harde or impossyble that many fewde & vnwyse men shal agre togyther in theyr
sentences and iudgementes, whiche thyng is nothyng so of a fewe, and those
vertuous men / wherfore hit appereth to be more profytable that the lawe be ma-
de or ggyuen by a fewe men, than by the hole congregacyon and the superfluous
multytude of cytezens or persons in a cyuyle comynye. Agayne there are in eue-
ry cyuyle comynye but fewe wyse and conynge and well lerned men in compa-
ryson to the other vnlernd multytude. For as moche than as the lawe is more
profytable made by wyse and well lerned men, than by ignoraunt and vnlernd
men / it appereth that the auctoryte of makynge lawes appertayneth to a fewe
& not to many or to all. Agayne that thyng is in vayne done by many, whiche
maye be done by a fewe / sayenge than that the lawe may be made by wyse men
whiche are but a fewe in nombre as it hath be sayde of vs / the hole multytude or
the greater pte of it shuld in vayne be occupied about a makynge of it / wherfore
to conclude as it appereth auctoryte of makynge lawes doth not appertayne to
the hole multytude or to a bygger pte of them. **O**f a whiche we haue supposed
heretofore as a pyncciple of thyngs to be proued in this booke / that is to wyte, that
all men done desyre the suffycyencie of lyfe, or a suffycyent lyfe & dothe eschewe

or anoyde the contrarie, that is to saye insufficiencye of lyfe, we haue proued by demonstracyon and concluded the cypse comynytie of them to be necessarie in the. iiii. chapitre of this dyccyon / for that that by suche cypse socyetie they may get and obtayne this sufficiencye a foresayde and without they can not / For whiche cause Aristotle also in the fyrst booke of his politykes and the seconde chapitre saythe / There is in all men by nature an appetyte and desyre to suche manner comynyte that is to wyt cypse / of whiche veryte there foloweth an other necessaerie, and it is had in the. iiii. booke of the politykes and the. vii. chapitre / that is to wyt that the parte of the comynyte whiche wyllleth and desyret the comynyte weale to stande / contynue / and to be preserued ought to be taken and had of more myght and strength, than that parte whiche wyllleth not the comynyte weale to stande and to be preserued. For nature be kynde and of her selfe desyret or wyllleth no thyng for the most parte that maye be to her corrupcyon or destruccyon / for than suche desyre shuld be vnder or in wayne / ye moreouer who soeuer are not wyllynge that the comynyte weale shulde contynue, are counted amonge bonde men, not amonge cytezens or fre men of the cypse comynyte as are certayne straungers / wherfore in the. vii. booke of the politykes and the. viii. chapitre it is sayde thus / All they ben to be nombred amongest bondmen and no good cytezens whiche wyll lyue insolentlie, wantonly, or lawles and it foloweth imedyatly after. And that there shulde be so many or so great a multytude of them in the gouernaunce of a comynyte weale / that is to wyt of those that are insolent or care not to lyue cypse: that they shulde be bygger or stronger than all these / that is to wyt whiche are wyllynge to lyue cypse, it is one of the thynges that are vnpossyble / and why it is vnpossyble it appereth and is euident for yf it were so than shulde nature do amysse or fayle for the moste parte / yf than the bygger multytude of men dothe desyre the preseruacyon of the comynyte weale and wyllleth it to stande, as it appereth before to be well proued, then must it therto of necessitye wyll and desyre that thyng also without the whiche the comynyte weale can not be preserued or contynued / and that is nothyng els saue a rule of ryghtuous and profytable thynges gyuen with a precepte or comaundement called the lawe / and that because it is vnpossyble that a cytie gouerned of the best men accordynge to vertue shulde not be ordered by good lawes / as it is wyrtten in the. iiii. of the politykes and the. viii. chapitre. and we haue proued it by demonstracyon in the. vi. chapitre of this dyccyon. The bygger multytude therfore of a cypse comynyte desyret and are wyllynge to haue a lawe or els there shuld happen to be defaute and wante or imperfeccyon in nature / for the moste parte and moste comynyte / whiche thyng to be vnpossyble let it be supposed of naturall phylosophye / This thyng also whiche is as they call it a comen prynciple. I take besyde the afore sayde euident and manifest verities that every hole thyng is more or greater than the parte of it and this is true, bothe as touchynge quantyte or bygnes, and also as touchynge actyue power or vertue and accyon / wherfore it is euidentlye inferred or concluded by necessitye, that the hole multytude of cytezens or the bygger parte of it, whiche are to be taken bothe for one, may better dyscerne & iudge what is to be chosen or taken, and what is to be despyed or refused / than maye any parte of it by it selfe what soeuer it be / these thynges than supposed as open and euident verities it is easye to make answere and put by the obieccyons, by whiche some man wolde go aboute to proue and conclude that the auctoryte of makynge lawes apperteyneth not to the hole multytude or to the bygger part of it in a cypse comynyte but to a certayne fewe persons. To the fyrste obieccyon therfore, where it is sayde that to that thyng whiche is leude or euyl belongeth not

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not the auctorite of makynge lawes: this proposycyon I graunte / and whan it is added that suche is the hole multytude of cytezens: this is to be denyed / for the pluralite or multytude of cytezens is neyther euyl or sewde neyther vndyscrete, in that respecte, that they ben many, or a multytude, for all or the moste parte of them are of ryght mynde and reason and of ryght affeccyon or apetyte to the gouernance of the comune weale / and to those thynges which are necessarie to the preseruacyon and contynuaunce of the comune weale, as to the preseruacyon of good lawes / statutes, and costomes, as it hath ben shewed here tofore / for though not every man or the greater multytude of cytezens is a fynder out or the deuyser of lawes: yet for all that every maner man may iuge of the thynges inuented and purposed to hym by an other man & dyscerne what is to be added or mynysshed or els to be chaunged / wherfore yf in the maior or fyrste proposycyon by that which he calleth vndyscrete be vnderstanded or meaned that which by it owne selfe can not inuent or deuyse a lawe and ought not therfore as touchynge to the mo partes or particuler and synguler persons in it ought not to instytute a lawe than that proposycyon were to be denyed as which is euidentlie false as wytneseth both sensyble experyence and also Arystotle in the thyrde boke of his politykes and the .vii. chapytre. First I saye induccyon or sensyble experyence beareth wytnesse for many men do iuge well of the qualyte of a pecture or house or of a shyppe and of other thynges made by crafte, which yet of them selues for all that coulde not inuent or fynde out & deuyse suche thynges / And Arystotle also beareth wytnesse to the same in the place afore alleged makynge answere to this present obieccyon by these wordes folowynge. For in certayne thynges (sayth Arystotle) not onely he shall iuge neyther yet iuge best which hath made or wrought them: but also other men, and he declareth this by example in many kyndes of handycraftes, doynge to vnderstande the same also of other thynges / Neyther it maketh any thyng agaynst vs wher it is sayd that wyse men which are but a fewe in nombre maye rather or better dyscerne the agyble or operable thynges which are to be instytuted and ordayned than the other multytude: for though we do graunte this to be true yet for all that it foloweth not hereof that wyse men can better dyscerne the thynges which are to be instytuted and ordayned, than can the hole multytude, in which bothe they & also the other lesse learned or lesse wyse are comprehended / for every hole thyng is greater than is the parte of it, both in workynge, and also in dyscernynge or iudgynge. And this was vndoubtedlie / the sentence and mynde of Arystotle in the .iii. boke of his politykes, and the .vii. chapytre: whan he sayd / Quare iuste dominas maiorum multitudo / that is to saye, the hole multytude or vniuersyte of cytezens or the greater parte therof which he meaneth by this worde multitudo ought of ryght to rule, concernynge the greatest thynges which are in a comune weale / & he sheweth the cause why / for of the hole multytude: the comente, the learned counsaile, and the worshypfulles or headde offycers, are but eche of them a parte of a comune weale and the substance, rychesse, worshyp, wyte, wysdome, iudgemēt, discrecyon, of all them togyther: is greater, than it is of any one of them by hym selfe, or of any fewe of them, which do receyue or take vpon them the mynystacyon of the greatest offycers / or dygnytes / his entent is this / to saye, that the multytude of all companyes and orders of the comune weale beyng taken togyther / & so consequentlie that the iudgement of them togyther is more sure & without ieopardie: than is the iudgement of any parte by it selfe / whether that parte be the rascal or poore commons (which he signyfied hereby this worde cōcilium) as husbondmen / attysycers / & suche other, or els whether it be pretorium, that is to saye, they which in iudgement are

Not onely
wyse men cā
discern what
thynges are
to be done.

ment are offycers helpynge the pryncce or gouernour: as aduocates / men of lawe / and notaries, or scribes and registres / or whether it be honorabilitas, that is to saye, the ordie or companie of the best and most worshipfull men: whiche are but very fewe in nombre, and whiche onely are conueniently elected and chosyn to bere the greatest offyces or dignities in & cytyle cōmunitie, what soeuer parte it be, taken seuerallye by it selfe / Agayne though we do graunte (as it is trewe in very deade) that some vnlearned men can not so wel iudge of the lawe or of any other agyble thyng whiche is to be instytuted or ordayned, as can so many learned men: yet for all that the nōbre of vnlearned men myght be made so great: that they beyng so great a multytude myght iudge euen as well of these thynges, yee or elles better, than the learned men beyng but a fewe in nombre. And Arystotle sayd this same in the place afore alledged, wyllynge to confirme and strength or fortifye this sentence / yf the multytude (saythe Arystotle) be not ouer dull, ygnorante, and scruple, albeit that eche one of them by hym selfe can not iudge so well as they that ben learned or wyse, and hath knowledge / yet for all that all they to gyther shall iudge better / or at the least wyse not worse / And to that auctorite taken of the fyrste chapytre of ecclesiastes, that the nombre of fooles is infynyte / we ought to saye, that by this worde stultorum, in englysshe fooles, is to be vnderstanded vnlearned men / or which gyueth not theyr mynde to lyberal workes whiche for all that hath vnderstandynge and iudgement of thynges to be done, though not so moche as they whiche gyue theyr mynde to suche thynges / or elles perauenture by fooles, in that place, the whiche man sygnifyed or meaned infydeles: as saynt Iherome vpon that place / whiche infydeles or myscreantes, ye haue they neuer so moche cūnyng and knowlege in worldly sciences / yet are they very starke fooles / accordynge to that sayenge of saynt Paule in the thyrd chapytre of & fyrst epystle to & Eorinthians / & wysdome of this world, is foolysshnes afore god / the secōde obieccion is of smal strenght / for albeit & it is more easy for a fewe men, to agre in one sentence or mynde, than many: yet is it not hereof concluded, that the sentence of a fewe, or of parte, is better, than the sentence of the hool multitude, wherof & sayd fewe are a porcion or parte / for these fewe coulde not, ne wolde so well dyscerne and iudge the cōmune profyte: as coulde & wolde the hool multytude of cytezens / yee moreouer it were leoparouse (as it hath appeared of the thynges aforesayde) to cōmytte the makynge of the lawe to the arbytrement or iudgement of a fewe men / for perauenture they in makynge of the lawe wolde haue more respecte to the pattyculer profyte of some persones, or of some company / than to the cōmune profyte / whiche thyng appereth euidently in them whiche were makers of the decretalles of clerkes or the clergie / as we shall shewe also suffycientlye in the .viii. chapytre of the secōde dyccion / for hereof shulde be gyuen certayne occasyon, and a waye opened to the regyment called Olygarchia / lyke wyse as whan the powere of makynge lawes is graunted to one man alone: an occasyon is gyuen to tyranny as we haue brought in and alledged here tofore in the .vi. chapytre of Arystotle in the .v. of the Etykes in his treatyse de iusticia / The thyrd obieccion maye easely be put by, and answered vnto, by those thynges whiche hath ben sayd all redye / for albeit that by wyse men lawes may be better made than by vnlearned men / yet for all that it is not concluded hereof, that lawes be better made by onely wyse men, than by the hool multytude of cytezens / in the whiche multytude the aforesayde wyse men are also included / but the hool multytude of all these gathered togyther, myght, and wolde better dyscerne the cōmune vtyltyte or profyte, and the cōmune iustyce: than any of these partes taken seuerallye by them selues / yea though it were of neuer so great wyse men

Euen vnlearned men also may dyscerne of lawes to be made.

Howe this auctorite stultorum infinitus est minus est minus is to be taken and vnderstanded.

The makers of & decretals had respecte all togyther to their owne synghuler profyte.

Olygarchia is declared before in & .viii. chapytre.

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wherefore they say not trewe, who soeuer sayth, that the vnlearned multitude doth hynder or let the eleccion, and the appoyntacion of the truth and comune profyte or good/for rather they are a great helpe in this thyng: whan they are ioyned to them, that are more cūnyng, and whiche haue more experyence/for albeit that they can not by them selues and of theyr owne wyttes inuente and fynde out the true thynges, and the profytable thynges, whiche are to be instytuted and ordayned/yet for all that they maye dyscerne and iudge the sayd thynges beyng inuented by other men, and purposed or moued vnto them, whether yf any thyng do seme for to be added/or mynysshed/or vterlye chaunged/or dyspyssed and refused in the sayd thynges put forth and moued to them / for a man perceyueth many thynges, and also may do or helpe to the fynnysshynge or makynge perfyte of many thynges, after he hath harde an other man speake: to the begynnynge or inuencion of the whiche thynges. he coulde not haue come by hym selfe, or by his owne wytt alone/for the inuencion or fyrste fyndynge out of thynges /is very harde/ wherefore Aristotle saythe in the seconde booke of Eleuches and the last chapytre/ it is a very harde thyng, to fynde out the fyrst begynnynge of the trouthe, in any maner dyscyplene or scyence/ but þe begynnynge beyng ones foude out/ it is an easy thyng to adde or put to the resydue/ wherefore to fynde out the begynnynge or pryncypples of scyences, and of artes, & of other tradycions: it appertayneth not but vnto men of best and moste sharpe wyttes/ but to those thynges whiche are inuented all redy/ men of more course or grosse wytt may adde more/ which for all that are not to be calied herfore vndyscrete or fooles, because they can not inuete or fynde out suche thynges by them selues of theyr owne wyttes/ but rather they ought to be accompted in the nombre of good men/ as sayde Aristotle in the fyrst of the etykes and the .iiii. chapytre/ That man is best/ whiche knoweth all thynges of hym selfe, and nedeth no teachynge/ and he agayne is a good man/ whiche dothe obeie hym that sayth well, and gyueth hym good counsaile/ that is to say whiche harkeneth to hym: and dothe not saye agaynst hym without reason or a cause. And therfore it is conuenient and very profytable, that it be comytted to wyse & experte men, by the hole multitude of cytezens/ to serche or to fynde out and to examyne the rules of the comune cyuyle iustyce and vtyltyes or dysprofytes and of suche other lyke thynges, whiche rules are to be made lawes or statutes/ so and after suche maner that outher of euery one of the pryncypall partes of the cyuyle comunyte, which were reakened vp in the .v. chapytre of this dyccion and the fyrste parte therof/ be certayne elected or chosen, but yet accordynge to the proporcion of euery one of those partes/ or elles that of all the cytezens gathered togyther all the aforesayd experte or wyse men be elected/ And this shal be a conuenient and a profytable maner of assemblynge or comynge togyther for the inuentynge or deuyssynge of lawes, without the noyaunce or harme of the other multitude/ that is to wytt of vnlearned or lesse wyse men, whiche shulde do but lytle helpe or furtheraunce in the serchynge out of suche maner rules or lawes, & shulde be troubled and letted from theyr owne workes and necessarye occupacions, whiche thyng shulde be chargeable and paynesfull bothe to eche one seuerally/ and also to all in comune/ but suche rules beyng inuented and dyspyssed or amyned, whiche are to be made lawes/ ought to be put forth for to be approued or reprobued/ allowed or dysallowed, amonge the hole multitude of the cyuyle comunyte beyng congregated or assembled togyther/ that yf to any of the comunes it shal seme, that any thyng ought to be added to them / or to be mynysshed and taken awaye from them/ or to be chaunged/ or to be vterlye dyspyssed or refused/ that he maye tell it, and shewe his mynde / for by the reason hereof the lawe maye

The begynnynge of thynges are very harde to be founde out.

That mā is best which of hym selfe knoweth what thynges are to be done.

The maner of inuentynge or fyndynge out lawes.

maye be the more profytably instytuted or made/for as we haue aforesayde, the cytezens whiche are lesse learned or wyse, maye otherwhyles perceyue somwhat that is to be amended aboute the lawe purposed /whiche for all that coulde not haue inuented or founde out that lawe. And because the lawes so gyuen by the iudgment and consente of the hole and vniuersall multytude /shall be better obserued and kepte/neyther any man shall haue any cause to speake or els to grudge agaynst them/and after that the sayde rules, whiche are to be made lawes, are publysshed and openly declared amonge the hole and vniuersall cōgregacyon of the cytezens, and after that they whiche wolde speake or saye any thyng reasounably concernynge the sayd rules haue ben harde speake and saye they: myndes, than ought there agayne to be chosen suche maner men, & after the maner which we haue aforesayde/or elles the aforesayde men to be confirmed/whiche representynge & stede & auctoryte of, & hole multytude of cytezens, shall appue or dysallowe & aforesayde rules sought forth & purposed, in the hole or in & parte of them: or els & hole multytude of the cytezens togyther, or & bygger parte of it shall do & same: yf they lyst. After whiche approbacyon made: than the sayde rules are lawes, and are worthy so to be called, and not before/ And these also onely of all humayne preceptes, after the publycacion or proclamacyon of them do oblygate and bynde the transgressours of them to cruyle offence or blame and to cruyle paine. So than, that the auctoryte of the makynge or instytucion of lawes, and to gyue a coactyue precepte of the obseruacyon of them, dothe appertayne or belonge onely to the hole multytude of cytezens, or to the bygger parte therof, as to the effectyue cause/or to hym or to them, to whiche or to whome the sayde generall multytude shall graunt this auctoryte: I thynke that we haue suffyciently declared & shewed it by the thynges now aforesayd.

Whan lawes
dothe bynde.

Of the qualytes and dysposicions or properties belongynge to a perfyte gouernour to þe ende þe it maye be known, what maner of persone a prynce or gouernour ought to be, and of what qualyte/ wherof also it appereth, what is the conuenient mater or subiecte (as they call it) of the lawes of man.

The. xiiii. chapytre.



Now after the premysse we entende breyeflie to declare what maner of persone he ought to be, whiche shulde beare the offyce of a gouernour. There are .ii. intrinsecall habytes or qualytes and properties belongynge to hym that shall be a perfyte gouernour/ whiche .ii. qualytes can not be departed or dysseuered the one from the other/that is to wyte, prudence, and morall vertue/namely iustyce or ryghtuousnes. The one, that is to wyte prudence, is necessarie to the ende that the mynde and vnderstandynge of hym may be dyrected in gouernynge or exercysynge his offyce/wherfore Aristotle in the thyrde booke and the thyrde cha

what qualy-
ties he that
shall be a pry-
ce or gouernour
ought to ha-
ue in hym.

THE DEFENCE

The propre
worke of a
prynce or go:
uernoure.

Catiline
with his com
plices were
ponysshed of
Licero.

Place, tyme,
& ordie in ex:
ecucion may
at some seaso
vpon good
polycye be al
tered.

The wys:
dome of Lice
ro.

Tullianum

The descrip:
cion of Pru:
dence.

pytre of his polytykes sayth thus. Prudence alone is the propre vertue of a ruler or gouernour / for as touchynge other vertues they seme to be comune, as well to the subiectes as to the rulers or gouernours. The seconde or other qualyte or habyte is necessarie to the ende, that his affectyon may be ryghte that is to wyte most tall vertue / and pryncypally amonge al other iustyce or ryghtuousnes / wherfore in the .v. boke of the Etikes and the .vi. chapytre Arystotle saythe thus. The heed offycer or prynce and gouernour is the keper, maynteyner and defeder of iustyce and ryghte / wherfore to conclude prudence is necessary to hym that shall be a gouernoure / for by it he maye be dyrected very well in to his propre worke, that is to wyte, in the iudgementes of the cruyle ryghtes and vtylyties / for in these cruyle actes, wherin the acte it selfe or the maner is not determyned of the lawe / the prynce or iudge is dyrected by prudence, in iudgynge and also in doyng euecyon of the acte, or the maner, of bothe of them / in which it myght chaunce and happen hym to do a mysse, without wysdome or prudence / for as it is red in Saluste in the hystoie of the Batayle that Catiline made agaynst the Romayns, If Licero, whiche was at that tyme consall, had ponysshed the complices of Catiline beyng cytezens of Rome and noble and myghty men, whiche had conspyred agaynst the comune welthe, and therfore were worthe deathe / yf he had (I saye) ponysshed them accordynge to the law, in the same place / and tyme and after the same maner and ordie afore his dayes vsed and customed / by all lykelyhod there wolde haue rysen by the reason therof a cruyle batayle amonge theyr owne felles / whiche shulde haue dystroyed the comune weale / there was suche a sedycion reysed and styred vp in the people by these sayd conspyers & traytours, agaynst the counsailes and the other heed offycers & rulers. This leopardie Licero, whiche was consall or one of the .ii. chese rulers and heed offycers of the cytie, escaped & annoyded by his wysdome or prudence: whan he despyered the sayde malefactours to them & do euecyon or hangmen, & comaunded them to be kylled in the place of the pryson, whiche perauenture therfore is called Tullianum. So than by wysdome, the counsailes or purposes, and the maners of agyble thynges are dyrected / wherfore Arystotle in the .vi. boke of his Etikes and the .v. chapytre sayth thus. Prudencia est habitus verus cum ratione actibus circa hominis bona vel mala / prudence is an piactyue habyte or qualyte / by which a man worketh with true reason, as touchynge to those thynges whiche are good or euyl to man. Understande thou, in that he is man / & the cause hereof is, for those are agyble thynges: aboute which, and of whiche for the most part lawes are made, accordynge to whiche lawes the prynce or gouernoure ought to dyspose and ordie the cruyle actes of men. And because it semeth not possyble alwayes, to determyn by the lawe all the maners and circumstances, whiche may happen aboute the doyng of the sayde actes. By reason of the great varpetye and dyuersyte of them accordynge to the dyuersyte of regyons and tymes / as open experyence teacheth, and also Arystotle wytnesseth in the fyrst boke of the Etikes and the thyrde chapytre whan he saythe in this wyse. The honest thynges and the ryghtuous thynges, wherof the morall philosopher maketh consyderacyon, haue so great dyfference and etrouit / that they maye seme to be suche onely by the lawe, and not by nature that is to saye onely because men wyll so statute and ordayne of them / and not because the nature of the agyble thynges is determynate: that is to wyte, that this thyng is ryght, and that thyng wronge. And he expresseth the same more largely in the thyrde boke of his polytykes and the .xii. chapytre: whan he sayth thus. But because certayne thynges may be coprehended in the lawes, & certayne may not / therfore it is that we aske the questyon & make doubte, whether it is better to be

to be

to be gouerned of the beste man or of the beste lawes/for it is vnpossyble that a lawe maye be gyuen of those same thynges (vnderstande thou of all those thynges) whiche may be maters of consultacyon and wherof men may take counsayle toggyther. And therfore it was necessary to cōmytte the iudgment of some certayne doubtfull thynges, whiche dothe happen or chaunce in the cypyle actes of men/ vnto the arbytrement & descrecyon of the prynces or iudges/that is to wylt, suche thynges, whiche outher as touchyng to them selues, or as touchyng to some maner or cyrcumstaunce of them /are not determyned by the lawe / for in suche thynges, as are determyned by the lawe/ the prynce or gouernour ought to folowe the determynacyon of the lawe. And this was the mynde or sentence of Arystotle in the thyde boke of his politykes and the. vii. chapytre whan he sayd in this wyse/ & the prynces or gouernours, whether it be one, or els mo than one, that gouerneth and ruleth/ought to haue powre and auctoryte in those thynges, wherof the lawes can not suffyciently and exactlye speake, or make mencyn on expressely/ because it is an harde thyng in a generall speche (suche as the lawe is) to cōprehende euery partyculer case that maye happen / whiche sentence he rehersynge agayne in the. vii. chapytre of the same boke, sayth thus/ And there are also nowe gouernours or heed offycers, whiche haue powre to iudge of some certayne thynges without the lawe/ for in suche thynges wherof the lawe can not determyne, the iudge or gouernour shall gyue iudgement/ as yf the lawe coulde not haue gyuen precepte very well of the sayd thyng/ for of such thynges, wherof the lawe maye determyne/ no man wolde doubt. Prudence therfore is necessary to a prynce or gouernour, for the iudgyng of suche maner thynges/ whiche can not be determyned of the lawe/ And this sentence of Arystotle, beyng very nere to the princyples, whiche are euident of them selues/ who soeuer lyst, may certyfy it. by demonstratyue syllogisme or reason, by those thynges, whiche hath ben sayde in the seconde chapytre of this dyccyon. Agayne morall goodnes or vertue, and specyally iustyce or ryghtuousnes, is necessary to a prynce or gouernour for yf he be a peruerse or an euill persone as touchyng to his maners / the cōmune weale or cypyle gouernaunce is greatly hurte by hym, be it neuer so well instructed or appoynted with lawes/ for we haue sayde, that it is harde, & not possyble, to determyne all maner cases that maye happen, in the lawes / but some thynges must nedes be cōmytted to the arbytrement and wyl of the prynce and gouernour/ in whiche thyng he maye hurte the cōmune weale, yf he be a man of peruerse affeccyon. And this was the sentence and mynde of Arystotle in the seconde boke of the politykes and the. viii. chapytre: whan he sayde thus. For they that are set in great pdwre and auctoryte, yf they be vyle and of no valure (that is to saye) yf they be croked or nought in theyr maners) they do moche hurte/ and haue done moche hurte as haue some done all redy to the cytie of the Lhalcedonians/ and because prynces are preserued from doyng of hurte by morall vertue, and namely iustyce/ therfore it is conuenient (yf we maye call that conuenient which is necessarye) y noman, which shal be a prynce or gouernour, do wante morall vertue, and namely iustyce/ amonge all other vertues. To the whiche vertue of iustyce, it is conuenient in hym that shal be a gouernour, that a certayne vertue be affocrated called Epickieia/ by which vertue the iudge is dyrected to equityte, mekenes, gentylnes, and from extremyte, & cruelnes, specyallye and cheyfly, in those thynges/ wherin the lawe is insuffycient and vnperfyte and getteth no playne determynacyon/ wherfore Arystotle in the. v. boke of his etykes and the. p. chapytre sayth thus/ this is y nature and offyce of the vertue Epickieia (which as I esteeme, the lawers wyl call Equite) to amende the lawe in that parte or be

The prynce
or gouernour
ought to fo-
lowe. y lawe

Prudence is
necessary to
a prynce.

A prynce
ought to be
iuste or ryght
tuouse.

THE DEFENCE

What Epici-
keia is and of
his nature.

There is req-
red in a pric-
e loue towarde
the comune
weale.

Howe many
& what ma-
ner men of ar-
mes ought to
be aboute a
prynce & for
what cause.

halfe, wherin it is vnperfyte, and maketh no expresse mencyon suffyciently as touchynge to any partyculer thyng because it speaketh onely generally / for this Epickia or equitye is a certayne fauourable interpretacyō or moderacyō of the lawe in some case, whiche the lawe comprehendeth vnder the generalyte of ry- goure / in whiche thyng the lawe is sayde for so moche to be vn suffycient or vn- perfyte / because it hath not excepted the sayde case from the rule / whiche for all that it wolde haue excepted from the generalyte of the rule, other with some mo- deracyō, or elles vtterlye / yf it had consydered that suche case shulde haue so for- tuned or chaunced / and agayne besyde the aforesayd thynges, there is requyred in hym, that shal be a prynce or gouernour / a certayne synguler loue or beneno- lence towarde the comune weale / and the cytezens / For by the reason of this loue or beneuolence the accyōs or deades of the prynce or gouernour are inten- ted or done the more dyligentlye, and the better, to the comune profyte of the hōle multytude togyther / and also to the partyculer profyte of eche one by hym selfe. ¶ And besyde these sayde habytes and dysposycyōs (as they call them) or qua- lityes there is necessarye to a prynce or gouernour a certayne exterynsecall instru- ment / that is to wytte a certayne nombre of men of armes, by whiche he maye execute his cyuyle sentences or iudgementes vpon rebelles and dysobedyent per- sones, by coactyue powre / wherfore Arystotle in the .vii. boke of the politykes and the .viii. chapytre sayth thus. They that lyue togyther in a cyuyle comuny- te, it is necessarye for them to haue arma (that is to saye a multytude of men) of armes) to compelle those that are rebellions and dysobedyent persones, to obeye the heed offycers or gouernours / for elles the lawes and cyuyle sentences shulde be ydle and serue for nought / yf excecucion of them myght not be done and per- formed. And this armed powre of a prynce or gouernour had nede to be so great that it do excede the powre of any one subiecte vnder hym or of a great many of them / and yet he ought not by the reason of so great armed powre, to dyolate or breke the lawes / and to rule impetyouslye or lordely, besyde or contrarie to the lawes. And Arystotle in the thyrde of the politykes and the .xi. chapytre saythe in this wyse. A kynge or gouernour ought to haue so great powre, that he may be greater and more of myghte and strength than eche one of the comunes by hym selfe / or than many of them togyther. Wherfore I saye there ben thre thyn- ges whiche they ought to haue, that shall take vpon them the pryncypall and mooste hyghe offyces. The fyrst is, that they do loue the presente state of the comu- ne weale. The seconde is, that they haue great powre to execute those thynges, whiche they offyce requyeth. The thyrde is, that they haue vertue and Iustyce, by vertue, here he vnderstandeth Prudence / which is the bonde and the maystres and teacher of all vertues / wherfore Arystotle in the .vi. boke of the Etykes and the laste chapytre sayth thus. In whome soeuer Prudence is, whiche is but one vertue / in hym is also with the sayde prudence all vertues / and Arystotle in the sayd sentēce dyd set Prudence and morall vertue both vnder one in the same parte of the sayde deuysyon / because they are not separated or dysseuered at any tyme the one from the other of the whiche mynde and sentence it semeth that he is in the same boke and the same chapytre whan he saythe thus. It is manifeste ther- fore and euident of the premysse, that it is not possyble a man to be properly or pryncypallye good / without Prudence. Neyther a man to be prudent / without morall vertue / And Arystotle in the .v. boke of the politykes and the .ix. chapy- tre wyrteth the thynges, whiche we haue here entreated of to be conuenient and necessarye to hym that shal be a prynce or gouernour / perauenture in contrarie ordre as they ben necessarye requyred to be declared. Of the premysse than it appe

appereth, what is the propre subiecte or matere & materyall cause of the lawes of men. Truly a prynce or gouernour which shal be suffyciently prepared with wisdom or prudence, & morall vertue, namely Justyce. Than what maner persone a prynce or gouernour ought to be / and what thynges are conuenient and necessarye to hym / let it be determyned in this wyse.

The propre
subiecte of
mans lawes.

How þ prynce in a cōmunyte & kyngdome is as the herte in a sensyble creature / & þ without a kyng or prynce no cōmunyte or kyngdome can stande / & partly of a prynces dūetye.

The .xv. chapytre.



He herte of a sensyble creature which is fyrst fourmed: is more noble & more perfyte in his qualytes & dysposicions, than al the other partes of the sensyble creature: for in it natura generas hath set & ordayned a powre and an instrument, by which the resydue of the partes of a sensyble creature are fourmed of cōuenyēt matere or substauce & are also seperated and dysseucted & ordred eche in cōparyson to other & are kepte in theyr dysposicions & qualytes / and are also by it preserued from noyauce or hurte, as moch as nature doth suffre hym to be preserued. And whan they are fallen from theyr owne nature / by the reason of syknes, or any other impedymēt / they are repayred & restored to theyr owne nature agayne by the vertue & powre of this parte. ¶ Proportionatly & moche lyke vnto these thynges we must cōsyder in a cyuple cōmunyte beyng instituted cōuenyētly accordynge to reason / for all the soule or mynde of the hole multytude of cytezens or cōmunes, or els of the bygger parte therof: is fourmed or ought to be fourmed in a cyuple cōmunyte one parte fyrst beyng proportionated or lyke vnto the herte in a sensyble creature. In which parte it setteth or ordayneth a certayne vertue & powre, or a certayne forme with actyue powre & auctorite, to instytute the other partes of the cyuple cōmunyte. And this parte wherof we do meane is þ priue or hed gouernour / whose vniuersall vertue or powre in causalitye, is the lawe / and whose actyue powre / is the auctorite of iudgynge / of cōmaundynge / & of executynge the sentences cōcernynge the cyuple ryghtes and vtylites / wherfore Aristotle in the .vii. booke of his politykes & the .viii. chapytre, sayd this parte to be moste necessary of al other partes in a cyuple cōmunyte / & the cause hereof is, for that the suffycyencie which is had by the other partes or offyces of a cyuple cōmunyte, all though the sayde partes or offyces were not at all: myght be suffycyētly had by other meanes, and of other thynges, though not so easely. ¶ But without a prynce or gouernour, a cyuple cōmunyte can not contynue / or longe cōtynue & endure, for it is necessary & can not be otherwyse, but that offencions & euyll occasyons shal chaunce (as it is sayde in the gospel of Mathewe) which offendicles (as the scripiture calleth them) are cōtencions rysen amōge men for iniuries done of them one to an other which yf they shuld not be iudged or measured by the rule of ryghtfull thynges or iustyce, that is to wyte by the lawe, & by the prynce or gouernour, whose offyce is to measure suche thynges accordynge to the lawe / there myght chaunce haply by the reason therof fyghtynge, & a seperacyon of the men beyng congregated in a cyuple cōmunyte, & the priuacyon or lacke of a suffycient lyfe. The prynce also in a cyuple cōmunyte ought to be more noble & more perfyte in his dysposicions or qualytes, þ is to wyte, in prudence & vertue morall: than the other partes of the

Without a
prynce or go-
uernour a re-
aline or cōmu-
ne weale can
not contynue

A prynce
ought to sur-
mount all o-
ther in vertue
& prudence.

THE DEFENCE

The coactive
pōwe of a
prynce or go-
uernoure is
lyke to þe hea-
te or spyrte
in mā or beaſt.

Men of wyſ-
dome are to
be appoynted
of the prynce
to be offycers
and not hare-
brayned felo-
wes & men of
ſmal coſcyēce
& leſſe deſere-
cyon.

A good law
& lyke kepte
in ſome place

It belongeth
vnto prynces
or gouer-
nours, to or-
dayne and ap-
poynt, what
arte or ſcyēce
eche one of þe
yonge men
ought to ſerue
for þe comune
vtyltyte.

cytyſe cōmunyte And that for this reaſon, that the cauſe effectyue of a cytyſe cōmunyte that is to wyte, the ſoule and wyll of the hoſe cōmunyte haue gyuen to this pryncypall and fyrſte parte and haue put in hym a certayne generall ver- tue or pōwe in cauſalyte, that is to wyte, the lawe. And alſo an auctoryte and pōwe to worke and to do excecucion of the ſayd lawes. And as the natu- rall heate of the herte as beyng the ſubiecte, by which heate the herte or the four- me therof performeth all his accyons / is dyrected and meafured in workynge by the fourme or vertue and pōwe of the herte, and elles it ſhulde not worke to the due ende: agayne alſo, as the heate, which they call cōmunely the ſpyrte, as be- yng the inſtrumente to performe and fulfill the accyons or operacyons, is gouer- ned throughe out the hoſe bodye, of the ſame vertue or pōwe, for elles neyther ou- ther of theſe heates ſhulde worke vnto the due ende, for fyre worketh worſe than the organs or inſtrumetes, as it is ſed in the ſeconde booke de generatione and de anima / euen ſo and in lyke maner the auctoryte of rulyng or gouernynge gyuen to any man, beyng proportionated & lyke to the heate of the herte as beyng the ſubiecte / and euen ſo the armed or coactive pōwe inſtrumentall, beyng propor- cionate and lyke to the heate, which we haue called the ſpyrte / ought bothe to be ruled and meafured by the lawe, in the gyuyng of iudgementes / in cōmann- dyng / and in excecutyng the cytyſe ryghtes and vtyltytes / for els the prynce or gouernoure ſhulde not worke to the due ende / that is to wyte, to the conſeruacyon of the cytyſe cōmunyte / as it haue ben ſayde and proued in the .xi. chapytte of this dyſcyon or fyrſt parte. Agayne, accordynge to the ſayd vertue or pōwe, that is to wyte, accordynge to the lawe and auctoryte gyuen to hym / the prynce or go- uernoure ought to inſtute and ordayne dyuerſe and ſundrye partes or offyces in the cytyſe cōmunyte, of conuenient matere / that is to wyte, of men hauynge artes, habytes or qualytes conuenient, mete, or accordynge for the ſayd offyces. For ſuche maner men are the matere conuenient of the partes or offyces of a cy- tyſe cōmunyte / as it haue ben ſayde in the .vii. chapytte of this diccyon. For it is mete in a cytyſe cōmunytie well inſtuted, to appoynte or aſſygne ſuch men to the offyces of the cōmune weale / which haue the operative or practyue habytes mete and conuenient to the ſayd offyces / And ſuche as haue not the conuenyēt habytes and qualytes, as for example yonge vneſparre men: to ordayne and ap- poynte them to learne ſuche habytes or craftes and ſcyences, vnto which they are naturally moſte inclyned / And this was the ſentence and mynde of Arynſtole, whan he ſayd in the fyrſt booke of his Etykes & the ſeconde chapytte, in this wyſe what ſcyence or dyſcyplynes ought to be in cyties or cytyſe cōmunytes / & what maner ſcyences eche man ought to learne / and howe moche or howe far forth: this morall philoſophie, that is to wyte, the polytycall prudence or the prudence of ma- kyng lawes, doth ordayne and inſtute / & ſo conſequentially dothe he alſo, which ordereth the cōmune weale accordynge to the lawe / that is for to ſaye the prynce or gouernoure. This ſame alſo he ſayde in the .vii. of the polytykes and the .xiiii. chapitre / by theſe wordes / he therefore that is lawe maker or that gyueth the lawe ought to haue reſpecte to all the aforeſayde thynges / bothe to the partes of the cy- tyſe cōmunytie / and alſo to the accyons of them. The ſame alſo he ſayd in the .viii. booke of the polytykes, and the fyrſt chapytte, whan he ſayd thus. That the lawe maker had neade or ought to be very dylygent, and to take very great hede as touchynge to the ordynge and dyſcyplne of yonge men, no man verely wyl doubt / For yf this thyng be not very dylygently ſene vnto in cytyſe cōmuny- tes: it ſhal hurte moch the cōmune weale / thus than of theſe premysſes it appereth that to þe law maker or vniuerſal multitude in þe parlyamēt aſſeſſed by þe prynces cōmaund

comaunderment for the same purpose apperteyneth and belongeth the deternynynge of the same. He meaneth
 cyon or instytucion of the offyces and partes of a cyuple comunyte / & that the of suche offy-
 iudgement / the precepte or comaundyng / and the excecucion of the sayd deternynynge as & pyn-
 nacyon, dothe appertayne to hym, that is pynce or gouernour accordynge to the ce or kynge
 lawe. And also by the same demonstracyons or syllogisticall reasons this maye wyl haue in
 be proued: by whiche we proued in the .vii. chapytre of this dyccion or parte that stytuted by
 to the sayd vniuersall multytude belongeth the auctoryte of gyuyng lawes. acte of p. rly.
 wherfore it is not lawfull for any man, to take vpon hym any offyce in a cyuple ament els all
 le comunyte at his owne pleasure / and namey straungers / for not euery man other officers
 ought, neyther reasonablie maye at his owne pleasure, tounne hym selfe to ex. & degrees it by
 ercyse & offyces of a man of armes, or of a preeft / neyther & pynce or gouernour eth i & kynge
 ought to suffre this / for by the reason hereof myght chaunce insuffyciencie, to the absolute pow-
 cyuple comunyte, of those thynges / whiche muste nedes be procured by the other et to appoite
 offyces / But the pynce or gouernoure ought to deternyne and assygne the per. at all tymes.
 sones to suche maner offyces / and also to deternyne the quantite and qualyte of
 the sayde partes or offyces, as touchynge to nombre / to powre / and suche other where soener
 thynges / lest by reason of imoderate excesse of any of them, it maye happen or he speeth of
 chaunce the comune weale to be destroyed / wherfore Aristotle in the .v. boke of such multytude
 the polytykes and the thyrde chapytre, saythe in this wyse / There are made de. de he meneith
 struencyos also of comune weales / by the reason of excessyue increace of any parte when it is as
 or partes, cotrary to due proporcion. For as the body is made of his partes / and sembled in &
 the sayd partes ought to growe togyther, eche one accordynge to theyr measure, perspamete,
 that the due proporcion and comensuracyon of the body maye remayne and be remembre this
 saued / and vnlasse it be thus: it is destroyed (as for example when the feete is .iiii. to auoyde cap-
 cubytes longe, and the resydue of the body is but .ii. spannes longe / other whyles tyousnes.
 also it maye be tourned in to the fygure or shape of an other beaste: yf there shuld
 be made vnmearurable increace not onely in quantyte: but also in qualyte) so Let & pynce
 lyke wyse a cyuple comunyte is made of partes / of which some one other whyles restrayne the
 puenelie encreaceth excessyuelly / as for example the multytude of poore men in & excessyue mul-
 comune weales / where the people dothe rule and gouerne / and the multytude of tytude of pre-
 preeftes, in the chrysten law or secte and retygion. The same thyng also he sayd estes, and of
 in the thyrde boke of the polytykes and the .vii. chapytre / the terte wherof I sea poore folke.
 ne out here / because of breyfnes / Agayne his parte, that is to wyt, the pynce or
 gouernoure / ought by his auctoryte, accordynge to the lawe, to comaunde suche Preeftes and
 thynges whiche are ryghtynouse and honeste / and to forbyd the contrary thynges poore men,
 as well by his worke, as by his wordes / rewardynge them / or theyr good dedes Let a pynce
 whiche do obserue the legall preceptes / and ponyssh them for theyr euyl dedes, or gouernour
 whiche do transgresse or breake the sayde preceptes / by whiche meane he shall con comaunde ho
 serue euery one of the partes of the cyuple comunyte in theyr due estate or beyng neft & ryghtes
 and shall preserue them from noyaunces and iniuries / and yf case be, that any full thynges
 of the sayde partes, onther dothe, or elles suffre wronge / he that doth & iniury or both by his
 wronge, ought to be cured or healed, by the accyon or operacyon of the pynce or worke, & also
 gouernoure, causynge hym to sustayne or suffre payne or ponysshement ther by his wordes.
 fore. For a penalyte or ponysshement is as it were a certayne medycyne of the cry-
 me or trespase / wherfore Aristotle in the seconde boke of the Etykes & the thyrde
 chapytre saythe thus. And that it is as we haue sayde / it maye be perceyued by
 the penalytes or paynes, whiche are made and ordayned herfore / that is to wyt,
 for the defectacyons and pleasures, whiche are taken or had in euyl doyng or
 in euyl savenge / for the penalytes are certayne medycynes or remedies) and he
 that suffereth the iniurpe or wronge / shall be cured or healed by receyuyng
 or takynge

THE DEFENCE

The pryncce
or gouernour
helpeth the o-
ther partes of
the cypyle
comunyte.

The pryncce
or gouernour
ought neuer
to cease from
his offyce or
dutie doyng

Let the lawes
alwayes and
continually
endure.

or takynge amendes / and by this meane all thynges shall be brought agayne to conuenient egalltye or proporcyon. Moreover this sayd parte of the cypyle comunyte, that is to wyt, the gouernour, conserueth the other partes of the cypyle comunyte / and helpeth them in the exerceysynge of theyr workes bothe propre and also comune. Proprie workes I call those whiche are caused or brought forth of the propre offyces of the sayd partes. The comune workes I call the comunycacyons or comune dealynges of the sayde partes amonge them selues, one of them with an other / whiche workes bothe propre and comune, shulde be troubled and letted / yf the operacyon of the pryncce or gouernour dyd cease from the correccyon or ponysshment of vyolent persones. And for this cause the accyon or workynge of the pryncce or gouernour ought neuer to cease in a cypyle comunyte / lyke wyse as the accyon or workynge of the herte in a sensyble creature neuer ceaseth / For albeit that the accyons of the other partes of a cypyle comunyte may somtyme cease without nopaunce or hurte to any syngulare persone / colledge / or comunyte: as for example, the operacyon of the men of warre maye cease in the tyme of peace, and so lyke wyse of the operacyons of the other partes / yet for all that the accyon or operacyon of this parte, that is to wyt, of the pryncce or gouernour, & of his vertue or powre, maye neuer cease without nopaunce or hurte / for at all tymes and alhoures it is necessary, that the precepte and the comune custodie of lawfull thynges and forbydden thynges accordynge to the lawe, do endure and contynue. And whan soeuer any vnlawfull or vniuste thyng is done: the pryncce or hede gouernour ought perspytely to measure and strengthen suche thynges / or at the least wyse to exerceyse those thynges, whiche are preparacyons to the rulyng and strengthnyng of suche thynges. Of the premysse may suffyciently appere the ordre of the partes of a cypyle comunyte, amonge them selues: in copartyson one to an other / for the prynces or gouernours cause, and to hym as to the pryncypall of all: all the partes of a cypyle comunyte are ordred, for the state of this present worlde / for that parte is the fyrst and pryncypall of all in a cypyle comunyte, whiche ought to instytute and to determyne the other partes / and to conserne them in the state and for the state of this presente worlde, or for the cypyle ende / but suche maner parte is the pryncce or he that is gouernour accordynge to the lawe made by man, as we haue concluded and proued aforesayd by probable reason and by demonstratyue syllogysme: wherfore we conclude, that the pryncce or gouernour is the fyrst and pryncypall parte of all other / and that the other are ordred to hym. Of the effectyue cause than of the eleccyon of the pryncce or hede gouernour / and also of the instytucyon of the resydue of the partes in a cypyle comunyte / and of the ordre of them amonge them selues one to an other / let it be determyned in this wyse.

That is most expedyent to the comune weale, to haue
onely one certayne man to be pryncce or gouernour,
hym selfe with all his posterite / whiche they
call comunely the successyon of kyn,
red or blode,

The .xvi. chapytre.

That



That it is most conuenient & profytable for þe cōmune weale to haue a pryncce & gouernour whiche shall enioye the crowne by successyon of blode with all his posterite & offsprynge, & not by electyon as themperour is chosen by electours in Germany is proued by .xv. stronge & inuicyble reasons. ¶ The fyrst is, because it appereth, that he which cometh to the kyngdome or crowne by enherytaunce & successyon of blode shall be more dyligent and carefull to se vnto the cōmune weale, as beyng in a maner propre and heredytarie to hym selfe, and whiche he shall leaue to his heyres after hym/ than shall that pryncce or gouernour, whiche is not sure & out of doubte, that his owne heyre shall gouerne after hym/ wherfore in the seconde boke of the politykes and the seconde chapytre aboute the myddes of it Aristotle sayth in this wyse. Very lytle hede or dyligence is gauen to that thyng which is cōmune and belongeth to many/ for men do care most for theyr owne propre & seuerall thynges & as for cōmune thynges: they do care moche lesse for them than they do for those thynges whiche belongeth seuerally to ech one by hym selfe. And agayne in the same chapytre aboute the ende he sayth thus. There are .ii. thynges whiche induceth and moueth men to take care for any thyng, and to loue it/ the one is proprium/ that is to saye, yf the thyng be propre, and seuerally belongeth to theyr owne selfe. The seconde thyng is affectyon/ that is to saye affectyon towarde the sayd thyng. Agayne in the thyrde chapitre of the same boke he saythe in this wyse/ it can not be expressed or spoken lyghtly, how moche it forceth or skylleth to delectacyon or pleasure/ that a man do thynke or cōsydre, any thyng to be properlie his owne. ¶ An other reason why it is most expedyēt for þe cōmune weale to haue a gouernour by enherytaunce or successyon of blode is this/ for they that come to þe crowne by enherytaunce (as it semeth) shall not ruse so impetyouslie and lordlie ouer theyr subiectes, as shall they that be nowe elected/ by the reason that they are wonte to gouerne and rule, and are acquaynted therewith/ And because they shall not thynke that any newe thyng is chaunced to them: wherfore they ought to be more hyghe in mynde, & to despyse theyr subiectes/ but it is sene moste cōmonlie/ that they whiche are nowe elected/ do waue prowde/ euen lyke wyse as they do, whiche are newly made ryche/ wherfore in the seconde boke of rethorykes/ & the .xviii. chapitre, Aristotle sayth thus. All men maye easely or lyghtly se the manners, whiche foloweth of ryches/ for they þe do possesse ryches/ are made contumelious or prowde/ hyghe mynded/ and dysdaynesfull/ as yf they possessyd all good thynges.

¶ An other reason is this to the pryncypall purpose / for the multytude of subiectes dothe more obeye the Prynces or gouernours, that come to the crowne by inherytaunce or successyon of blode: by the reason that they are wonte and accustomed to obeye the predecessours of the sayde prynces or gouernours / wherfore in the laste chapytre of the seconde boke philosophie prima it is wyrtyn thus/ as we be custumed so we be affectionate/ And in the seconde of the politykes and the .vi. chapitre nere vnto the ende, it is wyrtyn in this wyse / he that shall go aboute to amende and to chaunge euery faughtes of the lawmakers and of the hede offycers, shall not do so moch good to þe cōmune weale/ as the accustomynge or wontynge of men to rebelle and to be dysobedyent agaynst theyr prynces and superyours shall do hurte/ with other thynges whiche shall be sayde concernynge customes and vsage in the .xviii. chapytre of this dyccyon and the sytte parte therof.

¶ An other reason maye be put to the same purpose is this / for that it happeneth otherwhyles some kynred or stocke to haue gauen or done some maner or so great

Men lately made ryche, & so lyke wyse that they be nowe elected to be kynges or gouernours ar proude for the moste parte.

THE DEFENCE

so great a benefyte to the other multytude or so greatly to excell and surmounte the other cōmunes in vertue that for the one of these .ii. causes, or elles for bothe to gyther, they þ be of that kynred or stocke, are worthy alwayes to be gouernours or rulers, and neuer to be subiectes / wherfore in the thyrde boke of polytykes and the .v. chapytre Arystotle saythe in this wyse. The .iiii. kynde of monarchie, or regall powre is suche, as those was in the heroycall tymes / that is to wyte, voluntarie and accordynge to the maner and custome of the countre, & accordynge to the lawe / for because of the benefytes done by the fyrste of that kynred to the people, outher by artes / or by batayle / or for the congregatyng of the people togyther in to a cyuyle socyete / or for bycause they purchased or gate þ regyon: & regall powre and the auctoryte of rulyng and gouernynge was offred or gyuen to them, by the people of theyr owne fre wyll and accorde, and to theyr successours / whiche thyng also the sayde Arystotle more expressely dothe saye, in the .vii. chapytre of the same boke in this wyse. Wherfore whan it chaunceth or cometh so to passe, þ he be one kynred or stocke, or els some one persone dothe so excell and surmounte the other in vertue, that the vertue of that one kynred or persone alone is greater than the vertue of all the other: than it is ryght, that this kynred by the regall or stocke, and do gouerne / and that this one persone be kynge and all the successours of this sayd kynred or persone / whiche same thyng he repetyng also in þ .v. of the polytykes and the .v. chapytre he saythe in this wyse. The regall powre, or auctoryte of a kynge was made / instytuted / and begonne, for the defence and ayde of excellent and good men, and the persone that is instytuted or made kynge is one of the excellent ryghtuouse & good men / by or for the excellencye of his vertue, or of his actes procedynge of vertue / or for the excellencye of the kynred or stocke that he cometh of.

Theodectus
poete.

5 **T** Agayne the prynce or gouernour that cometh to the crowne by inherytaunce is best / because suche maner men are more inclyned to vertue, for so moch as they comen of more noble & vertuous parentes / wherfore Arystotle in the fyrste boke of his polytykes and the .iiii. chapytre, bringynge in the wordes of a certayne poete called Theodectus / sayth in this wyse / shall any man suppose that men worthy to be called a bondman or seruaunt / whiche cometh of a goodly stocke on both sydes. &c. and a lytle afterwarde, he saythe. For they do suppose, that lyke wyse as of a man cometh a man / & of a beast is brought forth a beast / euen so of good and honest parentes is gēdered and brought forth good and honest chyldren. And also because the prynce or gouernour by successyon is for the moste parte guyded and led by better custome / wherfore Arystotle in the fyrst boke of his rethorykes and the .xiii. chapytre sayth thus / it is lyke to be very true, that he whiche cometh of good and honest parentes / shall be a good man / and that he whiche is norysshed and brought vp amonge good folke / shall proue lyke vnto them.

It is necessary,
but very
harde to fynd
electours to a
good electyō.

6 **T** Agayne it appereth that the best prynce is had by successyon of blode / because there chaunceth not to be suche or so great dyffycultyes aboute the prynce succeeding by inherytaunce, as are alwayes aboute hym þ is newe elected for aboute the prynce whiche is to be newlye elected, there happeneth dyffyculte, to haue vertuous electours / whiche are necessarye to be had, but harde to fynde, to a good electyō. Agayne whan such vertuous and good electours are foude / it is harde for them to agre all in one / and not to dyscorde one from an other / and yf they do so dysagre amonge them selues / it is doubtfull and leopardy, least by the reason therof the hole cōmune weale be brought in to sedycyon / as it is sene by experyence, in the newe electyō of the prynce or emperour of the Romaines / Agayne also because the myndes of men for the moste parte are prone and inclynynge to euyl /

euyll/wherfore outther for loue, or hatred, or for money, or throughte intreatynge or prayer, or for hope of prosyde, or some dyffyculte: the electours shall not at all tymes, but perauenture very seldome, electe and chose hym that is best and most mete to be gouernoure.

An other reason to the pryncypall purpose is this/ because it is more easye for the comunes and counsaylers to knowe the maners and condycyons of hym that succedeth by inherytaunce, for as moche as he is but one and a determinate or knowen persone: than of hym, whiche is newly to be elected/whiche is not determinate/for there be many cytezens or persones in the comune weale, whome it is possyble by eleccyon to be taken to weare the crowne or to be gouernour/But it is more easye to knowe the maners or condycyons of onely one man: than of many. Nowe it is expedient to knowe of olde, the maners and condycyons of the prynce or gouernoure, to whome some thyng must be perswaded by counsayle / & whiche must be dyrected by counsayle otherwhyles, be he neuer so wyse/wherfore in the fyrst boke of rethorykes and the .xi. chapytre it is wyten thus. It is moche necessarye to knowe the maner of euery man that shall be a prynce.

A gayne to take a prynce or gouernour by successyon of kynred or blode, it semeth to take awaye all occasyon of ambycyon/temerpte or presumpcyon in the subiectes/and also all occasyon of sedycyon that myght be reysed or stered vp amonge them/for in as moche as they subiectes do knowe, that the crowne or regal auctoryte or offyce is neuer due to them, & that they may neuer reasonably come vnto it: they do not desyre or laboure to get it/neyther they do comenly worke or go aboute any euyll or vnlawfull thyng for the obtaynyng therof / whiche thynges otherwyse for all that is done of them full besely/whiche outther may or do suppose that they may come reasonably to it/as it is sene to happen otherwhyles amoge them, whiche choseth alwayes theyr gouernours eche one after other, by newe eleccyon wherfore Iulysse in his fyrst boke de officiis sayth thus/it is a payne or greffe, that in men of most great myndes, and of most excellent and roy all nature, are most comonly the desyres of honoure/ of rule and domynyon/ of powre/and of glorie for suche men thynkynge theyr selues worthy of the crowne or to be herd gouernours, for some excellent vertue or vertues /do procure the fauoure and voyces of the electours to them selues, by prayer/or money/or elles by some other vnlawfull waye.

Afore ouer also comenly the prynce elected/whiche shall not leaue the crowne or kyngdome to his successours/dare not be bolde to execute iustyce vpon myghty men/all throughte they do transgresse the lawe /namely by puttyng them to death/or otherwyse puttyng them to penysshment in theyr bodyes/for as moche as he dothe feare, leste by the reason of so doyng, great hatredes/or enemytes/and iniuries or dyspleasures myght growe to his owne hayres, whiche perauenture shall not reygne or gouerne after hym / but the prynce, that obtayneth the crowne or kyngdome by inherytaunce & successyon of blode, nedeth not to doute or feare any suche thynges / wherfore he shall boldly exercyse perfyte iustyce, agaynst all maner transgressours of the lawes, who euer they be.

A gayne that maner after whiche most gouernours are instytuted, & in moste regyons and peoples/and in the tyme of most men/is the moste perfyte waye or maner of instytutynge a prynce or gouernoure (for that waye that is most naturall/is most perfyte/nowe that is most naturall/whiche is vsed in most thynges for the nature of thynges is that/whiche is in moste thynges/and in moste tyme as it is wyten in the thyrd boke de celo et mundo/and in the seconde boke of the physykes/and the same also is euydent by induccyon and expertyence in eche mai

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net thynge) but suche is the waye or maner of takynge one to be gouernoure by successyon of blode, in comparyson of that waye, wherby the gouernours that shulde succede, are alwayes taken by netwe eleccyon eche one after other: as it is euident to se in the most parte of kynges / of Regyons / and peoples / and also the hystories of thynge done in dyuers tymes, that is to say the Cronycles, doth declare the same.

21

¶ And last of all, because the gouernaunce of the kynge or gouernoure that cometh to the crowne by enherytaunce or successyon of blode / is more lyke to the maner of regyment or gouernaunce of the hole worlde / for as moche as in the hole worlde is alwayes but one gouernour, without any chaunge / as it is wyrtten in the seconde booke of phylosophye and the laste chapytre. And it semeth to come in very lyke maner to passe, and moche lyke maner of gouernaunce to be where the sone succedeth his father in regall powre. Fyyste because of the vnyte of the kyn: red or stocke, and also because the father and the sone are counted both as it were but one persone.

¶ Howe it is necessary that there ben but one pryncce, kynge,
or heed gouernoure in a cypule cōmunytie, vnto whome
all other heddes and offycers must be obedyent
and subiectes.

The .xvii. chapytre.



¶ It foloweth now consequently after the premysse, to speake of the vnyte of the pryncce, or of the offyce and powre of the pryncce / wherunto now entrynge, let vs saye / that in onely one cytie or onely one realme there ought to be but onely one gouernoure or ruler / or yf there be many in nombre or kynde, as it semeth to be expedient in great cypule cōmunytes, and namely in a realme, as this worde Regnum is taken in the fyrste sygnifycacyon / there ought to be amonge them one in nombre, which shall be hyghest or heed of all them, to whome all the other maye be reduced / and by whome all the other maye be dyrected and ruled, and theyr errours or faultes yf any chaunce, also may be corrected & amended. And this most soueraygne and hyghest auctoryte or offyce aboue all, I say of necessity ought to be but one in nombre and not many: yf the realme or cypule cōmunyte ought to be wel gouerned and ordred. And the same I saye also of the gouernoure accordynge to the same hyghest offyce or auctoryte, that he ought to be but one also / not meanynge hereby, that it is necessary that one synguler persone or one man alone ought to haue the sayde heed and hyghest auctoryte / but I meane, that the heed gouernoure or heed gouernours ought to be but one as touchynge to the sayd offyce / for there is some one regymēt in nōbre, & a beigne a ryght tuous & wel ordered maner of regyment, accordynge to which mo men than one are hed rulers or gouernours i the rule of Aristocratie & Politia of which we haue spoken in the .viii. chapytre of this dyccyon / but those many are but one heed gouernoure in nombre, as touchynge to theyr offyce / by the reason that every action or worke that is done of them / is but one in nombre / as for example as they gyue but one iudgement / or sentence / or precepte / for suche maner accyon maye procede or be caused of any of them seuerally by hym selfe / but what soeuer suche thynge is done, it is done by the cōmune cōsent and decre of them all / or els of the bygger parte

Let there be
but one kyng
or heed gouer
noure.

Many men
maye be heed
gouernours
beryng as as
one in offyce.

parte of them / accordynge to the lawes statuted & ordayned in the same regymentes. And by þe reason of such numeral vnyte of þe accyon so procedynge & brought forth of them: it is, and is called but one regyment or hyghest powre in nombre: whether it be onely one man, or elles mo than one, whiche gouerneth accordynge to the sayd powre or auctoryte / but suche numerable vnyte of the accyons or workes, is not necessarely requyred to be in any one of the other offyces or partes of the cyuyle cōmunyte / for there maye and ought in euery one of the other offyces, many accyons lyke, or dyuerse in kynde, be brought forth of dyuerse persones in them, seuerally. Yea moreouer suche numerall vnyte of accyon or operacyon in them (that is to saye, yf all shulde worke but one thyng) shulde be intollerable & noysome to the hole cōmunyte, and also to euery partyculer persone of the same cōmunyte. Thus than the vnyte unmerall of the hyghest offyce or powre, and of the heed gouernoure beyng thus vnderstanded and taken nowe we wyl proue, that outther there is but onely one gouernoure or ruler in a cyuyle cōmunyte or realme, or yf there be mo than one / yet that the heed and moſte soueraygne auctoryte or offyce, and the heed and hyghest gouernoure of all, is but onely one in nombre and not many. And this we wyl proue / fyrst by this reason / for yf there were many pryncypall auctorytes or offyces, and many heed gouernours in a cyuyle cōmunyte or realme, beyng not reduced and in ordre vnder some one as hyghest: there myght fayle the iudgement / precepte / and the excecucion of the cyuyle wytytes and ryghtes / & by reason hercof, the iniuries beyng vnponysshed: there shuld folowe fyghtynge and the seperacyon of men / and in conclusyon the corrupcyon or destruccyon of the cyuyle cōmunyte or realme. But this is an inconuenient most to be eschewed and auoyded. i. ergo. And that this inconuenyence shulde ensue of the pluralyte of prynces or heed gouernours: it maye be euidentlye shewed fyrst because transgressours of the lawes can not reasonablye be ponysshed, excepte they be called afore the prynce or gouernoure, to the exampnacyon of suche thynges, whiche are layde agaynst them / but this supposed that there were many gouernours and rulers not reduced vnto some one heed and hyghest gouernoure and ruler, so as our aduersarye dothe saye: no man that is called afore the ruler or gouernoure may suffyciently appere / for I put the case, that (as it chaunceth oftentimes) some man for some transgressyon of þe lawe be called to make answer of many rulers or gouernours beyng not one vnder an other / and that at one & the same tyme / for by the same reason by whiche one ruler or gouernour is bounden and maye call or somone any man to appere afore hym: by þe same any of the other maye do the same / and by the same reason by whiche the persone so called is bounde to make answer afore one of the sayde gouernours, lest he be accompted a rebell & dysobedyent persone: by the same reason he is bounde to make answer afore the other, as many as be of them. Nowe I reason in this wyse, outther þe persone so called of many gouernours, shall appere afore them all togyther at ones / or elles afore none of them all / or els afore one he shall appere: and afore an other of them he shall not appere? Afore them all togyther, and at one tyme, he can not appere / for it is vnpossyble to be done outther by nature or crafte / for one and the same bodye can not be togyther at one tyme in dyuerse places / & speake or make answer all at ones, to manye men askynge and demaundyng perauenture dyuers thynges all at one tyme. Agayne this admytted and graunted (though it be vnpossyble) that he whiche is called or somoned, myght appere at one tyme afore many rulers or gouernours / and outther holde his peace or make answer to them all, at one tyme, askynge and demaundyng dyuerse and sondrye thynges of hym: perauenture by one of the sayd rulers or gouernours he shall be cast or cō-

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demprned of the same ctyne / and by any other of them he shall be quytte or of the same desynered / or yf he be condempned by them bothe: yet peraventure not egal ly or lyke moche of the one as of the other / wherfore he shall be bounde to make amendes, and he shall not be bounde to make amendes / or yf he shall by the iudgement of bothe be bounde / he shall be bounde to make amendes in so moche, and in more or in lesse / and consequently in so moche, and not in so moche / wherfore other he shall do .ii. contradictorie thynges togyther at one tyme, whiche is vnpossyble: or elles he shall make none amendes at all / for there is no more reason why he shuld obeye or obserue the precepte of one gouernour: than of the other / or why he shulde more appere afore one of the sayd gouernours: than afore the other there is no reason at all. And yet yf he dyd appere afore one of them the other beyng dyspysed and not regarded, and peraventure by that one gouernour be absolved and quytte from the cnyple blame and ponysshment / yet that notwithstanding by the other gouernours he shall be condempned for his contumacye and dysobedience / so than the persone so called or cyted and somoned neyther shall appere at one tyme afore them all / neyther he maye cōueniently appere afore one, & afore an other not appere / wherfore it is leste onely, that the persone so called or cyted ought to appere afore none of all the gouernours / and so consequentye it foloweth, that he can not be corrected or ponysshed accordynge to iustyce. Wherfore to cōclude, it is not possyble that there shuld be a pluralyte of suche gouernours and offycers beyng not one ordered vnder an other, in a cnyple cōmunyte or realme: yf the cnyple iustyce and the cōmune profyte ought to be conserued. Agayne this supposed, many heed gouernours or cheyfe rulers to be in a cnyple cōmunyte, as for example many kynges to be in one realme / the cōmune vtylyte shuld be troubled / for in as moche as prynces ought often tymes to cōmaunde a cōgregacyon or assemble to be made of the cōmunes and subiectes, namelye suche as haue cōuenient leasure and may intende it, for the inquysycion and deternynacyon to be had aboute the cōmune vtylytes or profytes, or elles for the eschewynge or auoydynge of harmes or daungers rysynge, as for example to auoyde and dysapoynt them which outther beyng within the same cōmunyte, or in any other outwarde cōmunyte, are wyllynge and gothe aboute to oppresse the cōmune lybertye / And by what reason the cytezens or subiectes are bounde to come togyther: whan they are called, at the cōmaundement of one of the sayde heed gouernours, and to the place, and at what howre lymytted and appoynted by hym, by the same reason they are bounde to assemble and come togyther at the cōmaundment, and to the place and at the tyme lymytted of any other of them / now it maye so chaunce peraventure, that they bothe do appoynte them one howre, but dyuerse places / and moreover that thyng whiche the one of them wylleth or intendeth to moue or put forth the other peraventure intendeth to put forth the contrary thyng to the same / by the reason therfore that the subiectes can not possyble be in dyuers places at one tyme, neyther gyue theyr mynde and intende to dyuers thynges at ones / the cōmune vtylyte shulde be troubled and letted as we haue sayde.

Agayne by the reason of suche pluralyte of prynces or heed gouernours, there myght insue and folowe dysunyon / or stryfe / fyghtynge / and seperacyon of the cytezens / and fynallye corrupcyon of the cnyple cōmunyte / whyles certayne of them shall be wyllynge to obeye one of the sayde prynces / and other certayne of them, wyllynge to obey an other. Agayne there maye folowe dyscorde and stryfe betwene the gouernours and prynces selues / whyles eche one of them shall go aboute to be aboue and ouergo the other. And also betwene the gouernours and the subiectes refusynge to be obedyent vnto them / and moreover the gouernours

beyng

Many prynces or heed gouernours are pernycious to a cnyple cōmunyte, or realme.

beyng at debate or stryving one of them with any other, and lackynge a iudge,
 superyoure to ordre all thynges betwene them accordynge to iustyce / & aforesayd
 euylles or hurtes shulde ryse and growe therof. Agayne this pluralyte of heed go
 uernours supposed, one of the greatest thynges accordynge to reason and crafte
 shall be ydle or superfluous / for by onely one pryncce or one heed gouernour all cy
 uyle vtilytes may perfytely be had / what soeuer may be had by many prynces
 or heed gouernours / without any such comodities or hurtes, as do folowe the plu
 ralyte of the sayd rulers or gouernours. Agayne suche pluralite supposed of pryn
 ces or heed gouernours / in cytie, or realme, shall be but one / for it is called one cy
 tie or one realme / because of the vnyte of the pryncce or heed gouernour, to which,
 and for which, all & other partes of the cyuile comunyte are ordayned / as it shal
 appere of those thynges which we shall saye here forthwith. And also there shal
 be none ordre of the partes of the cyuile comunyte or realme / what soeuer that
 they are not ordered to any pryncypall or heed parte / because they are not bounde
 to be subiecte vnto any man / as it hath ben euidently shewed, and doth appere
 by 3 reasons afore gone / And there shall be a confusyon and dysordre of them and
 of the hole cyuile comunyte / for eche man shal chose to hym selfe, what soeuer of
 fyce he lyst, outther one or mo / no man rulyng or seperatynge them one from an
 other / so many inconuenientes also shulde folowe hereof, that it is harde or vn
 possyble to nombr them / as for an example in beast or sensyble creature beyng
 well ordered accordynge to nature, the fyrst and pryncypall cause motyue, which
 moueth & carryeth it locallye from place to place, is nor can be but one cause mo
 tyue onely / as it appereth euidently in that booke which is entytled *De motibus*
animalium / for yf there were many suche pryncyples or causes, and the same mo
 uynge the beast to contrarie or dyuers mocyons all at one tyme / it coulde not be
 chosen, but that the beast or sensyble creature outther shulde be carryed or moued to
 contrarie places at one tyme, or elles shulde rest and be nothyng moued at all /
 and lacke or wante suche thynges necessarye or good for it, which are gotten to
 it by mocyon locall or mouynge from place to place. And euen so and in lyke ma
 ner it is in a cyuile comunyte beyng well ordered / which sayde comunyte we
 haue sayde in the .v. chapytre of this dyccyon, to be proporcyonated and lyke to a
 sensyble creature beyng well fourmed or made accordynge to nature / And ther
 fore as in a beast or sensyble creature the pluralyte of suche prynciples or causes
 shuld be superfluous, yea & moreouer noysome: euen so lyke wyse we ought surely
 to thynke, it for to be in a cyuile comunyte or realme / The same also, who lyst
 to take hede, may be sene and perceyued of the pryncypale or cause of alteracyon
 in a beast: lyke wyse as of the pryncypale or cause mouynge the beast locallye / &
 semblablye in all & hole ordre of the causes mouynge, and of the thynges moued /
 But let vs passe ouer these thynges at this tyme / for it belongeth more to natural
 philosophy / And as moche as it is suffycient to the present consyderacyon / we
 haue spoken of them, Agayne arte or crafte perfourmeth & fynnysheth some thyn
 ges, which nature can not, and in some thynges / it countersayteth or foloweth
 nature / as it is wyrtten in the seconde booke of the *Physykes* / seynge therfore that
 in the nature of thynges, & in the whole worlde, there is but one pryncypall go
 uernoure in nombre, and not many (for naturall thynges wyl not be euyl orde
 red, as it is sayde in the .xii. booke of *Metaphysykes*) ergo there shal be but one pri
 ce or pryncypall gouernour in nombre instytuted accordynge to the reason & arte
 of men. And besyde these aforesayd reasons, all men maye se this to be true, expe
 dyent, and necessarye, by sensyble experyence / for in what soeuer place or prouynce
 or congregacyon of men the vnyte of the heed gouernour fayleth or is wantynge

why a cytie
 or realme is
 called one.

THE DEFENCE

so as we haue sayd/it semeth vnpossyble & prouynce or congregacyon to be well gouerned or ordred/as it appereth euidently well here to al men of the kyngdome or empyre of the Romaynes/ & was partlye shewed in the prohemie or prieface of this worke/ but whether it be conuenyent, that there shulde be but one heed gouer- nout or prynce in nombre, of the vniuersall multitude of men luyngge cyuillie, & in the wholse worlde/ or els it be more couenyent, in dyuerse plages or partes of the worlde beyngge seperated in places the one farre from the other, and cheyfly in those partes which are nothyngge agreynge in language. but can not vnderstāde one of them an other/ nor lyke in maners or cōdycyons/ and farre dystaunte in cō uersacyon to haue dyuerse and sondrye suche maner prynces or heed gouernours at a tyme. the celestyall cause also perauenture mouynge or counsaulyngge vnto the same, lest superfluous propagacyon of men shulde be made: this maye be rea- sonablie serched and inqyred/ but it appertayneth nothyngge to our present pur- pose or intencyon/ for perauenture it wolde seme to some man, that nature haue moderated or measured the propagacyon of men & of other beastes, by bataylles or fyghtes, and by pestylences or murrions fallynge and chaūsyngge other why- les amonge them so that the erthe or lande is suffcyent to the noutysshynge or byngynge vp of them/ but yet nowe retournyngge agayne vnto our purpose in- tended of vs/ let vs saye/ that of the premysse it dothe somwhat appere, what is the vnyte numerall of a cytie or realme/ for it is an vnyte of ordre, and not vterly lyke an vnyte/ but a pluralyte of certayne men, whiche pluralyte or whiche men are called, one thyngge in nombre/ not because they are one in nombre formallye by one fourme/ but they are trulye called one in nombre, because they are referred to one thyngge in nombre/ that is to wote, to the heed gouernour & hyghest powre to whome, or for whome they are ordred & gouerned/ for a cytie or realme is not made of thynges, whiche are one by any one naturall fourme, as of composycō or of cōmposicion/ for the offyces or partes therof, and the persones and the men or partes of these partes or offyces, are many in very dede/ and are separated in nō- bre one of them from an other formallye/ for they are separated in place and also in theyr subiectes/ wherfore neyther they are one by any one thyngge formallye in- herente/ neyther by any one thyngge to whyngge, or contaynyngge them all as we se & a wall is one thyngge framed & hāgynge togyther/ for Rome with Ecanes and other cōmunytes or cyties and towne, are one kyngdome or one empyre in nombre/ but yet none other wyse saue onely because eche one of these cōmunytes are wyllynge to be vnder one hyghest gouernour and vnder one regall powre in nombre. After whiche maner wel here it is sayde, the world to be but one in nom-

It is called
but one worl-
de because of
one god.

A kyngdom
is called one
because of one
kyngge or heed
gouernour.

bre, and not many worldes/ not because of any one numerall fourme formal- lye inherente to all thynges that are in the worlde/ but onely because of the nume- rall vnyte of the pryncypall causer or gouernour of all thynges, whiche is god: therfore all thynges, are called but one worlde/ for that that euery one of the na- turall thynges is inclyned & hangeth or dependeth of the sayde pryncypall cause whiche is god/ wherfore whan it is sayde that all thynges beyngge, are one world in nombre, it is not to be vnderstanded, neyther it is meaned, formallye of any vnyte numerall beyngge in all the sayd thynges: neyther of any cōmen phrase of speche, but it is a pluralyte of certayne thynges/ and is called one: because it is re- ferred vnto one, and for one/ so lyke wyse the men of one cytie or prouynce, are cal- led one cōmunyte or realme: because they are wyllynge al to haue one heed gouer- nour in nombre. And yet for all that they are not therfore one parte in nombre of a cytie: whiche are one realme or one cyuyle cōmunyte in nombre/ for though they desyre one heed offyccer in nombre, by the reasor wherof they are called one cytie or one realme: yet for al that, because they are referred to this one heed gouer- nour

noure in nombre, by dyuers and sundrye instytucion bothe actyue and passyue, whiche dyuers instytucion is nought elles but a dyuers precepte or comaundement gyuen to them by the prynce or heed gouernour, by which they are ordayned & appoynted to dyuers offyces/and by reason of þe dyuersyte of this precepte, formally also they are dyuerse, or sondrye partes or offyces of a cytie, or cypyle communityte. And euery one of þe sayd offyces is called one offyce in nombre, or one parte of the cypyle communityte in nombre (notwithstandyng the numeral pluralyte of þe persones in the sayde offyces or partes) not by any one thyng in nombre inherente to all the sayde persones: but because they are referred vnto one actyue precepte of the prynce or heed gouernour/accordyng to the determynacyon of the lawe.

The .xliii. chapytre we haue lefte out all togyther as nothyng appertaynyng to this realme of Englande,

Of the causes whiche maketh tranquyllyte, or vnquyetnes in a cytie or realme/ & of the cause whiche troubleth realmes/ & of þe cōtynuacyō or ioynyng togyther of þe fyrst dyccio or pte of this worke, vnto þe seconde parte of the same,

The .xix. chapytre.



Mowe remaineth & is behynde, the last chapytre of this fyrste dyccyon or parte, of the afore wyrtē determynacyons to inferre & conclude the causes bothe of tranquyllyte, & also of intranquyllyte the contrarye in a cytie or realme. For this was the princypal questyon accordyng to the intēcyon purposed of vs, from the begynnynge. And fyrst of all, we shal shewe these causes ingenerall: presupposyng the synngulare & specyall determynacyon of them, whiche spryngeth or ryseth after the comune or wonte maner whiche Aristotle maketh in the .v. booke of his politykes, consequently after these, we shall treat & determynatlye speke in especyall & pertyculerlye, of the straunge & vnwonte cause of dyscorde or intranquyllyte, of all cypyl gouernaunces or comunalties, whiche in our prohemye or preface/ we sayd to haue a great whyle dystroubled & yet cōtynualy to depe & trouble dayly more and more the good ordre of the comunalte of Italye. But here it is nedefull to our purpose for to resume & reherse agayne the dyscrypcions of tranquyllyte, & his contrarye intranquyllyte, whiche are afore wyrtē in þe seconde chapytre of this parte. Tranquyllyte is þe good dysposycon or orderynge of a cytie or realme, by which euery parte or mēbre therof, may do the workes conuenient & accordyng for it, accordyng to reason, & theyr owne instytucion & ordynauce, of the whiche dyscrypcyon, appereth the nature of it. For whan it is sayd a good dysposycon: therin is noted or marked the intrensicall quiddyte general of it. But in this, that by it is sayde, that euery membre of that comunaltie maye do the workes to it selfe conuenient & appertaynyng, is betokened the synall cause or ende of it, whiche causeth vs also to vnderstande & perceyue the propre quiddyte or dyfference of it. And for as moch as it selfe is a certayne fountne or dysposycon of a cytie or realme, and no more one, than we haue sayd a realme or a cytie to be in the .xlii. chapytre of this fyrste dyccyon, in the .vi. and .vii. partes therof, it hathe no cause formall. For a formall cause properlye apperteyneth to thynges composed, or made of mo parties than one. And the cause actyue or effcyent, therof we may, easely perceyue, by these thynges whiche were spoken and sayd /in the .xv. chapytre of this parte, and by other thynges whiche shall nedely folowe it in a cytie or

The descrypcyon of a quiete & a peaceable cytie.

THE DEFENCE

We ought to
 pray for heed
 offycers that
 we may lyue
 in peace.

realme, & they by these the conuersacyon of the cytezens eche with other, the comu-
 neratynge or parte takynge amonge them selues one of an others workes, the suc-
 courtynge or helppynge one of them an other, & generally powre or lyberte without
 any outwarde impedymēt or lettynge to exerceise theyr owne & the comune wor-
 kes, & partakynge also of the comune profytes or comodytes, & of men after the
 measure couenyent and agreynge to euery one, & with these, other comodytes &
 good thyngs, worthy to be desired which haue ben heretofore expressed in the ora-
 cion of Lassiudorus, whiche oracion we made the begynnynge of this boke, the
 contraries of al the whiche comodytes, or els of certayne the chefest of them, shal
 ensue and folowe intrāquylltye or dyscorde beyng the contrary to tranquylltye.
 For as moch than as the de we operacyon or workynge of the cheyse gouernoure
 & ruler is the cause effectyue or maker, & also cōseruet of all cyuyle comodytes or
 weale, and of the aforesayd thynges, as it hath ben shewed & declared in the .xv.
 chapytre of this boke, in the .vi. & the .xii. partes therof, it also shal be the cause ef-
 fectyue and maker of trāquylltye / & vndoubtedly this was Dauides mynde & me-
 anynge, whan he sayd to Timothe the .ii. chapytre of the fyrste epystle. Therefore
 I beseeche & desire, obsecracyōs and prayers to be made, for kyniges & rulers, and
 for all men whiche be in hyghe auctoryte, that we may lede a quyet & a peaceable
 lyfe. And what soeuer thyng shal let the de we accyon or workynge of this parte
 that is to say of the heed, of that thyng spryngeth & cometh forth intrāquylltye
 or dyscorde as of the cause effectyue, whiche cause of intrāquylltye sene and cō-
 sydered in general, though it be varped & made dyuers by many partyculer kyn-
 des & maners (of the whiche kyndes or maners, howe they be caused or come forth
 of a wonte or accustomed accyon Aristotle hath gyuen suffycient vnderstand-
 ynge & knowlege, in his fyfte boke of cyuyle scyence or gouernaūce of a comen
 weale / whiche we haue called polytyke scyence) yet notwithstandinge, there is
 a certayne stronge and vnwonte cause of intrāquylltye or dyscorde of cyties, re-
 almes & comodytes, whiche cause is taken occasyonallye for the effecte brought
 forth of the deuyne cause, besyde all his wonte or accustomed operacyon or wor-
 kynge in thynges, whiche cause, as I remēbre that we touched afore in our pro-
 hemye, neyther Aristotle / neyther any other of the phylosophers in his tyme or a-
 fore his tyme or after his tyme, coulde se or perceyue, and this cause a lōge season
 heretofore, and now also cōtynually, more & more, lettynge the de we operacyō
 or workynge of the heed ruler in the kyngdome of Italye, hath spoiled or bere-
 ued, and dothe spoyle and depyue it of peace or trāquylltye, & other comodites en-
 suenge and folowynge the same, also of the comodities nowe rehersed, & hath
 veped and dothe vepē the sayd comunaltie, with all hurtes & incōmodytes / and
 hath, as a man wolde saye, replenysshed and fylled it, with all kyndes of myse-
 ry and iniquyte. The nature of the whiche sayde cause sore lettynge & hurtynge
 by reason of & vsual custome of preuy malygnyte, we owynge in specyall or per-
 ticulerly to determyne, accordynge to our intencion proposed from & begynnynge
 must nedely call to remēbraunce, those thynges whiche we haue sayd heretofore
 in the .vi. chapytre of this boke, that is to wyt, that the sone of god, one of the .iii.
 persons, very god, to make satysfaccyon for the offence of our fyrst parentes dys-
 obediently transgressynge the cōmaundemēt of god / & consequently to repayre &
 sal of the hool kynde of man, hath taken vpon hym the nature of man, a good
 whyle after Aristotles tyme, beyng made very man, and the same beyng god
 also, whome, called Jesu Chryste, saythfull chrysten men do honoure and wor-
 shyppe, this chryste, I say the / blyssed sone of god bothe god and man in one per-
 sone, was conuersaunte amonge the people of the wycked Jewes, of whome he

Jesu chryste.

toke his begynnynge as touchynge his bodely substaunce / & he began to teache the veryte & trouthe of thynges to be beleued, of thynges to be done & wrought, of thynges to be auoyded & eschewed, to þe ende þe men myght get & optayne euerlastyng lyfe, & auoyde or escape euerlastyng mysery / And for these thynges, at the laste throughe the malice & woodnes of the Jewes, he suffered passyon, & was done to dethe, vnder ponce Pylate / presydent, or depute to the emperour of Rome / & rose agayne from dethe to lyfe the thyrde daye after his dethe, afterwarde ascendynge & goynge vp in to heuens. But yet afore that tyme, whyles he yet lyued by a corruptible lyfe, that is to saye before he suffered passyon, for the helthe & the saluacyon of mankynde, he chose & toke to hym certayne men which shuld be felowes in þe mynysterie of teachynge the trouthe, whome men cal apostles, & at the tyme of his ascencion he gaue them in charge & comaundement to preache that trouthe throughe out the whole worlde, which he had taught & instructed them in / wherfore he sayd to them after his resurreccyon, in the .xxviii. & laste chapytre of Mathewe. So you therfore, and teache all nacyns, baptyzinge them in the name of the father, & the sone, & the holy ghozt, teachynge them to obserue and kepe all thynges what soener I haue comaunded & charged you. By these apostles, I saye whose names are suffyciently knowen amonge the saythfull chrysten people, & by certayne other persones, chryste wyllled the lawe of þe gospell to be wryten, as by certayne instrumentes mouyd & dyrected to the same, imedpatly by the powre of god, by the whiche lawe or gospell wryten, we myght in the absense of chryste hym selfe, & of his apostles, yet haue perceyvinge & knowlege of the preceptes, & counsailes belongynge to euerlastyng helthe / In the whiche lawe, & accordyng to the whiche lawe, he hath appoynted, and ordayned the sacraments, wherby ouerygynallye & actuall syn is clensed, wherby the grace of god is obtayned and conserued, & wherby the same grace losse may be recouered agayne / and wherby the menyntres of this lawe are instytuted and made. And fyrst of all, he dyd instytute, ordeyne, & make the sayd apostles, teachers of this lawe, and mynystres of þe sacramentes accordyng to the same lawe, grynynge to them by þe holy ghozt, auctoryte of this mysterie, whiche chrysten people calleth the auctoryte of preefthode, by the whiche he gaue to the same, or to the successours of them in this offyce, & to none other, powre, vnder a certayne forme of wordes sayd of them, or of any one of them, to tourne the substaunce of bread & of wyne, in to the very body & blode of hym, and besyde this, he gaue also to the same, auctoryte or powre to bynde & to lose men from synnes, which auctoryte they are wonte to call þe powre of þe keyes & to subfytute and make other vnder them selues, haupnge the same auctoryte / The whiche auctoryte also the apostles gaue to certayne men, yea god gaue it by the apostles, throughe prayer, & puttyng of theyr hādes vpon them. And after the same maner haue other taken powre & auctoryte also, to do lyke wyse, & consequently so they haue done, dothe and shall do, euen vnto the ende of the worlde after whiche maner also, the apostle Paule dyd instytute Timothe, Titus, and other mo teachynge them also to instytute other lyke wyse, wherfore in þe .iiii. chapytre of þe former epystle wryten to Timothe he sayth. Do not despyse or set lyght by the grace whiche is in the, whiche is gyuen the throughe prophesye, with þe layenge on of the preefthes hādes / and in the fyrst chapytre of the epystle to Titus for this cause I haue lefte the in Crete londe, that thou shuldest correcte and amende suche thynges whiche yet wanteth, & that thou shuldest constytute, ordeyne, and make preefthes throughe out euery cytie, as I haue taught & charged the & this auctoryte of preefthod & of þe keyes, whether it be onely one auctoryte or els many, is a karact or a fygyre or marke imprinted in þe soule by þe imedpat workinge of god.

The apostles
of chryste.

The lawe of
the gospell.

The sacramē
tes of þe chur
che.

The sacra
ment of the
auster
The powre
of the keyes.

The karact
of holy order.

Besyde

THE DEFENCE

The primate
shyp of i spy
rytuall com:
meth of man

Bespyde this there is a certayne other auctorite belongynge to preefthode gyuen by the graunte of men, after that the nombre of them was multiplyed for to auoyde all occasyon of flaunder or offence, and this auctorite, is the preemynence whiche any one of them hath aboue the other, to directe them in the temple, to the worshypynge of god, and to the doyng of the deuynne seruyce: in dede forme and maner, and to destribute certayne temporall goodes, whiche hathe ben ordayned to the vse of the afore sayde mynystres. Of the powre and cause effectyue of the whiche auctorite and where hence it began and came forth, it shall be suffyciently declared in the .xv. and in the .xvii. chappytres of the seconde dyccyon or parte. For this auctorite of the primate shyp of the clargye is not made imedyatly by god but by the wyll and mynde of men, lyke wyse as other offyces of a comune weale be.

Peter the Bys
shop of Ante
oche.

Thus than, the orygynall begynnynge of the ecclesiastycall mynystres & the powre and cause effectyue of theyr offyce, beyng reherfed and somewhat declared, we must attende & gyue hede more ouer, that amonge the apostles of chryste aforesayd there was one, whose name was Symon Peter whiche was the fyrst that receyued of chryste the promyse of the keyes / as saythe the glose after saynt Austens mynde in the .xvi. chappytre of Mathewe, vpon this oracle or answeere of chryste. And to the I shall gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens. Vpon this tecte sayth the glose, he that confessed that Iesus chryst was the very sone of god hathe the keyes gyuen to hym afore other. for this sayd apostle, after the passyon the resurreccyon, & the assencion of chryste in to heuen, came to Anteoche / & there was made bysshop by the people as euidently doth appere, by the hystory of hym and from thense as the foresayd hystory sheweth, what soeuer cause hathe be ouerhyppyd and lefte out, for of this is there diuerse and sondry opynyons / afterwar des he wente to Rome / and there was he bysshop and ouersear to chrysten people and in cōclusyon, for the professyon of chryste, and for his godly preachynge, he was beheaded and dyed / and with hym, in the same place and at the same tyme, & apostle Pankle also, accordynge to the afore sayd hystory / of the prerogatyue than whiche this dysciple or apostle semed to haue, in comparyson of the other apostles, in that the keyes were fyrste promysed to hym afore the other, for the wordes of scripture here tofore brought in and reherfed, and for certayne other thynges spoken of chryst to hym synghulerly, which shal be reherfed here after: certayne bysshoppes after hym, in the apostolyke or epyscopal see of Rome, and namely syns the tyme of Constantyne the emperour of Rome. saye and chalenge them selues to be aboue all other bysshoppes of the worlde, as touchynge all maner auctorite of iurysdyccyon / yea and certayne of the same, whiche hathe ben of latter tyme, not onely dothe chalenge to be aboue all other preefstes and bysshoppes / but also aboue all prynces of the world, al cōmunalties, & al maner persones / albeit, they do not expresse this egalty of all, neyther do saye it playnly and openly, as of the pryncce and ruler of the Romaynes called the emperoure, and of the prouynces, cyties, & persones subiectes to the same emperour / albeit, that the synghuler expressyon of suche domynyon or coactyue iurysdyccyon ouer this pryncce (accordynge to the very trouth) semeth to haue taken face and fyrste begynnynge, of a certayne gyfte or graunt whiche certayne men saythe, to haue ben made by Constantyne emperour, to saynt Syluester bysshop of Rome: yet because this is not clerely expressed in that graunte or pryncyple, or elles because perauenture it hath ben dysanulled by other made afterwar des, or elles because it was weake or of smal strengthe: the vertue of the sayde graunte, extendeth it selfe to the other lordshyppes & gouernaunces of the world, & not to the empyre of the Romaynes in al prynces

The donary:
on or gyfte of
Constantyne.

And

And therefore afterwarde the bysshoppes of Rome of latter tyme, haue chalenged & taken to them selues this iurysdyccyon coactyue vniuersally vpon & houle wolde, by a certayne other tytyle, comprehendynge all men, that is to wyte by the fulnes of powre & auctorite, whiche they say, was gyuen by chryste to saynt Peter, and to his successours in the eppiscopall see of Rome, as beyng the chrystes vycares or deputies. For chryste (as they saye and truly) was the kynge of kynges, and lord of lordes, yea & of all the houle world bothe persons and thynges (howbe it of this dothe not folowe that thyng, whiche they wolde inferre and conclude, as shall appere more certaynely and vndoubtedlye in those thynges, which shall be spoken here after) this than is the meanynge of this tytyle amonge the bysshoppes of Rome, that lyke wyse as chryste had the fulnesse of powre and iurysdyccyon aboue all kynges, prynces, comunalties, companyes, or felowshippes, and all singuler persons: so in lyke maner they, whiche calleth them selues the vycares of chryst, and Peter, haue also the same fulnesse of coactyue iurysdyccyon, determyned by no lawe of man.

An euident token & the bysshoppes of Rome intende this to be the meanynge which we haue reherced, of this tytyle, that is to wyte of the fulnes of theyr powre: is this, that Clement the .v. of that name, bysshop of Rome, doth so vse it in a certayne decretall, whiche he made. De sen. et re iudi. in the .vii. booke, to Henry the .vii. of worshypfull memoire last emperour, of Rome of that name, whyles in reuoluyng a certayne sentence or iudgement of the same Henry, he uttereth certayne order of wordes, expresseynge that, whiche we haue sayd, as touchynge theyr sence & meanynge aboute the foresayd tytyle, whiche wordes we leaue out & passe ouer here, partly because the mater as knowen well ynoughe, and partly for cause of shortnes, and because we shall bryng them in more for the purpose in the .xxv. chapytre of & seconde dyccyon the .viii. parte of the same chapytre. Seyng than that chryst neyther is, neyther hath ben, more kynge and lord of the emperour of the Romaynes than of any other kynge, or pryncce & ruler, who soeuer he be, but rather as moch or more kynge and lord of the other: because that in chrystes tyme the pryncce or emperoure of the Romaynes was in a maner lord and onely chiefe heed, throughe out all the worlde: it is open and euident that the sence and meanynge of this tytyle, by the vertue and strengthe of one, and the same rote is extendyd to all kyngdomes, lordshippes, and rules: whiche sence or meanynge also to be intendyd by the same tytyle, of the bysshoppes of Rome, the contencion, attencion & enterpryse of Bonysface the .viii. bysshop of Rome agaynst Phelyp of famouse & worshypfull memory kynge of Fraunce, and the decretall of the same Bonysface, therof ensuyng manifestly doth teache, whiche same decretall shal be brought in of vs, in the .xx. chapytre of the seconde dyccyon, the .viii. parte of the same chapytre: by which decretall he desyneth & determyneth, that this is to be beleued of the necessitye of euerlastynge helth and saluacyon, that all maner men be subiectes by coactyue iurysdyccyon to the bysshop of Rome. Than by this meane the bysshops of Rome enterynge in to these thynges, fyrste vnder the coloure and aperaunce of sechynge peace amonge the saythfull chrysten people, certayne they dyde excomunicat, whiche wolde not obaye theyr sentence, & iudgement and afterwarde geuyng sentence and iudgement agaynst them, bothe reall and personall, that is to saye: bothe in theyr goodes and in theyr personage, agaynst some more expressely, as such whiche were lesse able to resyste or withstade theyr powre as for example agaynst & singuler persons & comunytes of the Italyes whose kyngdome beyng deuoyded & torne a sonder in all his ptes, may & more easely & soner be oppressed: & agaynst other some more slackely, as kiges, whose coactyue powre

8

Clement 7. D

Chryste was not the gouernour of & emperour of Rome.

Bonysface & maker of decretalles.

A good artycle of our fayth, & worship for such a bysshop
The abuse of excomunicacyon.

THE DEFENCE

The primate
shyp of & spy
rytuall com:
meth of man

¶ Besyde this there is a certayne other auctorite belongynge to preesthode gyuen by the graunte of men, after that the nombre of them was multiplyed for to auoyde all occasyon of staunder or offence, and this auctorite, is the preemynence whiche any one of them hath aboue the other, to directe them in the temple, to the worshypynge of god, and to the doyng of the deuyne seruyce: in dewe forme and maner, and to destribute certayne temporall goodes, whiche hathe ben ordayned to the vse of the afore sayde mynystres. Of the powre and cause effectyue of the whiche auctorite and where hence it began and came forth, it shall be suffyciently declared in the .xv. and in the .xvii. chapytres of the seconde dyccyon or parte. For this auctorite of the primate shyp of the clargye is not made imedyatly by god but by the wyll and mynde of men, lyke wyse as other offyces of a comune weake be.

Peter the bys
shop of Ante
oche.

¶ Thus than, the orygynall begynnynge of the ecclesiastycall mynystres & the powre and cause effectyue of theyr offyce, beyng reherfed and somewhat declared, we must attende & gyue hede more ouer, that amonge the apostles of chryste foresayd there was one, whose name was Symon Peter whiche was the fyrst that receyued of chryste the promyse of the keyes / as saythe the glose after saynt Austens mynde in the .xvi. chapytre of Mathewe, vpon this oracle or answere of chryste. And to the I shall gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens. Vpon this texpte sayth the glose, he that confessed that Iesus chryst was the very sone of god hathe the keyes gyuen to hym afore other. for this sayd apostle, after the passyon the resurreccyon, & the assencion of chryste in to heuen, came to Anteoche / & there was made bysshop by the people as euidently doth appere, by the hystory of hym and from thense as the foresayd hystory sheweth, what soeuer cause hathe be ouerhyppyd and lefte out, for of this is there diuerse and sondry oppynyons / afterwar des he wente to Rome / and there was he bysshop and ouersear to chrysten people and in cōclusyon, for the professyon of chryste, and for his godly preachynge, he was beheded and dyed / and with hym, in the same place and at the same tyme, & apostle Pank also, accordynge to the afore sayd hystory / of the prerogatyue than whiche this dyscyppe or apostle semed to haue, in comparyson of the other apostles, in that the keyes were fyrste promysed to hym afore the other, for the wordes of scripture here tofore brought in and reherfed, and for certayne other thynges spoken of chryst to hym syngulerly, which shal be reherfed here after: certayne bysshoppes after hym, in the apostolyke or epyscopal see of Rome, and namely syns the tyme of Constantyne the emperour of Rome. saye and chalenge them selues to be aboue all other bysshoppes of the worlde, as touchynge all maner auctorite of iurysdyccyon / yea and certayne of the same, whiche hathe ben of latter tyme, not onely dothe chalenge to be aboue all other preestes and bysshoppes / but also aboue all prynces of the world, al cōmunalties, & al maner persones / albeit, they do not expresse this egally of all, neyther do saye it playnly and openly, as of the prynce and ruler of the Romaynes called the emperoure, and of the prouynces, cyties, & persones subiectes to the same emperour / albeit, that the synguler expressyon of suche domynyon or coactyue iurysdyccyon ouer this prynce (accordynge to the very trouth) semeth to haue taken face and fyrste begynnynge. of a certayne gyfte or graunt whiche certayne men saythe, to haue ben made by Constantyne emperour, to saynt Syluester bysshop of Rome: yet because this is not clerely expressed in that graunte or pryuylege, or elles because perauenture it hath ben dysanulled by other made afterwar des, or elles because it was weake or of smal strengthe: the vertue of the sayde graunte, extendeth it selfe to the other lordshyppes & gouernaunces of the world, & not to the empyre of the Romaynes in al prynces

The donacy:
on or gyfte of
Constantyne.

And

And therefore afterwarde the bysshoppes of Rome of latter tyme, haue chalenged & taken to them selues this iurysdyccyon coactyue vniuersally vpon & houle worlde, by a certayne other tytyle, comprehendynge all men, that is to wote by the fulnes of powre & auctorite, whiche they say, was gyuen by chryste to saynt Peter, and to his successours in the epyscopall see of Rome, as beyng the chrystes vycares or deputies. For chryste (as they saye and truly) was the kynge of kynges, and lord of lordes, yea & of all the houle world bothe persons and thynges (howbe it of this dothe not folowe that thyng, whiche they wolde inferre and conclude, as shall appere more certaynely and vndoubtedlye in those thynges, which shall be spoken here after) this than is the meanynge of this tytyle amonge the bysshoppes of Rome, that lyke wote as chryste had the fulnesse of powre and iurysdyccyon aboue all kynges, prynces, comunalties, companyes, or felysshyppes, and all singuler persons: so in lyke maner they, whiche calleth them selues the vycares of chryst, and Peter, haue also the same fulnesse of coactyue iurysdyccyon, determyned by no lawe of man.

An euident token & the bysshoppes of Rome intende this to be the meanynge whiche we haue reherced, of this tytyle, that is to wote of the fulnes of theyr powre: is this, that Element the .v. of that name, bysshop of Rome, doth so vse it in a certayne decretall, whiche he made. De sen. et re iudi. in the .vii. booke, to Henry the .vii. of worshypfull memorie last emperour, of Rome of that name, whyles in reuocacion a certayne sentence or iudgement of the same Henry, he uttereth certayne order of wordes, expresseynge that, whiche we haue sayd, as touchynge theyr sence & meanynge aboute the foresayd tytyle, whiche wordes we leaue out & passe ouer here, partly because the mater as knowen well ynoughe, and partly for cause of shortnes, and because we shall brynge them in more for the purpose in the .xxv. chapytre of & seconde dyccyon the .xviii. parte of the same chapytre. Seyng than that chryst neyther is, neyther hath ben, more kynge and lord of the emperour of the Romaines than of any other kynge, or prynce & ruler, who soeuer he be, but rather as moche or more kynge and lord of the other: because that in chrystes tyme the prynce or emperoure of the Romaines was in a maner lord and onely chiefe heed, throughe out all the worlde: it is open and euident that the sence and meanynge of this tytyle, by the vertue and strengthe of one, and the same rote is extendyd to all kyngdomes, lordshippes, and rules: whiche sence or meanynge also to be intendyd by the same tytyle, of the bysshoppes of Rome, the contencion, attencion & enterpryse of Bonysface the .viii. bysshop of Rome agaynst Phelipp of famous & worshypfull memory kynge of Fraunce, and the decretall of the same Bonysface, therof ensuyng manifestly doth teache, whiche same decretall shal be brought in of vs, in the .xx. chapytre of the seconde dyccyon, the .viii. parte of the same chapytre: by which decretall he desyneth & determyneth, that this is to be beleued of the necessitye of euerlastynge helth and saluacion, that all maner men be subiectes by coactyue iurysdyccyon to the bysshop of Rome. Than by this meane the bysshops of Rome enterynge in to these thynges, fyrste vnder the coloure and aperaunce of sechynge peace amonge the faythfull chrysten people, certayne they dyd excomunicat, whiche wolde not obaye theyr sentence, & iudgement and afterwarde geuynge sentence and iudgement agaynst them, bothe reall and personall, that is to saye: bothe in theyr goodes and in theyr personage, agaynst some more expressely, as such whiche were lesse able to resyste or withstade theyr powre as for example agaynst & singuler persons & comunytes of the Italyens whose kyngdome beyng deuoyded & torne a sonder in all his ptes, may & more easely & soner be oppressed: & agaynst other some more slackely, as kiges, whose coactyue

Element & .v.

Chryste was not the gouernour of & emperour of Rome.

Bonysface & maker of decretalles.

A good artycle of our fayth, & wherfor such a bysshop The abuse of excomunicacion.

THE DEFENCE

No man can make the people to beleue this abhominable presumption & pryde.

The Bysshoppes of Rome with theyr desyringe of domynion, hath ben & causeth of dyscorde & warres.

Coactiue iurisdiction apperteyneth to no spiritual mynystre of the church, as concernynge he is a spiritual mynystre

powre they do fere and drede. Howbeit they do crepe by tytle and tytle, and contynualle assaye and enterpryse to crepe euen vnto these heades also, in the vsurpacion of iurysdyccyon, beyng very hardy and bolde to inuade all togyther. For the which cause & pryncypalite of these Bysshoppes craftely & pryncely comynge in, hath hether to ben vnknowen and hyd from the prynces and rulers of the Romaynes, and from the peoples, subiectes to them. For the Bysshoppes of Rome by tytle and tytle haue caughte vnto them selues one Iurysdyccyon after an other, namely whan the imperypall see hath ben vacante, but yet se that nowe they saye that they selues haue all the imperypall iurysdyccyon coactiue, aboue the same pryncce and emperour, amonge all whiche sayd Bysshoppes of Rome, the Bysshop that nowe is, hath wyrtten most large and most manifestlye, to the emperour of Romaynes/as wel in the prouynces of Italye as of Germanye, & to al the infeyour prynces and rulers of the sayd prouynces, to the comunytes, companyes or felowshippes, and synguler persones of the same of what soeuer dygnyte, condycyon, or estate they be, that hym selfe hath hyghest and chiefe iurysdyccyon vpon them/and al theyr temporall es & ascribynge openly to hym selfe, powre to gyue and to translate theyr kyngdomes and offyces, from them to other men/as clere ly and euidently it maye appere to all men, by certayne wyrtynge of the same Bysshop, which he calleth wyrtynge decrees or sentēces. Therefore this wronge exystymacyon, oppynion, iudgement, and perauenture peruerse affectyon or desyre of domynion or chiefe rule, whiche they chalenge to be due to them selues, by the tytle of the ful powre and auctoryte gyuen vnto them by Ihesu Crist (as they say) is that synguler and specyall cause, whiche we haue sayde to be the maker of in tranquyllytie or dyscorde of a cytie or realme/for this peruerse affectyon beyng prone and redy to crepe in to all realmes and kyngdomes, as it was sayd in our prohemye with his noysome and hatefull accyon or workynge, hath of longe season vexed the realme of Italye, and hath kepte, & continually doth kepe it from it tranquyllyte or peace, in that it setteth and forbyddeth with all enforcement the promocyon or instytucyon of the chiefe ruler, that is to saye of the emperoure of the Romaynes, and his operacyon or workynge in the sayde empyre for lacke & wante of the whiche accyon or worke, that is to wyte of the iustifycacyon of the cytyle actes and dedes: wronges and contencionys or stryfes, easelye and lyghtly doth chaunce and ryse/whiche wronges not measured by the rule of Justyce, or of the lawe, because the mesurer is absent: causeth fyghtynge / By the reason wherof, seperacyons of the commons, and inconclusyon the breakynge or lousynge of the comune weales in Italye, hath chaunced as we haue sayd /through this oppynion than and perauenture affectyon and desyre of domynion and bearynge chiefe rule, wherof we haue spoken: the Bysshop of Rome enforceth and labourereth to make & emperour of the Romaynes subiecte to hym, by coactiue or temporall iurysdyccyon /whiche emperour neyther ought by ryght, as it shal be playn ly and openly shewed by those thynges whiche here after shal folowe, neyther is wyllynge to be subiecte to hym in suche iudgement. For the offyce of coactiue Iurysdyccyon, is not a greynge or conuenient neyther to the Bysshop of Rome neyther to any other Bysshop, nor to any spiritual mynystre, in that he is a spiritual mynystre, neyther is it conuenient that he haue any suche iurysdyccyon, ouer any man, or person of what soeuer estate or condycyon he be, or ouer any comunyte, or company or felowshyp, as it hath ben determyned in the. xv. & xvii. chapytres of this fyrste dyccyon or parte. And of this mynde is Aristotle in the. iiii. of his politykes.

¶ And because this pernycious pestylence or myschefe utterly contrary to the quietnes

etnes and rest of men, and also to al theyr welthe & felicitye, throughe the faulte of the sayde corrupte rote of ambycyons, affectyon to reygne ouer all, myght infecte and poyson the other kyngdomes or realmes of the worlde, cheyfely of chrystendome: I thynke it moste necessarye and nedefull of all, to repell and dryue it backe/as we sayd in our prohemye / fyrste by openyng the couerynge or closet of the aforesayde oppynyon, whiche is as the rote of all the cruylles whiche haue ben done alreedy, or els hercafter shall be done / & afterwarde by keepyng vnder with exteryor and outwarde laboure and dyspygēce, the ygnoraunte or vnrighthouse byngers vp and denyers, and also the frowarde defenders of the same. To these thynges are all men bounde, whiche outhere haue knowlege or be of myght and powre to withstande it / whiche thyng whosoener outhere dothe not regarde, or leueth it vndone: they are iniuste and vnrighthouse / wytnesse Tully in the fyrst booke De officiis, the .v. chapytre whan he sayd. There are two kyndes of iustyce or vnrighthousnes / the one of them whiche doth iniurye or wronge to other men / the other of them whiche dothe not withstande & dryue backe iniurye and wronge from them to whome it is done, yf they be able and of powre. Beholde than, that accordyng to this notable sentence of Tully, not onely they be vnrighthouse persons, whiche dothe iniurye and wronge to other: but they also whiche haue knowlege and be able to forbyd and let them, whiche dothe iniurye to other, and dothe not prophybte and let them / for euery one of vs is bounden to do this to other by a certayne (in a maner) lawe naturall / & is to wyte, by the dutye of frendshipp, and socyete and felowshipp of man / whiche lawe (lest I shulde wyttynglye transgresse it, I myght at the leaste wyse seme to my selfe, for to be vniust & vnrighthouse) I suppose to put by and dryue awaye this pestylence or myschefe, from my bretherne the faythfull people of chryste, fyrste by lernynge, and consequently by myne outwarde laboure and dyspygēce, suche as I shall be able

Howe to oppress & usurped powre of the man of Rome.

They whiche dothe not resiste cruyl men are iniuste persons.

to do / for as moche as it is gyuen to me from aboue (as me thynke I perceyue vndoubtelye) to knowe the sophysme & subtyltye therof

& powre to open it, vnto the whiche sophysme or deceptefull cautell, the peruerse and croked oppynyon, and petauenture also the peruerse affection vnyted thereun:

to, of certayne bysshoppes of Rome here

tofore and at this presēt tyme also

beynge, and theyr coplyces

(whiche is theyr mother

and cause of all the

aforesayde

flaunders and hurtes) haue tyued and trusted

hether to and contynuallye laboureth to

be sustayned or maynteyned and

holden vp by the same.



**Thus endeth the
fyrste boke.**

THE DEFENCE

The seconde dyccyon or parte of Marsilius of Paduaye, of the powre and auctoryte of the Emperoure and the Pope.

Of thre Impedymentes, maners and wayes, to contrarpe & save agaynst the veryties, contayned in this dyccyon / of the intencion of the thynges whiche here shall be treated of, and of the maner and forme of procedynge.

The fyrste chapytre.

Of the fyrste aduersarye agaynst the truthe.

The charytable desyre of marsilius.

Of the seconde aduersarye to truthe. Lufte me to here lyes.



More therfore beyng aboute to take in hande, and to sette vpon so harde & hyghe a thyng, albeit I do not doubt, that no thyng can be objected agaynst vs, whiche maye be grounded vpon the trouth, yet that notwithstandinge, I do se warres and bataylles to be prepared / and made redy agaynst this worke, by .iii. hate full and mortall enemyes of the truthe / the one is, the persecusyon of the vyolent and ferce powre of the bysshoppes of Rome, and theyr complices / for they shall endeuer them selfe / and laboure all that euer they maye, to destroye this worke and the publysshers and declaters of it tellynge the trouth, as beyng directlye contrarye to theyr purpose of witholdynge and possessynge wrongfullye temporallies, and also beyng agaynst the feruent desyre, whiche they haue, to haue domynyon, and to bere rule / from the whiche sayde purpose and desyre, it shall be a harde thyng, and a great maysterpe, to reuoke them and to call them a waye, by any speche of truthe: be it neuer so manifest, playne, and opyn. But yet I praye god, that of his mercy, he wyll by his grace vouchsafe, to reuoke them, and to abate and kepe vnder the vyolent powre of them, and that his faythfull people bothe prynces and subiectes maye tame and holde vnder the same powre, to the tranquillyte and quietnes of all the whiche prynces and subiectes, they are foes and enemyes.

The seconde aduersary, which no lesse prepareth batayle agaynst this worke, is the olde enemye in a maner of euery verytpe or truthe / & is to wote, the custome of herynge false lyes, and gyuyng credence to the same / false lyes I saye, which haue bene of longe season, by some preestes or bysshoppes, and other theyr suffraganes, so wne and roted in the sowles of very many symple chrysten people / for these preestes by certayne theyr speches and also wrytynge, haue entangled and wrapped in, the sentence of god, and of man, with dyuers implicacyon of the actes and dedes of men, as well relygyouse, as laye or temporall / and verye laborouse to be explycated and declared / inferryng and concludynge afterwar des (thoughe vnductye and vntuly) of such wrestynge and wrythyng of sentences, certayne sences or meanynge, by whiche they haue brought in theyr iniuste and wrongfull domynyon and lordshyp, ouer and vpon the faythfull people of chryste, gyuyng credence throughe theyr owne symplycyte, by certayne deceytfull and crafty argumentes of these preestes, and a certayne comynacyon or thretenynge of euerlastynge dāpnacyon, & they are bounden by the ordynauce of god, to obseruacyon of such sophystical sayēges & wrytūges in / whiche often tymes they trespassse and do amysse, inferryng a conclusyon of such thynges, wherof it doth not dewelye folowe / For the true meanynge, of the thynges wherof the questyon and

and dysputacyon is made, and of theyr true and symple begynnynge, beyng wyppd out of the myndes of men, and false vnderstādynges beyng brought by fylse and fylse in to theyr myndes, in the stede of them: nowe the dyscernynge of bothe, is hyd from very many men / For this custome of herynge false and vntrue thynges, in what soeuer dyscyplyne it be: troubleth and leadeth men greatly awaye from the trouthe as Aristotle wytnesseth in his last chapytre of philosophye / By reason of the whiche sayd custome, the readers and hearers of this booke also, shall greatly be troubled and letted in the begynnynge, cheyselfe suche as shall be vnskylled in philosophye, and vnderpysed in holye scriptures / from the perceyvinge and vnderstandynge, and also perfyte beleuyng of the verytyes in this booke contayned.

The thyde & last hatefull and noysome enemye of the trouthe, shall be a great impedymēt and lettynge to this doctryne also / and that is the enuye of them also / whiche, albeit they shall beleue, that we haue sayde and spoken the trouthe: yet that natwithstādyng because, they shall perceyue, an other man to haue ben the declarer and setter forth of this trewe sentence afore them selues: they beyng mouyd therunto, by the moste wycked spyryte of brennyng enuye, shall set them selues as aduersaries agaynst the same declarer, outhet tearyng hym with the secrete and pryue tothe of backebytynge and dettaccyon, or elles with the clamorous barkynge of presumpcyon.

But I wylle leue or cease from my purpose, neyther for feare or drede of the vyolente powre of preestes, which other wyse then they ought to do, feruently desyre domynyon and lordshyp, whome I speake to in these wytynges / for as moche as the maker of the psalmes saythe. The lord is my helper, and I wylle not feare what man can do vnto me. Neyther I wylle leue of, for the obloquyes of enuyouse dettactours, to expresse that thyng whiche beyng declared, & opened, may as moche profyte and do good to all men: as it myght do hurte to all men, yf it were neglected, and not regarded and taken heade of / And as for these foresayde enuyouse persons shall also with theyr enuye, freatyng and verryng or tourmentynge theyr myndes: do most harme vnto them selues. For enuye, as saythe Dguttio, very well describyng it, is a thyng retournynge to the auctoure therof, in that it is the tormentynge of a mynde, consumynge & wastynge awaye, because of an other mannes welthe or good / and as for the custome, which afore we sayd to be enemye to vs: shall suffycientlye be resysted, by the euydence of the verytyes whiche hereafter shall be sayde and spoken.

And this shall be the maner of my processe in the seconde dyccyon or parte of this booke / fyrste I shall brynge in auctorities of the holy Canon, with certayne fayned, and straunge, or vnmete interpretacyons of certayne men, by the whiche peraduenture it myght seme and appere, that it myght be proued, the hyghest of all iurysdyccyon coactyue, and cheyfest rule and domynyon, to be dewe of ryght to the bysshop of Rome / namely in the lawe of chrysten men, as well aboue the prynce & emperour of the Romaines, as vpon al other kyngdomes, lordshyppes, cōmunyties, companyes or feloshyppes, and syngulare persones, euen seculers / & so moche the more ouer preestes or bysshoppes, deacons, and the collegges or feloshyppes of them, and syngulare persones / of what estate soeuer they be. For yf by any necessitye, this iurysdyccyon maye be concluded by the vertue and strength of the wordes of scripture, ouer any one of these, outhet seculers or clarkes: By the same, it maye in comparyson of all the resydewe / Consequentlye after these auctorities, I shall brynge in certayne as it were polytyke reasons, very apparant, to the confynacyon and fortespynge of this sayde purpose, grounded vpon cer-

The thyde
aduersarye
to truthe.
Enuye.

Enuye.

The ordie of
procedynge
in this dyccyon
or parte.

THE DEFENCE

The bysshop
of Rome hath
no iurysdiccy
on ouer pree-
stes.

sayne verytes of the holy scripture, whiche also euery one of them to be trewe: & a greable all men wolde perauenture suppose / These reasons (I say) I wyll bryng in, to the intete, & I may so openly dyssoleue them, & make answere to them: that no man from hensforth may by them, or other lyke, be deceyued or begyled / and that by the solucyon of them: the infyrmyte, & weakenes or feblenes of the afore sayde oppynyon, may the more appere / to & whiche of longe season. hitherto, they haue gyuen the coloure & face of probalyte & lykelyhod. After these thynges done than shall I of the contrary parte, bryng in certayne verytes of the holy canon, with the expposicions of the holy interpretours therof, not sayned, not straunge or false, but agreable, & mete and properly belongynge to the same / whiche sayde verytes doth shewe openly & playnly, & the bysshop of Rome called the pope, or any other preeft, or bysshop, or spyrytuall mynystre, ioyntlic, or sonderly, in that they be suche mynystres: neyther hathe, neyther ought to haue any iurysdyccyon coactyue of any man, reall or personall, ouer any preeft or bysshop, or deacon, or any college or felosshyp of them / & therfore so moche & lesse, he or any of them, comune ly, or seuerally, hathe any such maner iurysdyccyon, vpo any kige or pryncce, or vpo any realme, comunalte, copany or felosshyp, or any synngulare persone secular / except onely, & suche maner iurysdyccyon by some man maker of the lawe, in & prouynce, shall be graunted to some preeft, or bysshop / or to some college or felosshyp of them. To the demōstracyon, & confyrmacyon wherof there may & ought to be brought in / whan any man shall se oportunyte / certayne cyuyle or polityke demōstracyons or reasons / whose propre prynciples or begynnynge are cōteyned in & xii. chapytre of the fyrst dyccyon the. xv. & xvii. for I am not dysposed to reherse them agayne, because of shortenynge of our speche / cōsequently, aft these thynges I shall shewe, what, & howe great is the powre & auctoryte of preefthod, & of the keyes gyuen by chryst to the bysshop of Rome, & to euery preeft / for of the many festacyon & declaracyon of these thynges, hāgeth the solucyon of many doubtēs, whiche solucyon gyueth entraunce & cōmyng in to the verytie & ende, whiche we seche & labour to bryng forth / & afterwarde, it shall be very profytable, to say somwhat and make answere to certayne questyons, rysynge of the aforesayde thynges / with the whiche, we shall also saye somwhat, of the pryuyleges of the emperours of Rome, whiche hathe ben graunted to the sayd bysshoppes of Rome whiche thynges shall be very expedyent & profytable, to our busynes purposed & entended. For of these pryuylegges, the vsurpacyons, occupacyons, or withhol- dynges of iurysdyccyons coactyue, whiche now they ascrybe properly to the auctorytie of the bysshop of Rome: accasyonally toke they: begynnige / & by custome or rather abuse, afterwarde, hathe taken strength / namely the emperyall seate beyng vacante. For by these pryuylegges, at the begynnynge & by nothyng els the bysshoppes of Rome hath ben vpholden, in the purchasyng or gettyng coactyue iurysdyccyons & in the cōseruacyon & keepynge of the same. But afterwarde, outhet because throughe they demerites they haue ben depriued of the same pryuylegges / or elles lest the debyltye and weakenes of the occasyons, & the trouthe of this iurysdyccyon vnderwely & wrongfully taken vnto them, myght appere / & to couer & hyde they: vnkyndnes / or els perauenture (as we shewed it to be very lyke to be true in the last chapytre of the fyrst dyccyon) because they intende and purpose the occupacyon / of & coactyue iurysdyccyon of all realmes, to the whiche, the afore reherfed pryuylegges coulde nothyng helpe them, or make with them: therfore they do not vse the same pryuylegges / but an other vniuersall tytill afore reherfed, to make all prynces or rulers, & all men & synners cyuyllye, subiectes to them selues: that is to wyte the fulnesse of powre & auctoryte / by the whiche fulnesse of powre

Note this.

of power / gyuen (as they say) by chryste / to saynt Peter, as to his vicare & deputy: now we euer bysshop of Rome, in that he is the successoure of Peter, saythe that his selfe hath the hyghest coactyue iurysdyccyon of al men, & all prouynces. The resydwye & remenaute of this dyccyon, shall be to shewe, that the auctorytes of the holy Canon, agaynst that sentence of the trouthe and of the scrypture, which we haue sayd before: dothe nothyng make for the aforesayd errour / but rather dothe make agaynst the same / as it shall manifestly appere, by the exposityons of certayne sayntes, and also of other approued doctours of the chrysten saythe / by the whiche also, it shall playnly appere, that the exposityons, nay rather, & to speke more trulye, the fycyons & fayned ymagynacyons of certayne men, goynge aboute to wrythe & wreste the scrypture, to the mayntenaunce & fortesyng of the sence of theyr false oppynyon aforesayd: are dyolent in terpretacyons, croked, contrary to the scrypture, & dysagreyng to the sentence and mynde of the holy & also learned doctours of the chrysten saythe. And fynally, and last of all, I shall dysfolue, and make answer to the argumentes & reasons, whiche beyng as it were cuple or polytyke reasons, I sayd afore, dyd seme and appere, somewhat to defende and fortesye that false oppynyon, oftentymes afore rehersed.

¶ Of the dyuerse sygnifycacyons, of the nownes or dyccyons and wordes, of the whiche, the questyons here be determyned, or made.

The seconde chapytre,



Et afore we do dispute and reason of these thynges purposed lest by the reason of the manyfolde sygnifycacyons of the names whiche we shall vse in our pryncypall questyons, any ambrygnite maye chaunce, & inplycacyon, or entangelyng, or combrousnies of the sentence, whiche we are wyllynge to declare and open: we shal fyrst of all, shewe the dyuerse sygnifycacyons of the sayd wordes / for as Aristotile sayth in the fyrst boke of Eleuches who soeuer are ygnorant of the sygnifycacyon and strength of nownes or wordes: are deceyued & beggled, bothe when they selues dysputeth, & also when they here other dysputynge & the names or wordes, whose many and sondry sygnifycacyons we purpose to shewe: are these. Church. Judge Spryтуall. Temporal. For because, by our inqurycyon whiche we purpose here to make: we desyre to knowe, whether it doth belonge to the bysshop of Rome, or to any other bysshop, or preeft, deacon or any company & felosshyp of them, which are wonte to be called men of the churche, to be a coactyue Judge of the temporal men, or spryтуall, or of bothe, or elles they are suche maner iudges as touchynge nouthur of these. Therefore we in persecutynge these thynges: let vs fyrst say, that this nowne Ecclesia, in latyn, Church in englysshe, is a worde accordynge to the vse of the Grekes / betokenynge amonge them, in those workes whiche hath comen to vs, the congregacyon of people contayned vnder one gouernaunce, & one ruler / & in this sygnifycacyon Aristotile toke the sayde worde ecclesia, in the vii. chapytre of the seconde boke of his polytykes. But amonge latyn men, this worde accordynge to the comune & famouse callynge, in one of his sygnifycacyons betokeneth a temple or a house, in whiche comunely, & most oftentymes, god is honoured and worshipped of the saythful people / for thus the apostle Paule of the churche, in his fyrste epystle to the Corynthyans, the vi. chapytre, sayenge haue

Church.
Judge.
Spryтуall
Temporal

This worde
church / what
it betokeneth

THE DEFENCE

The proper
sygnification
of this word
churche.

All true chry-
sten people
ben men of
churche.

For: whome
chryste suffer-
ed his passy-
on.

you not houses to eate and drynke in, or do you dyspyse the churche of god? where the glose after saynt Augustynes mynde saythe / do you despyse the church of god? that is to wyte the house of prayer. And within a lytle after, sayth the same glose this thus / The daylye vse of speachynge hathe optayned / that he is not sayde to come forth of the churche, or to seeke for socoure to the churche: but which doth come forth, or seeke for socoure to the very materiyall place of stone it selfe, and to the walles. But in an other sygnification, this worde churche betokeneth those mynystres, preestes, or bysshoppes, and deacons which be mynystres and rulers in the metropolytane or pryncypall churche of all churches / lyke wyse as the church of the cytie of Rome hathe of longe season obtayned this / whose mynystres and rulers be the pope of Rome, & his cardynalles / which nowe by a certayne vsage and custome, hathe obtayned to be called the churche / And it is sayd that the churche hathe done / or receyued any thyng, or ordayned any thyng: whan the afore- sayde persons hathe done, receyued or ordayned it / Agayne, accordynge to an other sygnification, which is the moste true and moste propre sygnification, and most accordynge to the entencion of them, which fyrst began and brought vp this worde churche, it is sayd and spoken (though not so famosly accordynge to the vsage of these dayes) of the vniuersyte and generall congregacion of all faythfull beleuers, and callers vpon the name of Jesu chryste / and of all the partes of this sayd vniuersall congregacion, in what soeuer comunytie of houses or parishes it be / And this was the fyrst sygnification of this worde, and the accustomed vsage of it, amonge the apostles, and in the pryncypall churche / wherefore the apostle Paule in the fyrst chapytre of the former epytyle to the Corynthyans, sayth. To the churche which is at Corynthe, sanctified in chryste Jesu, called sayntes, and to all other which calleth on the name of our lord Jesu chryste and / where the glose, accordynge to Ambrose mynde, sayth sanctified, by baptysme and in Jesu chryste / and accordynge to this intencion spake the apostle in the .xx. chapytre of actes, to the preestes of Ephesus whan he sayde / Attende you and take you hede vnto your selues and to the hole flocke, in which the holy ghost hathe set you bysshoppes or ouerseers / that you shuld gouerne the churche of god, which he hathe purchased with his owne blode / and therefore accordynge to this most true and most propre sygnification of this word church, all faythfull chrysten men are and ought to be called men of the churche / as well those, which be not preestes, as those which be preestes / because that chryste purchased and hathe redeemed all with his owne blode / as it is expressely sayde in the glose vpon that sayenge in the .xvii. chapytre of Luke / this is my body which is gyuen for you / for you (sayth the glose) betokeneth not, that the body of chryste was gyuen, and his blode shed for the apostles onely: but for the whole nature of mans sake / so then the blode of chryste was not shed onely for the apostles / wherof it foloweth, that they were not purchased onely, by it / and so consequentye, that the preestes or mynystres of the temples, successours to them in offyce, are not onely, purchased by his bonde / and therefore that they alone are not the churche, which chryste purchased with his owne blode. Neyther for the same cause, are those mynystres, bysshoppes, or preestes, and deacons alone, the churche, which is the sponse of chryste / but a part of this sponse / for chryste for this sponse gaue hym selfe / wherfore the apostle sayth, in the .v. chapytre of the epytyle to the Philippians / Ponge men loue your wyues, euen so as chryste hath loued the churche, and hathe gyuen hym selfe for it / But nowe chryste gaue not hym selfe for the apostles alone, or their successours in offyce, bysshoppes, or preestes & deacons: but rather for the whole nature of man. Therefore it foloweth, that they, or the congregacion of them onely are not

at not the sponse of chryst / though a certayne congregacyon of them abusynge this worde, for toget dysceytfully and gylefully theyr owne propre and tēporall profyte and aduantage, to the dysuantage or harmes of other men : dothe call them selues syngulerly the sponse of chryste / This same sentence, maye we perceyue and take, of the wordes of the apostle, in the laste chapytre, of the former epyistle to the Corynthyans / and in the .iiii. to the Colossyans / and in the fyrst chapytre to Phylmon / For in al those / sayde places, & apostle vseth this worde churche, in that propre sygnifycacyon, which we haue sayde here afore, to be his propre and most trewe sygnifycacyon. Now consequēty, must we shewe & manyfolde sygnifycacyons of these nownes temporall & spirytual. This worde temporall in one of his sygnifycacyons most famous & cōmunely vsed, is sayd of all other corporall thynges besyde man, which beyng any wyse in his powre or gouernaunce: are ordayned in the state, & for the state, of this worldly lyfe, to his vse, & to supple the nedes and pleasures of hym / Lyke wyse as in an other generall sygnifycacyon all thynges are wonte to be called temporall that begyn or ende in tyme. For these thynges (as sayth Aristotle in the .iiii. booke of his physykes) properly are, & be sayd to be in tyme / In an other sygnifycacyon, this worde temporall is sayde of euery maner habyte or qualyte, euery accyon or passyon of man, wrought by man towarde hym selfe, or towarde any other, for the ende of this world or lyfe presente / yet also besyde this, this nowne temporall in a more specyall sygnifycacyon, is sayde of the voluntarie accyons, or passyons of man, goynge or tournynge to & profite, or dysprofyte of an other sondry persone from hym, which hath done that accyon or passyon, of the whiche accions & passyons, the makers of mannes lawes most intendeth or meaneth. But now we I wyll shewe the intēcyons or sygnifycacyons of this worde spirytual / whiche in one sygnification is sayde of all corporall substances, and theyr operacyons / and in an other sygnifycacyon, it is sayd of all humane accyon or passyon, of his powre intellectuall, or appetytue / that is to saye / of all the doynges or sufferynge of his knowlege or vnderstandynge, and of his appetyte, abydynge or contynuyng within hym accordynge to the whiche sygnifycacyon, also certayne accyons or operacyons of bodely thynges, appertynge to the senses of man, are wonte to be called spirytual, and without mater / as the ymages, lykenesses, phantasyes or ymagynacyons, of thynges / which sayd lykenes are in a certayne maner cause of knowlege to the soule / of the whiche kynde and sorte some men iudgeth the accyons and operacyons of sensyble thynges to be also in a substance haupnge no lyfe / as the generacyons of lyghes, and of certayne lyke thynges. Agayne, and more to the purpose, this nowne spirytual is sayde of the lawe of god, of the teachynge and learnynge of the preceptes and counsailes, accordynge to the same lawe, and by it / vnder the whiche sygnifycacyon, also are comprehended all the sacramentes of the church, and the effectes of the same / all the grace of god / all Theologycall vertues / and the gyftes of the holy ghoſte / orderynge vs to eternall lyfe / For in this sygnifycacyon, and very properly / and metely, the apostle Paule vseth this nowne spirytual, in the .xx. chapytre to the Romaynes / and in the .ix. chapytre of the fyrst epyistle to the Corynthyans / whan he sayde / yf we haue sowed spirytual thynges to you / is it a great thyng, yf we reape your carnal thynges / where the glose after the mynde of Ambrose, sayth / spirytual thynges, & is to say such thynges, which quickeneth your spyrites or els which be gyuen of the holy ghoſt that is to wyte the worde of god, and the mynysterie of the kyngdome of heuens / Moreover accordige to an other significacion, this nowne spirytual is wote to be

The sponse
of chryste.

Temporall

Spirytual.

THE DEFENCE

Pauls went
neuer to y ca-
non law and
therefore he
knewe not y
nature of this
worde (Spy-
rituall.
The myny-
stres of the
churche maye
synne.

taken for euery maner voluntarie accyon or passyon of man/ wrought as well to hym selfe as to an other/ for the merite or deseruinge of y blyssed lyfe/ in y world to come/ of which kynde & sorte/ be all y cōtemplacions of god/ y louynge of hym & of our neyghbours/ abstynēces/ martyres or dedes of pytie meke sufferynge pray-
ers oblacōs for honourynge of god/ hospitalytes/ pylgrymages/ chastytynges or ponysshynge/ of our owne bodies/ the dyspysynge & eschewynge of carnal and flesshely pleasures/ & generally, all lyke thynges, done for the ende aforesayd.
Yet besyde these sygnifycacyons, this name spirituall is sayd (thoughe not pro-
perly and metely, as in the seconde and thyrde waye) of the temple, or churche ta-
ken in his seconde sygnifycacyon/ of all the vesselles/ iewelless/ & ornamentes/ whiche are in it, ordayned for the worshyppe of god. And last of al, certayne men very vnconueniently, and improperly, stretche this notone spirituall, to be taken for voluntarie accyons exteryour of preestes, or bysshoppes, deacons, & other mynystres of the temple, and for the omysyons of the same workes, whiche wor-
kes ben to the prosyte or dysprosyte of an other sondrye person from hym y wor-
keth them/ for the state of the lyfe in this worlde. They do extende / & stretch also agayne, and that more improperly, the same name spirituall to the possessyons of the sayd persons, & theyr temporall goodes, moueable, and vnmoueable, & to certayne prouences or reuenewes of temporall thynges, whiche they call tyethes/ that vnder the coloure / & cloke of this name: they maye be exempte from the rule of the ciuyle lawes, and prynces or rulers. But forsoth they do openly abuse this worde, in these sygnifycacyōs/ agaynst the trouthe, & contrary to the entencion and vsage of the apostle & of holy men/ whiche haue called suche maner thynges, not spirituall thynges: but carnall or temporall/ wherfore Pauls sayth in y. x. v. chapytre to y Romaynes/ for yf the gentyles haue ben made parttakers of theyr spirituall thynges: they ought also to mynystie to them in carnall thynges the same. More expressely saythe in the. ix. chapytre of the fyrst epystle to the Coryn-
thyans/ yf we haue sowen spirituall thynges to you: is it a great thyng, yf we do reape your carnall thynges? where. the glose after Ambrose mynde sayth/ for yf we do so we to you spirituall thynges, y is to say, those thynges whiche quye-
keneth your spyrite, or the whiche be gyuen of the holy ghoft, that is to wyte the worde of god, & mysterie of the kyngdome of heuens: is it a great thyng, yf we do reape to our sustentacyon, your carnal thynges, that is to saye, those temporal thynges, whiche are graunted to y mayntenaunce of lyfe & y cherysshynge of the bodye? Beholde here, that those outwarde goodes, with the whiche the preachers of the gospel ought to be sustayned, in meate, drynke, & clothynge: y apostle, and Ambrose, expressely calleth carnall or temporal thynges/ and in very deade so be they/ whether they be tyethes/ or lādes, auantages, or almoses, or colleccyons/ y cause wherof. saynt Ambrose hathe tolde/ because they are graunted & gyuen to the lyfe, and cherysshynge of the fleshe/ that is to say of the corruptyble lyfe. The same thyng is to be thought & iudged vndoubtedly, of certayne accyons/ or wor-
kes and dedes/ of preestes/ bysshoppes and deacons/ for not all theyr workes are spirituall/ neyther ought so to be called/ but rather many of theyr deades/ are cy-
uile/ contencionys/ and carnall/ or temporall/ for they maye lende/ borowe, deli-
uer to kepe/ bye/ selle/ stryke/ kyll and se/ steale cōmytte fornyccacyon and adoul-
trie, be extorcyoners & byrbers/ be traytours/ beate false wytnes/ backebyte/ flou-
die/ fall in to heresy, and cōmytte other synnes/ crymes/ and cōtencionys/ as soone as lay men and suche as be no preestes/ wherfore it is to be axed & demaunded cō-
ueniently of them/ whether suche maner workes or deades (whiche we haue be-
foresayde / and reherfed/ maye possyble be done of them) be spirituall workes
or elles

or elles ought so to be called of any man, which is in his ryght mynde? And it is eydente & playne, that no/ but rather, that they ought to be called carnal workes and temporall. wherfore the apostle Paule, in 3 thyrde chapytre of the fyrst epy: stle to the Corynthyas, speakynge of suche maner accyons or workes, indyfferetlye to all men: saythe / whan there raygneth amonge you enuy, & contencion: are you not carnall? & walke after man: seynge than, 3 sure and vndoubted experyence dothe shewe, amonge the preestes selues, one of them to an other / and also by twene them & seculers, angers, enuyes, & contencions, to chaunce of the aforesayd & other lyke actes / it is manifest and open, that suche maner dedes, of preestes or bysshoppes, are carnall, or temporall / & accordynge to the trouthe, that neyther they be, neyther ought to be called, spyrytuall actes / A sygne and a token, that this is trewe whiche we haue sayde, euen accordynge to the sentence & mynde of preestes also: is this, that to the takynge awaye of suche maner contencions and stryues, many ordynaunces of man, which they call Decretalles, hathe ben made by the bysshoppes of Rome / and afore them, the lawes of the emperours, concernynge the same cōtencions / And in dede many voluntarpe accyons, goynge or tournynge to the profyte or dysprofyte / the good, or harme / of an other man, for 3 state of this present lyfe: be done, & may be done, by deacōs, & preestes or bysshoppes / and therfore suche maner accyons ought to be measured by the lawe of man: as it was sayde, in the .v. chapytre of the fyrst dyccyon or parte / & shall be sayde agayne, more to the purpose / in the .viii. chapytre of this dyccyon or parte.

Why the decre-
talles were
made.

¶ Nowe there remaineth, and is behynde to deuyde this worde / Judge / and this worde Judgement (whiche betokeneth the accyon & worke of a iudge) in to the pryduerse sygnifycacyons / for these wordes are of the nombre of them, which hath manyfolde sygnifycacyōs / & which by reason therof, myght cause great ambygnyte or doubtfulnes, & also do great lettynge, in the determynynge of our pryncypall questyons. This worde Judge, in one sygnifycacyon, is sayde of euery man, whiche dyscerneth or hathe knowlege, cheyfly accordynge to any qualytye, whiche is called an habyte or scyence speculatyue, or operatyue & practyue. And this nowne Judgemente, is sayde of the knowlege, or dyscernynge / whiche suche men haue / after whiche maner speakynge, 3 geometrycyon is a iudge / & iudgeth of fygyres / and of the accyentes or thynges belongynge to them / and the physycyon also, is a iudge and iudgeth of hōle men & sycke men / and the wyse man is a iudge, iudgynge of thynges to be done, & thyngs to be auoyded or eschewed / & the carpenter iudgeth of howses, howe and in what maner they are to be buylded / & in this maner also, euery man whiche hathe any knowlege, or is experte in any thyng is called a iudge / and iudgeth of the thynges pertaynynge to his scyence & speculacyon, or els pertaynynge to his operacyon or practyse / & in this signifycacyon, Aristotle vsed these names, in the fyrst chapytre of the fyrste boke, of his ethykes or moralles / whan he sayd / euery man iudgeth wel those thynges, which he knoweth / & is a good iudge of those thynges / Agayne this nowne iudge in an other sygnifycacyon, is sayde of hym / whiche hathe knowlege of the polytyke or cyuyle lawe / whiche by the cōmune and accustomed appellacyon or namynge, is called an Aduocate / though in many prouynces and namely of Italy, he is called a iudge. Agayne also, this name iudge, is sayde of the gouernoure or ruler / & this nowne iudgemente, is sayde of the sentence gyuen by suche pryncce or ruler / whose auctorpyte is, to iudge of iuste and ryghtfull thynges / and thynges profytable, accordynge to the lawes & customes, and sentences gyuen by hym selfe, to cōmaūde, by powere coactyue / after whiche maner of speakynge, a certayne boke is called 3 boke of iudgs whiche is one pte of 3 Bible / & i this significacyō Aristotle speakynge

Judge.

Judgement.

Advocate.

THE DEFENCE

speakyng of a iudge or ruler in the fyrste chapytre of his fyrst booke of rethoryke sayde. The gouernoure and iudge, nowe iudgeth of thynges presente, and determyne/ And meanyng styll after the same maner, of the iudgemente of the gouernoure & ruler: he saythe shortly after. To whome, that is to wyte to the gouernour or iudge, is annexed ostentymes bothe loue, and hatred, with propre & synngulare auantage, so that they can not yet suffycientlye perceyue, & se the trouthe but attende onely and take heade to that thyng, whiche is delectable and pleasaunt, or elles bytter and dyspleasaunt, to theyr owne selues. And peradventure, there be other sygnifycacyons of the nownes aforesayde, but I thynke and suppose we haue shewed and marked forth the moste famous, and comunelye used sygnifycacyons, and those whiche be most necessarpe to the inquisycyon purposed here of vs.

Of the oracles and auctorities of þe holy scripture, and certayne other argumentacyons, by whiche it seemeth that it may be proued that bysshoppes or preestes, in that they be such manner persons: ought of dewtye to haue powre & iurysdyccyon coactyue, yea without the graunte of any temporall pryncce or maker of lawes/ & þe the hyghest of all such iurysdyccions, is dewe to þe bysshop of Rome called the pope.

The.iii. chapytre.



Nowe than, & dyuerse intēcyons or sygnifycacyōs of those nownes or wordes (about which the most parte of our inquisycyon shall be occupied) thus suffycientlye declared & shewed: we comige nere more boldely to our purpose pryncypally intended, shal fyrst of al bryng forth the & auctorities of holy scripture. By the whiche it myght appere to some men, that the bysshop of Rome called the pope, is the hyghest iudge (accordyng to the thyrde sygnifycacyon of this worde iudge or iudgement) ouer and vpon all the bysshoppes, or preestes, & other ecclesiastical mynystres of þe worlde/ & also ouer all princes, & gouernours of this worlde, all comunyties/compānyes/or feloshyppes all synnguler persons/ of what soeuer estate they be. And of al these auctorities, let vs fyrst put the ordre of wordes, whiche are had in the .xvi. chapytre of Matthe we/ where chryste speakyng to Peter, saythe. To the, I wyll gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuen/ and what soeuer thyng thou shalt bynde vpon erthe: it shal also be bounden in heuen/ & what soeuer thyng thou shalt louse vpon þe earthe: it shal also be loused in heuens/ For of those wordes, certayne bysshoppes of Rome haue chalenged & taken to them selues, the auctorite of hyghest iurysdyccion aforesayd/ For by þe keyes graūted to saynt Peter by chryst they wyl to be vnderstanded, & fulnes of powre of al worldly gouernaunce & rule, to be gyuen vnto them selues/ whiche fulnes of powre as chryste had in comparyson of all kynges, prynces, and rulers: euen so he graunted it (say they) to saynt Peter, and his successours in þe epyscopall see of Rome as & vycars of chryste in this worlde. The secōde tēpte of scripture to this purpose, is take of þe wordes of chryst i .xi. chapytre

The first auctorite of scripture which seemeth to make for the popes powre.

Wherof þe pope hath taken to hym selfe auctorite to reygne & rule

The seconde auctorite.

chappre of Mathewe / whan he sayde / al thynges are gyuen to me, of my father. And agayne in the. xiii. of the same euangelyste / whan he sayde / all powre is gyuen to me in heuen and in erthe / seynge than that saynt Peter and his successours in the eppiscopall see of Rome, haue ben, and be the vycars and deputyes of chryste (as they saye) it appereth that all powre of fulnes of auctoryte, is gyuen to the same / and consequentely, the auctoryte of all maner iurysdyccyon.

¶ The thyrde terte of auctoryte to the mayntenaunce of the same, is taken of i. viii. of Mathewe / and the. v. of Marke / where it is sayde / and the deuylles prayed hym (i. is to wyte, chryste) sayenge yf thou castest ouer bordre us forth: sende us in to i. flocke of hogges / and he sayde to them go you / and they goynge forth of the man wente in to the hogges / and so sodaynely, all the hols flocke wente hedlonge in to the see / & were deade in the waters / of the which wordes, it appereth that chryst dyd dyspose and ordie temporall thynges, as beyng all his owne / for els he had done amysse in dystroyenge the flocke of hogges. But it is abomynable to saye, that chryste hath synned or done amysse, whose flesshe neuer sawe corrupcyon / for as moche than, as saynte Peter with his successours bysshoppes of Rome, be, and hathe ben the cheyfe vycars or deputyes of chryste (as certayne men sayth) they maye dyspose of all temporall thynges / as beyng iudges in the. iii. sygnysfycacyon, and hathe full powre and domynyon of them, even lyke wyse as chryste selfe had. Agayne the same is shewed, by that whiche is had in the. xxi. of Mathewe / in the. vi. of Marke / and in the. xiv. of Luke where it is sayd in this wyse.

The thyrde auctoryte.

¶ Than sente Jesus. ii. dyscyples, sayenge to them go you in to the castell, which is ouer agaynst you, and forthwith you shall fynde an asse bounden, and her foote with her, or the coltre tayed to the asse. vpon the whiche neuer any man had sytte yet (as it is red in Marke and Luke) louse them and bryng them to me / of the which wordes, the same conclusyon maye be inferred, and by the same maner of argumentacyon, whiche was inferred of the auctoryte of scripture, imedyatly here afore rehersed.

The fourth auctoryte.

¶ Moreover the same thyng is reasoned of the. xvii. of Luke, where it is red in this maner. Lo here be. ii. swerdes, sayd the apostles, makynge answer to chryst. But he answered / it is suffycient or ynoughe / By the whiche wordes, after the interpretacyon of some men, ought to be vnderstande the. ii. powres or auctorites of this present worlde / the one ecclesiastycall or spyrytuall, the other temporall or secular. Seynge than that chryst directynge his speche to the apostles, dyd saye it is suffycient / that is to saye it is ynoughe for you to haue the. ii. swerdes: by these wordes he appereth to haue sygnysfied, that bothe the swerdes ought to appertayne & belonge to the auctoryte of them / namely of saynt Peter, as beyng the pryncypall / and cheyfest of them / for yf he had not ben wyllynge, that the temporall swerde shulde belonge to them: he ought to haue sayde, it is to moche, and more than ynoughe.

The. v. auctoryte.

¶ Agayne the same thyng semeth to be beleued, by that whiche is had in the. xxi. of Iohn where chryste speakynge to Peter, sayde / fede my shepe / fede my lambes, fede my shepe, rehersynge one sentence thre tymes, as we haue here broughte in / Of i. which some men gather this sence / i. saynt Peter, & his successours bysshoppes of Rome, ought without any exceptyon to be gouernours & rulers ouer all the faythful shepe of chryste / that is to wytte, chrysten men / and amonge these: specyallye and most of all, ouer preestes and deacons.

The. vi. auctoryte.

¶ Yea and moreover, this appereth openly to be the sentece and mynde of saynt Paule in his. vi. chappre of the fyrste epystle to the Corynthyans / whan he sayde / Do you not knowe, that we shall iudge aungels: howe moche more than

The. vii. auctoryte.

seculare

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seculer thynges? Hereof it appereth, that þe iudgementes (accordynge to his thynde sygnifycacyon) of seculer thynges, dothe appertayne to preestes or bysshoppes/ and amonge them, pryncypallye to the bysshop of Rome, cheyfest of them all. Agayne the apostle semeth to haue meaned the same, in the. iij. of the fyrste to the Corynthyans/ whan he sayd/ haue we not powre to eate. &c. The same agayne in the thynde of the fyrste to the Thessalonians/ In whiche wordes, he semeth expresselye to intende and meane, that powre was gyuen to hym, by god, ouer and vpon temporall goodes of chrysten men/ and so consequentlye iurysdyccyon also of them.

The .viii. auctorite.

¶ Furthermore the same thyng is shewed, of the fyrste epystle to Tymothe the. v. chapytte/ to whome the apostle sayde. Agaynst a senpoure or preeft, receyue none accusacyon: but vnder. ii. or. iii. wytnesses or recordes. By this than it appereth, that a bysshop, at the least wyse hathe iurysdyccyon ouer preestes, deacons, and other mynystrs of the temple/ seynge that it belongeth to hym for to here accusacyon of them/ as for any probacyons of þe olde scripture or testament, which semeth to make for the conclusyon purposed, or to make agaynst it: we wyl not brynge in here/ the cause wherof, we shall shewe in the. ix. chapytte of this dyccyon. By these foresayd auctorites than, and other lyke of the hollye scripture, and suche maner interpretacyons, and expositiouns of them, it myght seme, that the bysshop of Rome, ought of dutye to haue hyghest auctorite and iurysdyccyon of all. Nowe consequentlye after these thynges, it is conuenient, to brynge in certayne, as it were, polytyke or cyuyle argumentes and reasons, whiche perauenture myght cause to some men, a phantasye & byleue of the aforesayde conclusyon.

The fyrst natural reason

¶ Of the whiche, lette this be the fyrste/ Lyke wyse as the body is to the soule, in the same maner is the ruler of bodyes, to the gouernour of soules/ but the body is vnder the soule, as a subiecte to his gouernoure/ wherfore it foloweth, that the ruler of the bodyes, that is to wyte the seculer iudge, ought to be vnder the domynioun and gouernaunce of the iudge or ruler of soules, and cheyfly vnder the domynioun of the bysshop of Rome, the hyghest of all suche iudges or rulers.

The seconde.

¶ Agayne to argue, euen as it were from the same grounde. Lyke wyse as bodelye thynges ben in comparyson to spyrytuall thynges, euen so is the heed of bodelye thynges in comparyson to the heed of spyrytuall thynges. But it is vndoubted and of certayne, that corporall thynges are more base and viler of nature, & farre vnderneath the spyrytual thynges/ it foloweth therfore, that the ruler of bodelye thynges, that is to wyte the seculer iudge or gouernoure ought to be sette vnder and subiecte to hym whiche is ruler of spyrytuall thynges.

The thynde.

¶ Forouer loke what comparyson is betwene one fynall ende, and an other, betwene lawe and an other, or betwene the maker of one lawe and the maker of an other lawe. Euen lyke comparyson or dyfference is betwene hym that gouerneth accordynge to the one of them, and hym that gouerneth accordynge to an other of them. But the fynall ende, wherunto the ecclesiasticall iudge dyrecteth or guydeth, outher preeft or bysshop/ and the lawe accordynge to the whiche he dyrecteth and the maker also of that lawe, are superyours, and more persyte than the ende the lawe, and the lawe maker, to the whiche, and accordynge to the whiche, the seculer iudge dyrecteth: therfore the ecclesiastycall iudge bysshop or preeft, and namely the cheyfest of them, that is to say the Pope, is superyour and aboue: what soeuer iudge seculer it be/ for the ende, to the whiche the ecclesiastycall iudge dyrecteth or leadeth is eternall lyfe/ the lawe accordynge to the whiche dyrecteth: is the lawe of god/ and the lawe maker, is god imedyatlye/ in whome it is not possyble any erroure or malysie to be. But the ende to whiche the seculer iudge intendeth to dyrecte

directe: is the sufficiencye of this worldly lyfe / the lawe, after the whiche he dyrecteth: is the lawe of man / the maker of that lawe, is man imedyatly, or els men in whome it maye chaunce erre and malice to be. Therefore are these thynges inferiours, and more vyle or vnworthy thynges, than the aforesayde thynges / wherfore it foloweth, that the seculare iudge / yea euen the hyghest / is inferiour, and of lesse dygnyte than the hyghest preeste.

Agayne whose accorde or worke of it selfe, is more honourable: he of hym selfe is most to be had in honour / but the accorde or worke of a bysshop or preest, is the most honourable of all, which maye be done by man in this present lyfe / that is to wyt, the consecracyon of the blyssed body of chryste: it foloweth therefore / that euery preest is more of dygnyte, than any one who soeuer he be, that is no preest / For asmoche than, as the more worthy or excellent thyng ought not to be vnder the lesse worthy, but to be aboue it as ruler: it semeth, that the seculer iudge or gouernour ought not to be aboue a preest, in iurysdyccyon / but vnderneath hym / & most of all vnderneath the hyghest preeste, the pope (as they call hym) of Rome.

The.iii.

The same thyng maye be shewed and proued more apparently, of the pryncce and gouernour of the Romaines, called the emperoure / by this reason. He is subiect to the pryncce and ruler of the Romaines (as touchynge to iudgement in his thynde sygnifycacyon) whiche hathe auctoritie to instytute and make the sayde pryncce or gouernour, and to translate the mynistrye from nacion to nacion / but the people saythe, that he hathe this auctorite: for he hathe translated this gouernance or empyre, from the Grekes to the Romaines, as it is expressed in the .vii. of his Decretalles, in the tytle De iure in rãdo / & also the bysshop of Rome that now is, saythe the same more expressly, in a certayne decree of his, to Lodo wyke duke of Bawarye, chosen and taken to be gouernour and emperoure of the Romaines.

The.v.

Moreover agayne, for the same purpose / it semeth a great inconuenience, & chrystes vycare, the bysshop of Rome, and other successours of the apostles, that is to saye bysshoppes, ought to be vnder the iurysdyccyon of any pryncce seculare and that for asmoche, as the seculare pryncce maye synne & trespasse, agaynst both the lawe of god and man, wherof he is to be corrected by some man. But he whiche is the hyghest of all seculer pryncces, hath neyther any egall or superiour persone to hym selfe whiche may take vpon hym to correcte hym (for a pluralyte of cheyfe rulers is reprobued in the .xviii. chapytre of the fyrst parte) wherfore it shall appere

The.vi.

that iurysdyccyon coactyue ouer hym appertayneth to the bysshop of Rome and in no wyse the iurysdyccyon coactyue ouer the bysshop of Rome,

to the emperour. Thus than me thynketh I haue shewed here suffi-

cyentelye, both by what auctorities of holy scripture, & also

by what certayne argumentacyons of man, & as it were

polytypicall reason, it appereth, that it myght be pro-

ued, the bysshoppes or preestes to haue coactyue

iurysdyccyon / and that the hyghest rule &

gouernaunce of all this world, is deu-

to the hyghest & cheyfest of them

that is to wyt, to the bys-

shop of Rome.

THE DEFENCE

Of the canonycall scriptures, of the commaundementes, counsailes, and examples of chryste, and of the holy and approued exposcycions of the lawe of the gospel: by the whiche it is shewed euidently, that neyther the bysshop of Rome, or any other bysshop or preeft, neyther any persone of the clargye, maye by the vertue of the wordes of scripture, challenge, or ascribē any maner coactyue domynyon or contentyouse iurysdyccyon at all, to them selues, ouer any clarke, or laye man/moche lesse then they can not challenge the hyghest domynyon or iurysdyccyon of al/and howe by the example and counsaile of chryste, they ought to refuse suche maner domynyon or iurysdyccyon, namely in the comunyties of chrysten men, yf it were offered or gyuen to them, by hym that had auctoryte so to do.

And agayne, that all bysshoppes, & indyfferently
all that are nowe called clarkes, ought to be
vnderneath the coactyue iudgemēt, gou-
ernaunce & rule of y^e tempozall
prynce, namely beyngē chry-
stened prynce or go-
uernoure

The.iiij.chapitre.

That y^e pope
is not a iudge
nor gouer-
nour seculare



Nowe consequētlye, we shall brynge in of the contrarye parte, the verities of holy scripture, commaundyngē or counsailyngē expressely bothe by theyr lytterali, and also mystycall sence, accordyngē to the interpretacyon of sayntes, and the exposcycyon of other approued doctours of the chrysten saynte, that the bysshop of Rome called the pope, or any other bysshop, preeft, or deacon ought to haue no domynyon, iudgement, or coactyue iurysdyccyon, ouer any preeft, gouernour, comunaltie, college, or any synguler persone, of what estate soeuer he be/vnderstādyngē by coactyue iudgemente, that, which we haue shewed in the seconde chapitre of this parte, to be betokened by this worde Judge or iudgemente in the thyrde sygnifyfycacyon. But for this our intencion & purpose more euidently to be declared, we oughte to knowe, that by this inqursycyon, we do not serche or aske, what powre and auctoryte, chryste whiche was bothe god and very man, had and haue, in this worlde neyther what, or howe moche powre, and auctoryte, he myghte haue gyuen to saynt Peter, & to the other apostles, & to the successours of them, bysshoppes or preeftes. For of these thynges, chrysten people do not doubtē, in the questyō on here purposed/But we wyll, and we ought to inquire & serche, what powre and auctoryte to be exercysed in this worlde, chryste was wyllynge to gyue vnto the sayde mynystres of the churche, and what powre he gaue to them in very dede/and from what powre he dyd exclude and proscribye them, by his counsaile or precepte/For we are bounde to beleue, that they had so moche powre and auctoryte of chryste as maye be proued, by the wordes of scripture /& none other auctoryte nor more but onely that/For this is vndoubted to all the saythfull people of chryste, that chryste, whiche was bothe very god and man, myght haue gyuen not onely to the apostles, but also to any other maner men, auctoryte or iurysdyccyon

What maner
powre y^e pope
haue.

cyon coactyue in this worlde, aboue all the prynces and rulers, or domynions, and all other synguler persones / and a greater powre perauenture than this, as to make creatures, to dystroye, and to repayre or make agayne heuen, & earth, and those thynges, whiche be in them / and also to rule and comaunde aungels / whiche powre, for all that, chryste neyther gaue them, neyther purposed to gyue them / wherfore saynt Augustyne in the .v. sermon of the wordes of our sorde, vpon Mathewe saythe in this wyse / lerne you of me, not to frame or make the worlde / not to create vnsyble and inunsyble thynges / not to worke myracles or wonders in the worlde / and to rayse deade men / but learne of me because I am meke, and humble or lowe in herte. And therfore accordynge to this present intencion, it is suffycient to shewe, yea and I wyll shewe / fyrste that chryste selfe came not in to the worlde, to haue domynion or lordshyppe ouer men / neyther to iudge them by iudgemēt taken in his thyrd spgnyfycacyon / neyther to be a tēporal pryncce, gouernour tēporally / but rather to be subiecte, accordynge to þe state & cōdycyon of this presente worlde / yea & moreouer, þe his wyll was to exclude, & he dyd exclude hym selfe, & also his apostles and dyscyples, & cōsequently the successours of them, bysshoppes or preestes, from all domynion / or worldly gouernaunce of this sorte, that is to wytte coactyue / bothe by his example, and also by his doctryne, that is to saye, his counsaile or cōmaundement / And I wyll shewe also that the chiefe apostles, as the trewe folowers of chryst: haue done the same thyng to them selues, and also haue taughte theyr successours to do the same / and furthermore, that as well chryste, as the apostles selues, were wyllynge to be vnderneath, and were in dede continually vnderneath the coactyue iurysdyccion of prynces and gouernours of the worlde, bothe reallye and personally / and that they taughte all other, to whome they preached the salwe of trouthe, outhet by worde of mouthe or elles by wytyng: to do the same / & thereto cōmaunded them, vnder payne of euerlastynge dampnacyon / And afterwarde, I wyll make a chapytre of the powre or auctoryte of the keyes, gyuen by chryste to the apostles, and to the successours of them in offyce, bysshoppes, and preestes, that it may appere, what, of what maner, and howe great is this maner powre and auctoryte / as well of the bysshop of Rome, as of other / For in dede the ygnoraunce hereof, hath ben hether to, and at this present tyme is, the orygynall cause and begynnyng of many questyōs, and hurtful stryfes, amonge chrysten people / as it was somewhat toched, in the fyrst chapytre of this dyccyon.

That chryste cam not to be a lord or ruler

We therfore prosecutyng these thynges purposed, wyll shewe that from the offyce of beyng gouernours, or of coactyue iurysdyccyon or gouernaunce, or any maner coactyue iudgement in this worlde: chryste wyll to exclude, and dyd exclude hym selfe and the apostles, bothe as touchynge his purpose or intencion, and also his doctryne, and operacyon or workynge / This appereth vndoubtedlye, fyrste of all, by the ordie of wordes, or tēpte, in the gospel of Iohn, the .xviii. chapytre for whan chryste was accused to Ponce pylate, the emperours vycare or deputie in Iurysdyccion, of this, that he had sayd, hym selfe to be kynge of the Jewes and Pylate dyd ape of chryste, whether he had sayde these wordes, or whether he dyd saye hym selfe to be a kynge: chryste amonge other thynges answered these wordes to Pylates questyon or demaunde / My kynngdome is not in this worlde that is to saye, I am not cōmen to reygne by tēporall gouernaunce or domynion, after whiche maner, kynngs of the worlde do reygne / The probacyon wherof chryste hym selfe putteth afterward, by an euident sygne or token, whan he sayd / If my kynngdome were of this worlde my mynystres or seruantes doubtles wolde stryue, that I shulde not be deliuered to the Jewes / as yf chryste had

Chryste dyd exclude hym selfe and the apostles, from worldly kyngdome or gouernaunce.

Iohn. xviii.

THE DEFENCE

The kyngdō
of chryste.

made this argument or reason/ Vp I came in to this worlde, to haue raygned by
worldely or coactyue gouernaunce or rule: without doubte, I shulde haue myny-
stres of the same gouernaunce, which shulde fyghte for me, and punyssh the tras-
gressours, lyke wyse as other kynges haue/ But I haue no suche maner myny-
stres, as thou thy selfe mayst manifestlye se/ wherof the glose interlyneare sayth
it appereth in that no man defendeth/ & this is it, that chryste rehersynge agayne
sayth/ But nowe my kyngdome is not of this worlde/ that is to wytte the kyng-
dome wherof I am come to teache/ which verrytes or trewe textes of the gospel,
sayntes and the doctours expownyng, saye thus/ and fyrste of all blyssed Aug-
ustyne, by these wordes, sayenge/ For yf whan Pylate asked or demaunded, he
had made answer forthwith, he myght haue semed not to haue answered also
the Jewes, but onely the Gentyles, haupnge this oppynyō of hym/ But after
the answer of Pylate than more conuenientlye, and more metelye, he answer-
ed to the Jewes and to the Gentyles/ as yf he had sayde, heken you Jewes &
Gentyles I do not sette your domynacyō and rulyng in this worlde, what
wolde you haue more? Come you nowe by saythe and beleue to the kyngdome,
whiche is not of this worlde, Nowe what is chrystes kyngdome, but those that
beleue in hym? Beholde, of what kyngdome he came to teache, and to dyspose/
verely of the actes or workes by which men dothe come to the euerlastyng kyng-
dome/ that is to wytte, werkes of saythe, and of the other Theologyall vertues/
and yet not withstandyng, cōpellyng or constraynyng no man to that kyng-
dome of saythe, as it shall playnelye appere hereafter / For two coactyue domy-
nyōs in respecte of one multytude, beyng not the one of the powers subiecte to
the other letteth them selues/ as it was shewed in the. viii. chapytre of the fyrste
dyccyōn/ But chryste came not to set the domynyon of these men, as saynt Aug-
ustyne sayd/ wherfore vpon that sayenge in the same chapytre of Iohn. Thyne
owne people or nacyō / and thyne owne bysshoppes haue despyered the to me,
what thyng hast thou done? he sheweth suffycientlye (sayth saynt Augusty-
ne) the chalengyng of worldly domynyon: to haue ben layde to chrystes charge
for a cryme, as yf he shulde saye/ yf thou denyst thy selfe to be a kyng, what
thyng hast thou done, that thou shuldest be despyered to me? as though he wold
saye, what meruayle is it or shulde it be, that man to be despyered to the iudge to
be punysshed: whiche dyd saye hym selfe to be a kyng/ Beholde here accordyng
to the mynde of saynt Augustyne, that chryste shulde haue ben doubtles worthy
to be punysshed: yf he had sayde hym selfe to haue ben a secular kyng named to
them, which knowe not hym to be a god/ & that he denyed hym selfe to be a kyng
and of what kyngdome or gouernaunce he meened / that is to wytte, of gouer-
naunce, coactyue of the transgressours of the lawe, in this worlde/ it appereth,
in the same chapytre of Iohn vpon this tepte, speakest thou this of thy selfe, or
elles hathe other men tolde it the? whiche wordes (saythe Theopompus) of chryst
to Pylate, were all one, and as moche in vnderstandyng, as yf he had sayde to
hym/ Pylate, yf thou speakest this of thyne owne mynde: shewe forth the tokens
of my rebellyō/ but yf thou hast herde this by the reporte of other men: make or
dynarye and deue inquyscyōn/ But chryste ought not to haue sayd this, which
Theopompus saythe, that is to wytte, that Pylate shulde make ordynarie inquy-
scyōn of hym, but rather he ought to haue sayde, that this inquyscyōn dyd not
appertayne or belonge to hym/ and that because chryste accordyng to the oppyny-
ō of our aduersaries, was not of ryght subiecte, neyther wolde be subiecte to
Pylate, in iurysdyccyōn or iudgement coactyue/ Agayne vpon that tepte. My
kyngdome is not of this worlde/ saythe Chrysostome/ he dothe not depyue or be-
reave

reane the worlde, of his prouydence, prefacyon or preemynence / But he sheweth,
his kyngdome not to be worldly, transytorye, or corruptible / But euery one of
the kyngdomes coactyue of this worlde, is humayne, transytorye and corrupty-
ble. Moreouer, vpon that texte of Iohil, in the same chapytre / Thou sayste that
I am a kynge / saynt Augustyne sayth that Chyfte dyd not so answere for feare
or drede, to confesse, and knowlege or graunte hym selfe to be a kynge / But he so
tepered his answere, & neyther he dyd denye hym selfe to be a kynge, neyther yet
dyd graunte hym selfe suche a kynge, whose kyngdome myght be supposed to be
of this worlde / for these wordes / Thou sayste, were spoken, as yf he had sayde /
Thou a carnall man, speakest carnallye of carnall gouernaunce, and actes tem-
porall, cōtentpouse, and carnall / accordynge to the thyde sygnyfycacyon of this
nowne temporall / for suche actes the apostle called carnall, in the thyde chapytre
of the fyrste epyistle to the Corinthyans / It appereth than, of the afore reherfed
thynges, that chyfte came not in to this worlde, neyther to teache, neyther to dys-
pose of carnall or temporall gouernaunce, or coactyue iudgement / But of the spy-
rytuall or heuenly kyngdome, and heuenly gouernaunce / For of this onelye he
dyd speake, and in a maner preache alwayes, as it is euident and open, by the
texte of the gospell, bothe in the lytterall, and also in the mystycall sence therof /
And for this cause we rede very often tymes, that he sayde / The kyngdome of
heuens is lyke to. &c. But as for the worldly kyngdome, outhet he dyd speake very
seldome of it, or elles in teachynge he dyd despyse it / In the heuenly kyngdome,
he promysed, that he wolde gyue rewarde or punysshementes, accordynge to
menes good workes, or euyl workes / But he neuer promysed, that he wolde do
suche thynges, in this worlde / But rather dothe and worketh contrarye wyse, to
the prynces or gouernours of this worlde / For moſte cōmunelye, he scourgeth and
punyssheth iust men, and the workers of good deades, or elles suffereth them to
be afflycted in this world / and so bynggeth them to the rewarde of his kyngdom /
For all men that ener please god: haue gone throughe many trybulacyons / as it
is wyrtē in Iudyth the. viii. chapytre / But the prynces of this worlde, or the
iudges of the worldly kyngdome or gouernaunce, do, and oughte to do cōtrarye
wyse to the ordre in goddes kyngdome, in keepynge & obseruynge iustyce /
For they do destribute in this worlde rewarde to the keepers of the lawe / and
paynes or punysshementes to transgressours and malefactours / and it is so to
be done / for yf they dyd the contrarye: they shuld trespasse bothe agaynst the lawe
of man, & also of god / Nowe agayne to our pryncypall purpose, by that, whiche
chyfte shewed by his worke or example / we rede in the. vi. chapytre of Iohil, that
whan Iesus knewe, that they wolde come to take hym, and make hym kynge
he fledde agayne hym selfe alone, in to the mountayne / where the gloſe intely-
neare saythe / from the whiche mountayne he came downe to fede the myltitude
teachynge by this his dede, to fle and eschewe the prosperities of the worlde, and
to praye agaynst them / This is vndoubted than / that chyfte fledde and eschew-
ed gouernaunce and rule, or elles he shulde haue taughte vs nothyng by his ex-
ample / whiche sence also the expositiō of saynt Augustyne helpeth and confer-
meth, whiche saythe, that faythfull chrysten men are the kyngdome of chryfte,
whiche nowe is boughte with the blode of chryfte / And this kyngdome shall ones
be manifest and open, whan the glorie of his sayntes shall be openly shewed,
after the iudgement done by hym / But the dyscyples & the myltitude beleuyng
in hym wened, that he had come, to raygne euen than. Beholde, that sayntes and
holy men by the kyngdome of chryfte in this worlde, neuer dyd vnderstande tem-
porall domynyon, or iudgement of contencypous actes or deades, or executiō by

Chyfte dyd
speake of spy-
rytuall kyng-
dome or go-
uernaunce.

Chyfte fled
& eschewed &
dygnyte of a
kynge.

THE DEFENCE

The kynge
dome of he-
uens.

Christ wold
not be iudge
or vmpyre.

coactyue powre, vpon the trasgressours of the lawes in this worlde. But by his kyngdome whiche he toke vpon hym in this world: they vnderstode the doctryne of saythe, and a kyngdome gouerned by the same, leadyng to the kyngdome of heuen. The whiche kyngdome saynt Augustyne saythe, shall be manifest and openly shewed: after his iudgement, in an other worlde. Agayne he sayth, to wene or trowe that he wolde than raygne, so as the people dyd suppose or wene: was to plucke hym, that is, to drawe hym vnsemynglye, and to haue an vnsemyng oppnyon of hym. Where Chrysostome sayth also. And he, that is to saye, chryste, was than a prophete amonge them, and they wolde haue set hym in the kynges seate, onely for a glotonous sake, because he hadde fed them. But chryste fled, teachyng vs, to dyspyse worldly dygnytes. Furthermore, the same is shewed most euidentlye, by the worde and exampyle of chryst, in the. xlii. chapytre of Luke. Where it is red in this wyse. and a certayne man of the multytude sayde to hym. Maystre, saye to my brother that he deuyde the inherytaunce with me. But he, that is to wytte chryste, sayde to hym. Thou man, who hathe ordayned or made me iudge or deuyder ouer you? as who shulde saye, I am not come to exerceyse this offyce, nor yet sente for these purposes. That is to wytte, for to departe or ende cyuyle sutes or stryues by iudgement. whiche thyng, for al that, no man doubteth to be the worke moste properlye: appertaynyng to the gouernours or iudges of this worlde. And albeit, in very deade that the texte of the gospell more euidentlye dothe contayue, and shewe our purpose, than the gloses of holy men, whiche our aduersaries knowynge that as we haue sayd they make ryght manifestlye agaynst them, euery where dyd tourne them selues more to the allegorycall or mystycall sence: yet that notwithstandinge, we haue broughte in those gloses also, to the greater confirmacyon & fortifyng of our purpose. and lest it myght be sayde of our aduersaries that we do expounde the scripture for lysshelye and presumptuouslye: after our owne brayne. Thus than saythe saynt Ambrose expoundinge these wordes of chryste. Therefore he doth well (sayth saynt Ambrose) auoyde and eschewe earthly thynges, whiche came downe for godlye thynges sake, neyther he vouchsaueth to be iudge of worldly stryues or sutes, or vmpyre of suche goodes and substaunce: whiche hathe the iudgemente of men, bothe quicke and deed, and the arbytrement of theyr deades. And a lytle after he saythe also. wherfore not without cause (sayth he) this brother is rebuked, whiche coueted to busye the ordre of heuently thynges, aboute earthly thynges and corruptyble. Lo here, what saynt Ambrose mynde is, of the offyce of chryste in this worlde. For he saythe, that chryste dothe well auoyde and refuse earthly thynges that is to wytte to be iudge of contentyouse persones: whiche came downe for heuently thynges sake, that is, to teache and to mynystre spyrytuall thynges. in the whiche thyng he marked forth and assygnd the offyce of hym and his successors, that is to wytte to dyspence heuently or spyrytuall thynges. I saye spyrytuall thynges, yea and those spyrytuall thynges of the whiche the same Ambrose spake in the. ix. chapytre of the fyrste epystle to the Corynthyans, and the whiche we broughte in before, in the seconde chapytre of this dyccion, in the thyrde synysfycacyon of this nowne spyrytuall. Nowe consequentlye, it resteth and remayneth, to shewe, that chryste hym selfe not onely dyd refuse the domynyon of this worlde, or coactyue iurysdyccyon or iudgemente in this worlde (wherin he gaue exampyle to his apostles and dyscyples, and the successors of them, to do lyke

do lyked wyse) but also that he taughte by his preachynge and shewed by his example & al preeftes & laye men ought to be vnderneath the coactyue iudgement or iurysdyccyon of the prynces of this worlde, bothe reallye and personallye / that is to saye bothe in theyr owne personages and in all theyr goodes appertaynyng to them / fyrste than chryste shewed this, by his wordes, & example of his owne selfe, as concernynge his goodes and substaunce, in the .xxii. of Mathewe, where it is redde / that whan the Jewes asked of hym, sayenge / Tell vs, howe thynkest thou : is it lawfull to gyue trybute to Cesar or not? Chryst after he had looked on the money or quoyne, and the scripture therof, made answer, and sayd / gyue than to Cesar those thynges, whiche belongeth to Cesar, and to god those thynges, whiche appertayneth to god / where the glose interlyneare sayth, that is to wytte, trybute and money / And saynt Ambrose vpon that texte, whose is this ymage, and this superscrypcion? sayth in this wyse / As Cesar exacteth and requyeth the money haupnge his ymage imprinted in it: so god also requyeth the soule, marked with the lyghte of his owne face / Take hede than, what thyng chryste came to exacte in this worlde / And Chrysostome sayth thus / But thou when thou hearest these wordes, gyue to Cesar those thynges whiche belongeth to hym, knowe thou, that chryste meaneth onely those thynges whiche in no

pointe are contrarie to vertue, and the comaundement of god / for yf there be any suche thyng: it is not the trybute of Cesar, but the trybute of the deuyl / Beholde, that in all thynges we oughte to be subiectes to Cesar, so that they be not contrarie to pyttee, that is to wytte, the worshypynge of god, or his comaundement / Chryste than wolde be subiecte to the secular prynces, in reall or temporall substaunce / This also was openlye the sentence or mynde of saynt Ambrose, grounded vpon this sentence of chryste, for he sayde in the epyttle agaynst Valentinian, whiche, is intytled to the people / we paye to Cesar those thynges, whiche belongeth to Cesar / and those thynges whiche belongeth to god, we paye to god / trybute belongeth to Cesar / it is not denyed hym / The same thyng is shewed agayne, by the .xxii. chapytre of Mathewe / where it is this wyrtten / they whiche receyued the Dydrachme, came to Peter and sayde / dothe not your mayster paye the Dydrachme? and consequentye after a certayne wordes betwene, it foloweth that chryste sayde to Peter / That we do not offende them: go to the see, and throwe in thyne hoke / and that fyssh whiche shall come vp fyrste, take it vp, and whan thou haste opened the mouth of it thou shalt fynde a stotere, or a doble Dydrachme take it and gyue it to them for the tyme / and the lord sayde not onely, gyue it them: but sayde gyue it to them for me and the / and saynt Iherome saythe here our lord bothe as consernynge his bodye, and also his spyryte, was the sone of a worldye or lyuyng kynge, by two maner wayes / fyrste in that he was gendred of the stocke of Dauid, or in that that he was the worde or sone of the almyghty father / Therefore he oughte by ryght no trybute to paye but to be fre from all coactyue powers or bondage, as beynge the sone of kynges / And afterwarde it foloweth in the same sayenge of saynt Iherome / Therefore, althoughe he were free: yet because he had taken vpon hym the humylyttee or mekenesse of the nature of man, he ought to fulfill all iustyce / And Drygen vpon that sayenge of chryste, saythe in this maner wyse / But that we do not offende them, spekethe in this wyse more to the purpose and to the mynde of the euangelyste whiche after this maner saythe as foloweth / Consequentye we maye well

Note this.

Iherome.

THE DEFENCE

Dyngen.

perceyue (saythe Dyngen) & vnderstande by these wordes of Chryste, that as ofte as certayne men ryseth vp, which wrongfully taketh away our earthly thyngs or temporal substaunce: the kynges and gouernours of this earth doth sende them to requyre of vs, that which belongeth to them / and by his owne example, our lord forbiddeth any occasyon of synnyng, or greyfe to be gyuen euen to suche manner men / onther lesse they myght synne the more or elles that they maye be saued. The sone of god, which neuer dyd any seruyse worke or dede, as hauynge & foume or shape of a bonde man or seruaunt, which he toke vpon hym for mannes sake, gaue trybute, and payde money / which waye than are the bysshoppes and preeftes exempte from this. By the vertue and strengthe of the wordes of the euangelycall scripture: no nor yet other wyse from the iurysdyccion of prynces, but by the gracyous & fauerable graunte of them, seynge that chryste & Peter gyuyng example to other, dyd paye trybute / and though chryste which was by bodelye generacyon comen of the stocke of kynges, perauenture dyd not owe of dutye to pay it: yet Peter beyng not comen of the stocke of kynges neyther had any such cause of exepcion, neyther yet was wyllynge to haue / But yf chryst had thought it conuenient though those which shulde be successours to hym in the offyce of preeftode, shulde paye trybutes: and that theyr temporallies shuld be vnderneath & powre of the prynces and gouernours of this world: he myght without gyuyng of euyl example (that is to wyte, of makynge preeftode subiecte to the iurysdyccion of worldly prynces) haue ordred and dyspatched or ryd those exactours or gatherers of dydrachyn / that is to wyte, by remouynge or puttyng away the intencion or purpose of askynge suche thynges, or elles by some other conuenient way or meane / But chryste dyd not repute or thynke it conuenient to do so, but rather he was wyllynge to paye, assocytynge or ioynyng to hym Peter synghulerly amonge & apostles / notwithstanding that this Peter, as we shall shewe in the .xvi. chapitre of this dyccyon, shulde be afterwarde cheyfest doctoure, and hearde of the churche / that by suche example: no man of the other, shulde refuse to do the same / Saynt Ambrose vnderstandynge this texte of scripture taken of the .xvi. chapitre of Mathewe, in such wyse as we haue sayd before: in the epystle, whose tytyle is of & despyerige of churches: sayth / The emperour asketh trybute, truly it is not denyed hym, the landes of & churche payeth trybute / & after certayn wordes beyng put betwene, he saythe more to the purpose / we pay to Cesar those thyngs which belongeth to Cesar / & to god those thynges which belongeth to god / Trybute belongeth to Cesar, it is not denyed hym / saynt Bernarde also more playnly expressynge this to be the meanyng of & afore rehersed scripture in a certayne epystle to the archebysshop of Senon, saythe in this wyse / thus saye they, which counsayle theyr subiectes to rebelle agaynst theyr superiour / But chryste sayth Bernarde bothe comaunded and dyd hym selfe other wyse / Gyue you (sayth he) to Cesar such thynges as apperteyneth vnto Cesar / and to god suche thynges as belongeth to god / This that he spake with his mouth: anone after he gaue hede to performe and fulfyl in his worke and dede / he which was the creature & maker of Cesar: was not greued, neyther dyd put of, to paye trybute / for he gaue example to you: that you shulde do lyke wyse / whan wolde he haue denyed betwene reuerence to the preeft of god, which gaue dylygence to do this reuerence, euen, to the heathen powers or offycers of the worlde: and here we ought to marke and take good hede of this which Bernarde sayth / that chryste in that he cared to gyue trybute to the secular powers: dyd gyue also betwene reuerence / This reuerence, was not coacte nor of compulssyon / for euery man oweth of duetye, who soeuer he be: to pay such manner taxe or trybute to prynces / as we shall shewe in & chapitre nexte

Ambrose.

Bernarde.

**Of payenge
trybute.**

nexte folowenge, by the auctoritie of the apostles, in the. xlii. chapytre to the Romaynes / & by the gloses of sayntes and doctours in the same place / moreouer chryste shewed, not onely, that hym selfe is vnder the coactyue iurysdyccyon of the secular prynces as touchyng realt, or tēporall substaunce: but also he sheweth the same in hym selfe as touchyng his pson & bodye / than the which personal iurysdyccyon, it is not possyble for any pryncce to haue greater iurysdyccyon outhet vpon hym or any other man / for the which cause, this iurysdyccyon is called also in the lawe of the Romaynes, mere empyre / This maye be shewed euidently, by the. xlii. chapytre of Mathewe / for as it is red, and appereth there, chryste suffered hym selfe to be taken, and to be led to the house of Pylate, which was the deputie of the emperoure of Rome / and by hym as iudge of coactyue powre and auctoritie: he suffered hym selfe to be iudged and deliuered to extreme punysshment and dethe / Neyther dyd he crye agaynst Pylate as agaynst one that oughte not to be his iudge: albeit perauenture he gaue knowlege, that he suffered not ryght wyse iudgement / And it is vndoubtedlye knowen / that he myght haue suffered suche iudgement and punysshment by preestes yf he had wolde, or yf he had iudged it inconuenient, that his successours in tyme afterwarde to come, shulde be subiectes to secular prynces, and be iudged by them / And because this sentence is more serously and earnestly wyrtten, in the. xlii. of Iohil: I wyll also brynge in here, that which is had in the sayde place / whan chryste was brought to Pylate the emperours deputie, and was also accused, for that he sayde hym selfe to be kynge of the Jewes, and the sone of god: & whan Pylate had asked Jesu, whēse art thou? And Jesus had gyuen thereto none answer at all, Pylate than sayde to hym these wordes folowynge, which appertayneth to our purpose / wylt thou not speake to me? knowest thou not, that I haue powre and auctoritie to crucifye the, and let the go at lybertie? Jesus answered / Thou shuldest not haue any powre at all agaynst me, yf it were not gyuen to the from aboue / Beholde here that Jesus dyd not denye, that Pylate had auctoritie to iudge hym / and to execute iudgement vpon hym / neyther sayde he, of ryght it belongeth not to the, but in dede thus thou doste / But chryste added this also, that Pylate had his auctoritie from aboue / howe from aboue? Augustyne maketh answer sayenge / let vs learne then that, which chryste sayde and which he taughte the apostle / that is to wyte Paule in the. xlii. to the Romaynes / what then dyd chryste saye? what taughte he the apostle? that there was no powre, that is to saye, auctoritie of iurysdyccyon but of god / howe soeuer it be, of the acte of them / which mysse vse this powre / And that he semeth more, which throughe enuye deliuereth an innocent to the powre or offycer, for to be slayne, than dothe the powre or offycer selfe, yf he dothe kyll or slee hym for feare or dreade of an other hygher or greater powre / for such powre had god gyuen to Pylate, that he was also vnder the powre of Cesar / Then that iudyciall coactyue powre which Pylate had ouer the person of chryste was of god / as chryste seife onely openly cōfessed, & saynt Augustyne playnly expressed / And saynt Bernarde sayde openly to the archebysshop of Senon in a certayne epystle / sayenge that chryste graunteth, that the powre of Pylate euen ouer hym selfe also, is ordayned of god. These be Bernardes wordes, speakynge of the powre of Pylate, and vpon this place of scrypture / Than yf the iudiciarie coactyue powre of Pylate, ouer or vpon chryste selfe, was of god: howe moche more than, vpon his tēporall or carnal goodes, yf chryst had possessed or had any further than, yf ouer the persone of chryste, and his tēporall goodes, he hadde suche auctoritie in howe moche more ouer & vpon the personages, & the tēporall goodes, of all the apostles, & theyr successours, al bysshops or preests / & this thyng was

Augustyne

Bernarde.

THE DEFENCE

was not onely shewed by the wordes of chryste but also confyrmmed by the perfor-
myng or fulfyllynge of the worke/for by the same Pylate syttinge in the place
of iudgement, sentence of deathe was gyuen, agaynst chryste/and by the auctory-
tie and comaundement of hym, excecucion, was done of the same sentence, for
these wordes in ordre are red in the same chapytre of Josua/ whan Pylate than
had herde these wordes, he brought Iesus forth/and sette hym selfe in the place
of iudgemente/and after a lytle space, it foloweth/ Therefore he deliuered Iesu
vnto them, that he shulde be crucifyed/and euen suche was the sentence and oppi-
nyon or mynde of the apostle Paule, concernynge chryste: whan he sayde in the
thyrde chapytre to the Galathians/ But whan the fulnes of tyme was comen/
god sente his sone made of a woman, made vnder the lawe, It foloweth conse-
quently than that he was made vnder a iudge also, to whome it dyd appertayne
to iudge and comaunde, accordynge to the lawe/ whiche iudge for all this was
not a bysshop or preeft/ And chryste dyd not onely wyl to exclude the seculare go-
uernance, or iudycyall, coactyue powre, from hym selfe but also he dyd exclude
it from his apostles, as well of one of them ouer an other amonge them selfe: as in
comparyson to other men/ wherfore this texte is had, in the. xxi. chapytre of Ma-
thewe, & the. xxi. of Luke/ there was made a contencion or shewynge amonge
them/ that is to wylt, the apostles, whiche of them shulde be greater. But chryste
sayd to them, kynges and rulers of the gentyles, haue domynyon ouer them/ and
they whiche hathe powre ouer them are called benefycyall, and well doers/
But in Mathewe this clause is red in this wyse, and they whiche be greater ex-
ercyse powre vpon them/ but you shall not do so/ but he whiche is greater amōge
you stāde as yonger/ and he that is forgoer or mayster is as a mynystre/ for wher-
ther of the two is greater, he that sytteth at the table, or he that mynystreth or ser-
ueth? Is not he whiche sytteth/ But I am in the myddes amonge you: as he & my-
nystreth/ but who soeuer wyl be greater amōge you: let hym be your mynystre/
And who soeuer wyl be cheyfe amonge you: shall be your seruaunte/ euen lyke/
wyse, as the sone of man came not to be serued, but to mynystre/ that is to serue
in temporall thynges, and not to be lord and ruler, or to be egall or felowe/ for in
spyrityual mynysterye or offyce, he was cheyfest/ and not a seruaunt in the myd-
des of the apostles/ wherupon Drygen saythe/ you knowe, that the prynces or go-
uernours of the gentyles, are lordes and hathe domynyon ouer them/ that is to
saye, are not contente onely to gouerne theyr subiects, but also labourerth vyolent-
ly to be lordes of them/ that is by powre coactyue, yf they must nedes/ but amōge
you, whiche are my dyscyples there shall be no suche thynges/ for as carnal thyng-
ges/ are put in necessitye or compulcyon and spyrityuall thynges in the wyl: so
they also whiche be spyrityuall that is to saye prelates, theyr auctorytie or gover-
nance ought to stande in loue, and not in feare/ and Chrysostome amonge other
thynges saythe these wordes makynge for this our purpose/ Prynces of the world
be made therfore, that they shulde be lordes, and haue domynyon ouer theyr infer-
ryours/ and to caste them vnder seruytude and bondage, and to spoyle them (vn-
derstande thou, yf theyr trespasses or euyl deades shall deserue it) and to vse them
euen to deathe, to theyr owne profyte and gloire/ But rulers and gouernours of
the churche, that is to wylt prelates, are made therfore that they shulde serue theyr
inferryours, and mynystre to them, what soeuer thynges they haue receyuyd of
Chryste/ and that they shulde dyspyse theyr owne profyte and procure the pro-
fyte of them/ And that they shulde not refuse to dye for the helthe and saluacyon
of theyr inferryours and subiectes/ therfore to desyre prymacye, or soueraynetye
of the churche is neyther ryght neyther profytable/ for what wyse man wyl of
his

Drygen.

Let men of
churche loue
& not playe
lordes.

Chrysostome

his accomde wyllingly bynde hym selfe to suche seruytude and suche leopardie, as to gyue accompte for the holt church: excepte perauenture he be such one, whiche diredeth not the iudgement of god / abusinge his ecclesiasticall prymacye after a secular and worldly fashyon so that he dorthe tourne it in to secular soueraynetie / what hath preeftes than to do with medlynge of secular coactyue iudgementes? for they ought not to be lordes temporally: but to be seruaunt; and to mynystre after the exampyle and preepte of chryste / wherfore saynt Jerome saythe. Synally chryste setteth forth the afore his dyscyples the exampyle of his owne selfe / that yf the apostles wolde lytle sette by, or regarde his wordes and sayenges, yet at the leaste wyse at the syght of his workes and dedes, they shulde be ashamed to be lordes and to vse domynyon temporally / wherfore Drygen vpon this tecte, and to gyue his lyfe redempcyon for many. .cc. sayth in this wyse therfore the rulers and gouernours of the church ought to folowe chryste, in that he was not proude or daungerouse for to be comed vnto, but redy, for who soeuer wold come vnto hym and in that he spake to women / and layde his handes vpon chylidren / and was shed the fete of his dyscyples / & they selues may do lyke wyse to theyr bretherne / But we are suche manner men (saythe he meanynge by the prelates of his tyme) that we seme to excede and passe euen the worldly prynces, in pryde, outther because we do not vnderstande and perceyue the comaundement of chryste: or elles because we do dyspyse and sette at nought the same comaundement / and as yf we were kyniges / we desyre and seche for armed hostes to go before vs / and those terribble and dredefull / For asmoche than, as to do these thynges, is to despyse, or elles to be ygnoraunte of the comaundement of chryste: fyrste prelates are to be monysshed and warned hereof / whiche thyng we shall do by this treatyse, shewynge and declarynge, what auctoritie is conuenient and accordynge or mete for them / after this done, yf than they shall not regarde to amende them selues: they ought to be constrayned and compelled therunto, by the secular & laye prynces / least they myght corrupte and infecte the maners of men. These thyngs than hitherto rehersed, hath ben sayd vpon Mathewe, but vpon Luke: Basilus sayth in this wyse / But it besemeth them, which be spyrytuall rulers, and gouernours to offre also bodely obsequye and seruyce, after the exampyle of chryste our lorde, whiche washed the fete of his dyscyples / Wherfore chryste sayde. The prynces of the gentyles be lordes ouer them / but you (that is to wytte the apostles) shall not be so / Chryste than, the kynge of kyniges, & lorde of lordes, dyd not gyue to them powre and auctorite, to exerceyse the secular iudgementes of prynces: neyther coactyue powre or iurysdyccyon ouer any man / but openly and euidently he forbade it them, whan he sayde / but you not so. And the same is consequently to be holden, of all the successours of all the apostles, bysshoppes or preeftes / This is it also, whiche saynt Bernarde sayde openly to Eugenius, in the seconde booke of consyderacyon, the fourth chapytre / treatynge vpon those wordes of chryst afore rehersed / the kyniges and prynces of the gentyles. .cc. for amonge other, these are the wordes of Bernarde, that whiche the apostle Petre had, that same he gaue / that is to wytte, busp care, and dyllygent ouerseynge of the congregacyons / dyd he gyue domynacyon, or lordshyp: harken what he saythe / Not haupnge (saythe he) domynyon or lordeshyp ouer the clargye, but beyng made the exampyle of the flocke / And least thou myght wene or suppose that this was spoken onely of hymnytie and lowlynes, and not to be exequyted in very ttruth, the saynge of our lorde in the gospel is, the kyniges and prynces of the Gentyles haue domynyon and lordshyp ouer them, and they whiche haue powre ouer them, are called well doers or benefycyall / & he inferreth or concludeth / but you not so. It is playne, & domynyon

Ecclesiastical
psone ought
to be seruaunt
& not to be
lord; & rulers
Jerome.

Drygen.

Basilus
magnus.

Bernard.

THE DEFENCE

domynyon is forbydden the apostles / so that they may not be lordes. Darest thou then outther beynge a lord vsurpe & offyce of an apostle? or beynge an apostolyke persone, vsurpe domynion or lordshyppe? forsoth thou art playnly phybited from bothe / yf thou art wyllynge to haue bothe of them togyther thou shalt lose both / or elles thynke not thy selfe to be excepted from the nobre of them, of whome god cōplained in this wyse. They haue reigned and not by me / they haue ben prynces and rulers and I knewe them not. Thus than by the veryties or treue textes of the gospell whiche we haue brought in and alleged / and by the interpretacyōs or declaracyōs of the same textes, made by sayntes and other approued doctours It ought to appere euidentlye to all men, that chryste dyd exclude, or was wyllynge to exclude hym selfe, as well by his deades, as by his wordes, from all soueraynte or gouernaunce, and iudgement coactyue, or worldely powre, and auctoritie / and that he wolde hym selfe be subiecte, and vnderneath the coactyue iurysdyccyon of secular gouernours, prynces or other hyghe powers.

Of the canonycall oracles, or textes of the apostles, and the expocypions of sayntes, and holy doctours: by whiche the same thyng is openly proued whiche was proued by the chapytre laste afore gone.

The. v. chapytre.



Mwe there resteth & remaineth behynde, to shewe that this same was also the sentence and doctryne of the cheyfe apostles of chryst And fyrst of Paule, whiche in the seconde chapytre of the seconde epistle to Tymothe admonysseth and aduertyseth the same Tymothe whome he had ordayned and made bysshop or preeste that he shulde not wrappe hym selfe in worldly busynes / for these are his wordes / let no man that warrerth to god: entangle hym selfe with worldly busynes / where the glose after Ambrose mynde saythe / that no man, that warrerth to god in spyrytuall thynges (whiche god can not be parted or deuyded to two contrarye seruauantes. enen lyke wyse as no man can do seruyce to two maysters or lordes) entangleth hym selfe in any maner worldly busynesses. And he sayth in any maner busynesses, exceptynge none at all / for asmoche then as domynyon or iudgement coactyue of contentiouse and debatefull actes or deades. is the most secular and worldly of all busynes (for that it dothe ordre and rule all secular busynes. or all secular cyuple actes of men, as it hathe ben shewed in the. xv. chapytre of the fyrst dyccyon) the apostle comaundeth it pryncypally, & moste of all to be eschewed of hym, whiche ought to be the souldour or seruante to god, in mynystre spyrytuall thynges, so as euery maner bysshop or preeste ought to be / And that this whiche we haue referred, was the very meanynge and mynde of the apostle it is openly and euidently declared by the tepte, whiche is red in the sypte chapytre of the fyrste epistle to the Corynthyans / where he sayde in this wyse. Therfore yf you haue secular iudgements, ordayne you or make you them iudges, whiche are contemptible and of least reputacyon in the churche / for there the apostle speake vnto all faythfull or chrysten men, and to the churche in his moste propre and laste sygnifycacyon / whiche sayde tepte of the apostle, the glose expoundeth thus, accordynge to the mynde of Ambrose and Augustyne / Contemptible persones, that is to wyt, some wyse men, but yet whiche be of lesse meryte, than the

Ambrose.

This tepte
is but euē na
kedly alleged
of y^e authour.

Ambrose.
Augustyne.

the preeftes and teachers of the gofpell/ordayne them to be iudges/and the caufe is fhewed, why the mynyftres of the gofpell, fhulde not be made iudges in fuche matyers/ For the apoftles goynge aboute from place to place: had not faysure or fpace, to gyue theyr mynde to fuche bufynes/ than his wyll was, that wyfe and holy chryften men, whiche refyd & were abydyng in places, and not they which ran aboute hyther and thither, from place to place. for to fprede abroad the gofpell fhulde be the examyners and iudges of fuche bufynesse/ And an other caufe here of, the glofe affygneyth accordynge to the mynde of Gregory in his moralles/ and that very well (in my iudgement) accordynge to the mynde and intencion of the apoftle/ for why (fayth Gregory) ought contemptible perfonnes, and not byffhop pes or preeftes, be ordayned & fet to exercyfe feculer offyces: doubtes to the ende that fuche fhulde examyne earthly and worldly caufes, whiche haue gotten the wyfdom or knowlege of exteryor and outwarde thynges/ that is to wyt, of feculer or cyuile actes or workes/ But they that are entyched with fpyrytuall gyftes ought not to be entangled or encombred with earthly matyers or bufynes/ that whyles they are not compelled to dyspofe and ordre the inferioure goodes of the worlde, they maye be able to do feryce to the fuperyour or fpyrytuall good thynges, fo than this is moſte euydently the mynde of the apoftle, and of the holy expofytours, whiche we haue fayde of the offyce, that was vtterly forbydden to preeftes by the apoftle Paule/ whiche thyng alfo faynt Bernarde exprefsyng to Eugenius, in the .v. chapytre of the fyrſte booke De consideratione: fayth in this wyfe, dyrectynge his ſpeche to the byffhops of Rome and of other places/ Therfore your powre and auctorytie (fayth he) is in crymes or synnes, not in poſſeffyons. For it was for synnes, and not for poſſeffyons, that the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens was gyuen to you/ that you myght exclude tranſgreffours or ſynners, not poſſeffours/ that you maye knowe (fayth he) that the ſone of man hath powre and auctorytie to forgyue synnes/ And afterwardes he fayth/ whether of theſe two ſemet to the greater dregnytie and powre to forgyue synnes, or elles to deuyde and parte landes & lordſhyppes? Theſe inferiour and vyle earthly thynges haue theyr iudges, the kynges, and prynces of the earth/ why do you inuade the bondes of other men, vsurpyng that which belongeth to them? Thus than it foloweth, that it belongeth not to the offyce of a byffhoppe or preeftes to iudge by coactyue iudgement, contencyous carnall actes or temporall thynges/ but rather the byffhoppes or preeftes medlynge with fuche bufynes inuade other mens boundes/ that is to ſaye trouble the offyce of an other man, & ſtretch forth the theyr ſythe in to an other mannes corne, after the mynde of Bernarde/ Therefore the apoftle wolde, that they fhulde iudge by coactyue iudgement whiche are not ordayned to be mynyftres of the gofpell and whiche haue gotten the knowlege of exteryoure or outwarde thynges/ that is to wyt, of cyuile actes or deades/ for as moche than, as no man that treſpaſeth, is exempte from fuche maner iudgement it appereth, that as well preeftes, as thoſe that ben no preeftes: be ſubiecte and vnderneath the coactyue iudgement of prynces and lay gouernours/ & here it is dytly gently to be marked and taken hede of, that the apoftle in wrytynge generally to the chryſten men of Corynthe, as it appereth by the ſalutacyon, and alſo in that he putteth contēptible perſons in the church, that is to wyt, ſeculer perſons after the mynde of the gloſe, dothe not ſaye I my ſelfe ordayne or ſet contemptible perſons, neyther yet any other fuche man iudgeth the ſeculer or worldly matyers, whiche you ſhal haue for me or by my auctorytie/ Neyther he lefte behynde hym any man there in his ſtede, to iudge matyers or to coſtytute or ordayne fuche maner iudges/ whiche thyng for all that he wolde haue done, or oughte to haue

Gregorius.

Bernardus.

THE DEFENCE

Bernardus.

Bernardus

Bernarde
rayleth a
gaynst þe spy
rytuallre.

done, yf this thyng had be appertaynyng to his offyce and auctorite, as wel as he dyd of preeſtes and byſſhoppes / for he dyd inſtute and ordayne them, in the places where chryſten congregacyons were / and comaunded them, or elles comyt-
ted it to them, to make inſtutucion of other byſſhoppes and preeſtes / as it is euy-
dent in the thyrde chapytre of the fyrſt epyſtle to Tymothe, and in the fyrſte cha-
pytre of þe epyſtle to Titus / for thus he ſayd to Titus for this cauſe I haue ſette þe
in Crete lande, þe thou ſhuldeſt correcte thoſe thyngs, which are lackynge or wan-
tyng / þe is to wytte, offences & synnes in them which treſpaſe / & þe thou ſhuldeſt
put to þe which is good / as the gloſe ſaythe / & that thou ſhuldeſt conſtute & or-
dayne, or ſet preeſtes in euery cytie / neyther dyd he comaunde ſeculer actes to be
iudged by byſſhoppes or preeſtes: but he dyd rather forbide it / wherefore Bernarde
in the place afore alleged ſayth in this wyſe / But yet here the apoſtle what he
iudgeth or thynketh of ſuch maner pſons / is there in ſo moch (ſayth he) neuer one
wyſe man amonge you, which maye iudge betwene his brother and brother? I
ſpeake it to make you abaſſhed and aſhamed & than it foloweth / Ordayne them
which are contemptible perſones in the church: to be iudges & accordynge than
to the mynde of the apoſtle, thou that art an apoſtolyke perſon, doſte vnſembly
and vnconueniently, to vſurpe and take vnto thy ſelfe, a vyle offyce, and the de-
gree of contemptible perſons / wherefore the apoſtle alſo which was a byſſhoppe
ſayd thus, inſtructynge an other byſſhop, that is to wyte Tymothe / no man war-
rynge to god entangleth hym ſelfe in ſeculer buſynes / & the ſame Bernarde ſayth
afterwarde / Suppoſeſt thou, that theſe tymes coulde ſuffre & abyde it yf when
men ſtryue and go to lawe for worldlye inheritaunce, and do requyre of the, to
gyue iudgemente betwene them / thou woldeſt make anſwere to them with the
wordes of chryſt / O you men who hath ordayned me to be iudge ouer you / what
maner iudgement wold men forthwith gyue of the? what wolde the vplandyſſhe
and the vnlearned man ſay? Thou knoweſt not thy prymacye / thou knoweſt not
the hygge and very magnifycent ſee / thou doſte derogate and mynyſſhe the apo-
ſtolyke dygnytie / And yet I ſuppoſe, they which wolde ſay thus: wyll not ſhe w
where at any tyme any of the apoſtles ſatte as iudges ouer men, or dyuyders of
termes or boundes, or as dyſtributers of landes / and to be ſhorte, I rede that the
apoſtles ſtode to be iudged: but I rede not þe they ſate as iudges / It ſhall be ſene
perauenture, but it hath not ben ſene / Is the ſeruaunte to be iudged a mynyſſher
of his dygnyte, by cauſe he wyll not to be greater, than he which ſent hym?
Or the ſame, becauſe he dothe not go beyonde the boundes, which his fathers
hath ſette? The mayſtre and lord hym ſelfe ſayde, who hath ordayned or made
me iudge? and ſhall the ſeruaunt be thought to haue iniurye or wronge, excepte
he do iudge al men? Thus than Bernarde ſayth, that the ſucceſſoure of the apoſt-
les dothe vnſembly and vnaccordyngly yf he vſurpeth or taketh vnto hym ſelfe
the offyce of a iudge / And the holy apoſtle comaunded, that all men indyfferent-
ly (no man excepted, neyther byſſhop, neyther preeſte or deacon) oughte to be vn-
der the iudgemēt coactyue of iudges or prynces and gouernours ſeculer / and that
ſuche ſeculer gouernours ought not but to be obeyed, onleſſe they dyd comaunde
any thyng to be done dyrectlye agaynſt the lawe of the euerlaſtyng ſaluacy-
on / wherefore in the .xiii. chapytre to the Romaynes: he ſaythe / Let euery ſoule be
ſubiecte to the hygge powers / for there is no powre, but from god and thoſe pow-
ers that be: are ordayned of god / Therefore who ſoener reſyſteth the powre: reſy-
ſteth the ordynaunce of god / and thoſe which reſyſteth: dothe purchaſe and gette
to them ſelfe dampnacyon / for prynces or gouernours are not feated of them that
are well doers / but of them that dothe euyl / wyllſte thou not drede the powre? do
good

good and thou shalt obtayne prayse of hym / for he is a mynyster, to the, for good: but yf thou shalt do euyl: than feare / for he beareth not the swerde without a cause / for he is the mynyster of god to punyssh and to do vengeance on hym, that dothe euyl. Therefore be you subgiectes / for so you ought of necessitye / not onely because of wrathe / but also because of conscience. For because of this, you do pay trybut. For they are mynysters of god setynge to this same thyng. Gyue you to all men, theyr duties / trybute, to whom trybute is due / rente: to whom rente / feare: to whom feare / honoure, to whom honoure is due to be gyuen. And I was wylling also vpon these wordes of the apostle worthy to be noted, to brynge in the glose, after the mynde of sayntes, and catholyke Doctours / because of thys thynges, whiche the apostle hathe sayde, and the glose maker / but our purpose is so openly and euidently shewed to be true, that no man beyng of ryght mynde after he hath seen and red them: ought to doubt any lenger. The apostle sayd eue ry soule exceptynge none, where the glose after Augustynes mynde fyrste, and other whyles after the mynde of Ambrose, sayth thus. And here he prouoketh and exhorteth men to humblenes. For certayne men thought, that euyl Lordes and rulers, and namely suche as were infydels ought not to haue domynyon and rule ouer chrysten men. And yf they were good and also chrysten: that then they were but peeres and egall to other good and chrysten men. Whiche pryde, also the apostle here putteth a waye even from the superyour parte of man / that is to wytte the soule, by it betokenynge the hole man. For what is it to saye / euery soule, but euery man: as yf he shulde saye. All the foresayde thynges are to be done / and though you be so perfyte in the bodye of Chryste / yet that notwithstanding let euery soule be subiecte / that is to saye, lette euery man be subiecte / whiche man I do signyfy therefore by the name of the soule, that you shulde serue and be obeyf: saunte, not onely in bodye, but also in wyll and mynde. Therefore let euery soule be so subiecte and obedyent, that is euen also in wyll / he do serue the secular powers, bothe good and euyl / that is to wytte kynges and prynces / or gouernours / hygh capytaynes / vnder capytaynes / & such other. So than, what the apostle vnderstode and meened by the hygher powers / nothyng elles: but secular prynces & gouernours. Than it foloweth in the glose / for yf he be a good man, whiche is ruler, and gouernoure ouer the / he is thy nourysshur / yf he be an euyl man, he is a temptoure to proue and assaye the. Bothe receyue and take nourysshementes or cherysshynge gladlye and with good wyll. And in thy temptacyon be thou aproued. Be thou therefore golde, and marke and take hede, that this worlde is as it were the founayne of the golde fyrer. So than lette euery soule be subiecte to the hygher powers / that is to wytt, in this that they are hygher / that is in worldly thyngs. Or elles in this worde hygher is signyfyed the cause wherfore they ought to be obeyed / that is because they are hygher by the ordenaunce of god.

¶ For there is no power but of god / he proueth, that they oughte to be subiectes & obeyssaunte, this maner waye, because all power is of god / but those thynges, whiche be of god / are ordeyned of god / than it foloweth, that power and auctorite is ordeyned of god / that is to saye, who soeuer hathe power or auctorite, hath the ordynance of god. Therefore who soeuer resysteth the power resysteth the ordynance of god. And this is it that he saythe, as yf he oughte therefore to be subiecte because there is neyther any good man, neyther euyl, that hathe any power excepte it be gyuen vnto hym of god / wherfore our Lorde sayde to Pylate / Thou shuldest not haue power ouer me / yf it were not gyuen to the from aboue / whiche thyng Bernarde also repeting to the Archebysshop of Senon sayth. There was no man more secular: than Pylate, afore whom our lorde stode to be iudged / yet

Euyl rulers
are to be obey
ed as reuerētly
as good rulers.

The soule is
put for the mā.

Bernardus.

THE DEFENCE

Bernardus.

Of this worde
de power.

Marke this
well I coun-
ceyll you.

That we are
bounde to do
as the Decree
of the Emperour
saith.

he sayde / thou shouldest not haue any power ouer me : yf it were not gyuen to the from aboue. At that tyme Christ spake for hym selfe, and had experyence of that thyng in hym selfe / whiche thyng after he caused to be publysshed and proclaymed throughout all the churches, by his apostles, that is to wytte, that there is no power but of god / and that who soener resysteth the power: resysteth the ordynauce of god. And within a lytle after in the same place Bernarde saythe Christ graunteth and confesseth, that the power and auctorite of the Emperours deputie in Rome, euen ouer his owne self was ordeyned from aboue. And it foloweth in the glose / but those that be, are ordeyned of god / that is to saye are resonablye dysposed and ordeyned of god. Therefore who soener other by violence, or by dyscorde or gyle resysteth the power / that is to wytt the man haupnge power in those thynges whiche belonge to the power: as in trybute / and suche other thynges: he resysteth the ordynacyon of god / that is to saye, he resysteth hym, that hath power by the ordynacyon of god / and therefore he dothe not accordynge to the ordynacyon of god. Of the good power: it is euident, that god hath made hym ruler reasonably and not without good cause / And of the euyl power, it maye also appere, that he is made ruler reasonably / whyles both good men are putged by hym: and euyl men are cōdemned, & hym selfe is caste downe hedlonge worse and worse. And marke & take hede, that somtyme by this worde power is vnderstande the power it selfe or auctoritie whiche is gyuen of god / somtyme by the same worde: is vnderstande the man selfe that hathe the power / whiche. ii. Sygnyfycacyons / let the dyligent reader marke the one of them from the other / he that resysteth the power resysteth the ordynacyon of god / And this is so greuous an offence, that who soener resysteth the power: they do purchase and gette to them selves euerlastynge dampnacyon. And therefore no man oughte to resyste / but to be subiecte and obeysaunte to hym. But yet yf he cōmaunde the, to do that thyng, whiche thou oughte not to doo by the lawe of god: here truly thou mayste not execute his cōmaundemente fearynge the greater power / that is to wytte god / marke, and take hede of the degrees of wordly thynges / yf the Emperour of Rome shall bydde or cōmaunde any thyng to his subiect? it is to be done, albeit he do cōmaunde contrary to the proconsul? Agayne yf the proconsul / whiche is the emperours subiecte and offycer vnder hym byddeth, one thyng, and the Emperour cōmaundeth an other thyng: is it any doute, but that despyssynge the proconsuls cōmaundeth the subiecte: ought to obey the Emperour or principall capytayne? Therefore yf the Emperour cōmaunde one thyng, & god doth cōmaunde an other thyng, the subiecte ought to obey god, before the emperour. But yet saynt Augustyne sayd not, yf the Emperour do cōmaunde one thyng, and the Pope or bysshop do cōmaunde an other thyng / whiche thyng he ought to haue sayd, yf the pope had ben superyour to the emperour, in degree of Iurysdyccyon / but yet saynt Augustyne wolde, that yf the emperour hathe cōmaunded, any thyng to be due agaynst the lawe of euerlastynge helthe, whiche is immediat cōmaundement of god / in this the emperour ought not to be obeyed / in whiche case, the pope cōmaundynge accordynge to this lawe / that is to wytt the lawe of god / is rather to be obeyed than the Emperours cōmaundynge, any thyng to be done, whiche is contrary to the lawe of god. But yf the pope cōmaundeth any thyng accordynge to his Decree: talles in that they are but his owne decrees, he is nothyng to be obeyed, agaynst the cōmaundement of the Emperour, or his lawes / and that appereth openly and euidentlye here, and shall be more largely declared in the. ix. chapytre of this dyscyon. Than it foloweth in the glose / They that resyst worthely purchase or gette dampnacyon. For gouernours good or euyl, are not the feare of good workes / but of

But of euyl/ that is to saye, not the fearynge of them whiche worke well: but to the feare of them whiche worke euyl. For yf he be a good pryncce or gouernour, he dothe not punyssh hym that worketh well, but loueth hym. And yf he be an euyl pryncce: he dothe not hurte the good man, but tryeth and purgeth hym. But the euyl man ought to feare/ for prynces and gouernours are ordeyned to punyssh the vyces or euyl deades. He calleth them prynces or gouernours/ whiche are created and made, to correcte and amende the lyfe of men/ and to kepe a waye aduersy tie/ haupnge the Image or lykenesse of god, that all other myght be vndre one. But to you as euyl doers they are fearefull/ But wylte thou not feare the power, what soeuer man he be: other good or euyl? Do good and worke thou well And than thou haste no cause, wherfore thou nede to feare or drede/ but thou shalt rather haue prayse of the same power: althoughe he be euyl/ whyles thou haste a cause of greater crowne and rewarde/ But yf he be a ryght wyse power or offyccer: thou shalt haue prayse of hym, whyles he shall hym selfe laude and comende the/ yf he be vntyght wyse yet shalt thou haue prayse of hym/ no^e in ^h he hym selfe shall prayse the: but in that he shall gyue occasyon, that thou shalt be praysed of other men/ and so shalt thou truly haue prayse by hym. For he is the mynyster of god to the/ for good, that is to say, doynge good to the, whether he be good or euyl. For he is gyuen to the of god, for thy good and profyte/ that is to wytte to defende the and thynne/ for it is manifest and euident or open, that rulers or gouernours, are therfore gyuen of god that no hurte shulde be done to good men. But yf thou do euyl: than feare thou/ for he beareth the swerde, that is to say the power and auctoritie to iudge: not without cause, but to punyssh the euyl doers. And this he sheweth whan he sayth after wardes/ for he is the mynyster of god, that is to say he punyssheth, and taketh vengeance in the rowme or stede of god/ he I saye beyng a punyssheth or auenger, for the wrathe of god/ that is to say, for to auenge the dyspleasure of god/ or elles for the wrathe of god to be shewed/ that is to saye, to shewe the vengeance of god, that is to come/ for this punysshment done by the gouernour sheweth that they whiche contynue in synnes shall be more sore & greuouly punysshed, I say that he is a venger or punyssheth also to hym that is to saye to the hurte and correccion of hym: that dothe euyl/ and that because he is the mynystre of god. And therfore, be you subiecte to hym, as of necessity/ or elles be you subiectes to necessity/ that is to saye, to the necessary ordynacyon of god/ And that not onely for feare, that the wrathe of the gouernour, or elles of god, shall be auenged: but also because of consyence/ that is to wytte, that your mynde maye be cleane, by louynge hym that is made ruler by god/ that is to say, hym: whiche hath suche rule and auctoritie, by the ordynacyon of god. For albeit that all Chyften men, that they are chyften, are one in Chyfte, in the saythe of whom, there is no dyfference, whether they be Jewes, or Grekes, Lordes, or seruantes, and suche other thynges: yet that notwithstandinge, there is dyfference betwene them, in the mortall or worldly conuersacyon. And the apostles comaundeth, the ordre of the conuersacyon to be kepte, in the Journey of this present lyfe. For there are some thyngs, whiche we do kepe in vnytie of the sayth without any dyfference. And there are other some thynges, whiche we do kepe in the ordre of this lyfe: as is the way, lest the name of the lorde, and his doctryne, myght be blasphemed. And therfore also you do gyue trybutes/ This is the probacyon of subiection/ wherfore ye ought to be subiecte, because therfore/ that is to saye, to shewe your subiection/ you do gyue trybutes/ whiche is a sygne or token of subiection/ he dothe not say you do paye trybutes/ but you do gyue or lende, as to them whiche shall pay you agayne/ for they do rendre or pay it to you agayne, in that they

The power
is profytable
whether it be
good or euyl.

THE DEFENCE

do defende you / & whan they syghte for the countre. And whyles they do Judge-
ments / you do sende trybutes. You (I say) seruyng god in this thyng, do verely ser-
ue hym hyghly in that you do gyue trybutes to them / for they are the mynysters of
god / & they are ordeyned for this entent: that good men shulde be praysed, & euyl
men punysshed. Or this it may be vnderstande, wherfore you ought to gyue try-
butes: for they are the mynysters of god / they (I saye) seruyng you: whyles they
do defende the countree / for this same thyng, that is to wytte, for trybute they do
setue you in defendyng of the countree / and bycause they are the mynysters of
god. So than by this tecte of the Apostle, and by the expositiouns of sayntes, he-
re afore brought in: who soeuer is not wyllinge / that the name, and the doctryne
of the lord, shulde be blasphemed, as vniuste, & preachyng agaynst the Euyple
lawes: (as the glose of Augustyne sayde here in this place, & in the sept chapytre

That all me
oughte to be
subiect to pri-
ces and gouer-
nours.

of the fyrst epystle to Tymothe) he ought to holde without any maner doubtynge
that all maner men, of what soeuer estate or condycyon they be, both really & per-
sonally, ought to be vnderneath the iurysdyccyon of secular prynces & gouernours
and to obey the same in all those thyngs, whiche are not contrary to the lawe of
euerlastyng helth / namely accordyng to the humayne lawes, or approued lauda-
ble, & honest customes / for of thys speake the apostle openly & playnly: whan
he sayd. Let every soule be subiecte, & that without cause they do not beare a swe-
de, with suche other thyngs, whiche he hath spoken of them / as well of the defen-
dyng of the countre, as of gyuyng trybutes to them, after the expositiouns of
sayntes. But the apostle neuer sayde suche wordes, any where / of any bysshop or
preeft. For the lordes, to whom we ar bounde to obey in coactyue iurysdyccyon at
they, whiche by power and myght of armes ought to defende the countre, whiche
thyng, in no wyse is semely or agreyng for a bysshop or preeft. Wherfore saynt

Ambrosius.

Ambrose to Valentinian in the seconde epystle, whiche is entytuled to the people,
sayth in this wyse. I shall be able to sorowe, I shall be able to wepe / I shall be
able to syghte & mourne / agaynst armour & wepons, agaynst souldyours / & the
gothes / my armour or wepons are teares / for suche at the munyments, defence or
armour of a preeft / otherwyse I neyther ought, neyther may resyst / agayne such
lordes to whom we ar bounden so to obey myght be infydels or myscreantes (as
the glose sayth aboute the begynnynge) but bysshops neyther ar, neyther may be
suche maner men. And therfore it is open and euydent to all men, that the apostle
spake not of preeftes or bysshops: but of kynges, prynces & gouernours / as saynt
Augustyne sayd. From this subiection also the apostle excepteth no man / whan
he sayd, every soule. Yf than it be so, that they whiche resyst suche powers, yea be-
yng infydels, & euyl men, do purchase to them selues eternall dāpnacion / how
moche more do they purchase to them selues the indignacion & wrathe of almygh-
ty god / & of his apostle Paule, & also of Peter / whiche despyse this doctryne
of god & these apostles / haue of late troubled, & continually do trouble Chrysten
kynges & prynces / & most of all, & without any maner excuse, the Emperoure of
Rome. For prynces and gouernours ar the mynisters of god, as the apostle sayd.
And he sayd not they ar our mynisters, or the mynisters of Peter, or of any other
apostle. And therfore they ar not subiects in iudgement coactyue, to any bysshop
or preeft, but rather contrarywyse, the bysshops & preefts ar subiects to them / whi-
che thyng also the glose after saynt Augustynes mynde declared, whan it sayd /
Than yf the emperour comaundeth one thyng, & god comaundeth the contrary. &c.
namynge there no bysshop, or archebysshop, or patryarche, in suche iurysdyctions
whiche thyng, yet he wolde haue done, or ought to haue done, yf Chyste whiche
is the kyng of kynges, and lord of lordes, had graunted suche power and aucto-
rytie to hym ouer the Emperour, as they do bable & lye in theyr Decretals: whiche
accor

Bablynge &
lyeng Decre-
tals.

accordyng to truth, & in very dede at nothyng els, but certayn ordynails & Estab-
 lishments, or Decrees / appertaynyng to the Establisshment of theyr owne gouern-
 naunce, rule or domynyon, beyng but a fewe psons in nōbre / to the which ordyna-
 cions, in & they ar but of theyr owne biaynes, chrysten men ar not bounde in any
 thyng to obey / as it hath ben shewed & proued of the .vii. chapitre of the fyrst dycci-
 on, & as it shal appere more espially in those thigs, which hereafter shal folowe.

¶ Yet of thysse thynges afore goe, we woll not say but the reuerence and obedy-
 ence is due to be gyuen to suche Ecclesiastycall or spyrytuall teacher or pastor, in
 those thyngs which he comaundeth or teacheth to be obserued & kept, accordyng
 to the lawe of the gospell, but not otherwysse, or to the cōtrary / as it appereth suf-
 fyciently in the .xxiii. of Mathewe, & by the expoycion of saynt Jerome in the
 same place. Howbeit, yet he neyther ought, neyther may compell any man to the
 obseruynge of suche thyngs, in this worlde, by any payne or punysshment Reall
 or personall / for we do not rede, & any suche power of punysshynge, & vsynge do-
 mynyon, ouer any man in this worlde: is graunted to them / but rather forbydden
 them by counsayll or comaundement / as it appereth euidently of this chapytre,
 and of the last aforegone. For suche power in this worlde, is gyuen by the lawes
 or by the humayne lawe maker / which although it were gyuen to a bysshop, or
 preest: to compell men in those thyngs which apperteyne to goddes lawe it shuld
 be vnprofytable. For to them that shuld be compelled, no suche thyng shuld away-
 le, or do good, to euerlastyng helthe & saluacion / And this was playnly the myn-
 de of the apostle, in the fyrste chapytre of the seconde epystle to the Corynthyans,
 whan he sayd. And I do call vpon god to wytnesse, that I sparynge you haue
 not comen yet to Corynthe / not because we ar lordes ouer your fayth / but we ar
 helpers of your ioye / for you do stande & contynue in fayth. Where the glose after
 Ambrose mynde sayth I call god to wytnesse / not onely agaynst any body / but
 also agaynst my soule / yf I do lye in that thyng wherof I speke. That I haue
 not comen to Corynthe agayne, syns I departed from you / and I haue done this
 sparynge you / that is to wyte, lest I shuld haue made many of you sad & sorowful
 by sharpe rebukynge of many of you / in which thing he spared them lest he beyng
 very sharpe: they myght be tourned in to sedicion. Therefore he wplyeth them to be
 fyrst myttigated, afore his comynge. And therefore it was not lōge of incōstancie &
 lyghtnes, or els of any carnall cōsideracion, & he dyd not fulfyl those thyngs, whi-
 che he had purposed. For a spyritual man doth not fulfyl his purpose, than whan
 he hath deuyssed any thyng more prouydently apperteynyng to helth & saluacion
 And lest they myght be angry, as yf he had spoken of domynyon: because he had
 sayd, it was for sparing of you, & I haue not come: he saith after wards / I do not
 therefore say sparynge you, because I haue any domynyon ouer your fayth / & is to
 say because your fayth doth suffre any domynion or cōpulsion, which is a thyng
 free & not of necessity: but I say it therefore, because we ar helpers, yf you worke
 with vs / of your ioy eternal, or els of the ioy of your amēdemēt: for they which ar
 amēded: doth ioy & ar glad. I said very well ouer your fayth / for by fayth, which
 worketh through loue / you do stāde, not by dominion. This same sentence & mea-
 ning dyd sayt Iohn Chrysostome gather of the afore reherted wordes of the apostle
 & hath expressed it to al mē euidently, in his boke of Dialoges / which is entytled
 the Dignite of presthod, in & .iii. chap. of the .ii. boke / for thereafter he hath brought
 in & sayng of & apostle, not because we ar lordes ouer yo^r fayth but we ar helps &c.
 he saith thus. They which ar outwarde iudges / & is to wyte, secular iudges, whan
 they haue subdued euyl persons / they do shewe very moche power & auctoritie
 vpon them / & whether they wyl or not wyl they restreyn them, & kepe them spyte
 of theyr teth, fro theyr olde lewde & vngacious maners / but in the church: no mā
 by compul

the decretals.

prest: ar to be
 obeyed in tho
 se thigs whi
 che are accor-
 dyng to the
 gospell.

Ambrosius.

Chrysostom.

THE DEFENCE

There is not
your auctory-
te gyven pree-
stes to be iud-
ges.

Augustinus.

By compulssyon (but well contented, and condescendynge) ought to be converted to better maners and conuersacyon / for neyther there is any suche power gyven to vs by the lawes, that by the auctoryte of sentence or Judgement, we maye restrayne and withholde men from synnes. And here Chrysostome speaketh in the person of all preestes / assygnyng the fyrst cause nowe reherfed, wherfore they ought to compell no man / because they haue not coactyue auctoryte or iurysdyccyon of any man, in this worlde / for asmoche as it was not gyven by the lawes, or lawe makers, at those tynes / or in those places or prouynces. Than afterwar- des he assygned and sheweth an other cause, sayeng / neyther yf suche power and auctorytie were gyven: we preestes or bysshops shuld haue, wheron we myght ex- ercise suche maner power & auctorytie / seyng that our god / that is to wyte Chry- ste / shall rewarde, not suche as be brought a waye from synne, by necessytye, that is to saye by vyolence or compulssyon but suche as abstayne from synne, of theyr owne to wardnes. And yet woll we not by thys thynge say that it is unconue- nyent, that heretykes, or other wyse infydels or mysbefeuerers, shuld be punysshed / but this auctorytie to punyssh suche persones, belongeth onely to the humayne lawe maker. Than coactyue power or iurysdyccyon, dothe not agree or belonge to any bysshop or preeft / but as well they as other oughte to be vndre the seculare iudges, in this power / as it hath ben sayd / wherfore agayne the apostle sayde, in the secōde chapytre of the fyrst epystle to Tymothe. Therfore fyrst I beseeche, that obsecracyons, prayers, requestes, and gynyng of thankes, be made for all men / for kynges, & all men whiche are in hygge auctorytie / that we may lede a quyet and a peaceable lyfe. wherfore the glose sayth, Pause directynge thys wordes to Tymothe in hym, teacheth and sheweth a forme and maner to all the whōle chur- che. And afterwardes, after i mynde of saynt Augustyne, it foloweth in i same glose vpon these wordes for all men / that is to say, for men of all sortes / and espe- cially, and moste of all for kynges, although they be euyl / and for all whiche are set in hygge auctorytie, as dukis, erles, although they be euyl men. And yet amo- ge all those, that are set in hygg auctorytie, or in suche iudycarye power, neyther the apostle, neyther Augustyne, maketh any where mencyon, of bysshop or preeft but onely of seculare prynces. But wherfore the apostle wyllith (sayth Augusty- ne) prayers to be made for kynges, and those whiche are in hygge auctorytie, yea although they be euyl men, he sheweth the cause, sayeng imedyatlye after / For this shall be profytable to vs, that we maye lyue a quyet lyfe, from persecution And a peaceable, that is to saye, without any dysquyetnes or trouble. Lo here is testymonye and wytnesse of that thynge, whiche we sayd in the last chapytre of the fyrste dyccyon / that is to wyte: that the cause effectyue and also conseruaty- ue of tranquyltye and peace: is the dewe actyon or operacyon of the soueraygne or chiefe gouernoure, beyng not letted. Than Augustyne putteth by and by af- ter a thynge, whiche is greatly to the purpose sayeng. Therfore, the apostle admo- nysshed & counseyled the church to pray for kyngs and all persons set in hygg auc- torytie, beyng inspired with the same holy ghoſte, wherwith. Jeremye the pro- phete also was inspired / whiche sent an epystle or letter to the Jewes i were in Babylon: that they shuld pray for the lyfe of kynge Nabugodonozor / & his sones & for the peace of i cytie, sayeng for the peace of them, shal be your peace. By this fyguratyuely he sygnifyed, i the church militant in erthe, in all the sayntes belō- gynyng to her, the whiche at the Lityzens by adoption, of the heuēly Iherusalem: shuld be seruaunte, & subiecte, vnder the kynges and gouernoures of this worlde. And therfore i apostle monyssheth i church, to praye for them: that they myght lede a quyet & peaceable lyfe. Lo here vndoubtedly, i the sentence & mynde of the apostle

and of Augustyne, is that the church, or elles all true Chrystyane, oughte to be vnderneath the secular prynces or gouernours / namely the chrysten gouernours, and to obeye the comaundement of them / whiche be not contrary to the lawe of euerlastyng helthe. But yf the apostle had vnderstande or meaned, that byssops or preeftes ought to be soueraynes and prynces / and to iudge men really or personally by coactyue iudgement / in the state, and for the state of this present tyme, he wolde haue sayd to Timothe, whom he had ordeyned and made bysshop / I be seche the that obsecracyons .cc. be made for all kynges and byssops whiche are in hyghe auctorite. Moreover in the thyrde chapytre to Titus, the apostle sayde admonyshe and warne them, to whom thou preache: to be subiectes & obaysaunte to prynces and powers / the apostle sayd not, admonyshe the secular persons only / neyther he sayd, Admonyshe them, to be subiectes to vs and prynces / for the Apostle knewe ryght well, & neyther he, neyther other byssops or preeftes ought to be prynces, or to iudge other men, by lityngouse Judgement or Judgement of secular actes or deades / yea & moreover he had renoked and called them backe from all maner secular busynes / not onely from lordshype or soueraygntyte, and Judgement of secular matyers / whan he sayd in the seconde chapytre of the seconde epystle, to Timothe / no man warringe to god entangleth hym selfe with secular busynes / wherfore Ambrose sayth admonyshe and warne thou. .cc. As yf he had sayde / albeit that thou haste spyrytuall Empryre and rule / that is to wytte to comaunde them in spyrytuall thyngs: yet that notwithstanding, warne them to be subiectes, and obaysaunt to prynces / that is, to kynges, dukes, and to lesse or inferiour powers and offycers / for the Chrystan relygion depriueth no man of his ryght / whiche thyng saynt Ambrose sayth so moche, because the apostles wyll & mynde, and also his doctryne was, that also Chrysten men shuld be subiectes and obaysaunte to theyr Lordes or maysters, and also to prynces and gouernours, although they be infydels and no Chrysten men / as he sayth hym selfe in the laste chapytre of the fyrste epystle to Timothe, in the begynnyng / who soeuer are bonde men vndre yoke. .cc. where the glose after saynte Augustynes mynde, sayth thus. It is to be knowen, that certayne me had preached, that lybertie was comune to all men in Chryste / whiche is very true concernyng spyrytuall lybertie, but not as touchyng carnall lybertie, so as they vnderstode it / Wherfore the apostle speaketh here agaynst theym, byddyng the bonde men to be subiectes and obedyent to theyr lordes and maysters / therfore sette not the Chrysten bonde men requyre that, whiche is sayde of the Hebrues / that is to serue syue yerres, and than for nougth to be made free / for that is mystycall / And wherfore the apostle doth comaunde this: he sheweth by and by after sayeng / lest both the name of the lord myght be blasphemed, as of one, whiche dyd inuade and vsurpe thynges be longyng to other men. And also the Chrystan doctryne, as beyng vniuste & preachyng agaynst the lawes & yule. Howe than or by what meanes, & with what conscyence towarde god, wyll any preeft, who soeuer he be: absolue subiectes from the othe, by whiche they are bounden to theyr chrysten lordes and Soueraynes: for this is an open heresy, as it shal appere more largely hereafter. The postle than sayde, admonyshe them, to be subiectes and obaysaunt to soueraynes and gouernours / he dyd not saye admonyshe laye men onely / but he sayd admonyshe them indyfferently / For after his mynde: euery soule is subiecte to them, in coactyue or contencyous Judgemente / and yf it be not so / than tell thou me, In what thyng he meaned, that euery soule shulde be subiecte to the powers. .cc. For yf euery soule hadde oughte to be subiecte to Timotheus, and Titus, In such maner iudgemente he shulde in vayne haue sayde admonyshe them. .cc.

Agayne

To absolue
the subiecte
from the bonde
and othe of
his allegeaunce,
is many
first heresye.

THE DEFENCE

Agayne, yf his mynde and wyll was that certayne men shulde be admonysht, to be subiectes to secular prynces, or gouernours, and certayne not, than shulde he haue spoken insuffycientlye, in that he dyd make no suche dyfference in his speake kynges/ whiche dyfference without doubt, no man shall fynde made any where in all Pauls epystles/ But rather alwayes the contrarie for he sayde/ lette every soule be subiecte. &c. in whiche sayeng, the apostle shulde haue spoken vnaccordyngety and also falsely (whiche god forbyd that any man shulde saye) yf any maner persons had ben exempted from subiectyon, to suche secular prynces. This also conformably was the sentence and doctryne of blyssed Peter in the seconde chapytre of his fyrste Canonycall epystle, whan he sayde. Be you subiectes to every humayne creatures, for god. By every humayne creature, vnderstande thou, every man beyng constytute & sette in hygher power or gouernaunce. For that he meened of suche men/ it appereth by the examples, whiche he brought in, immediatly folowynge, whan he sayde/ whether it be to kynges, as beyng the moste excellent, or to dukes beyng sent by the kynges, to the punysshment of malefactours, but to the prayse of good men/ for so it is the wyll of god/ I haue not brought in here, the gloses of sayntes vpon this place. For what soeuer they do saye here it is conteyned in the glose, whiche we haue brought in here tofore, vpon the wordes of the apostle in the. xiii. chapytre to the Romaynes / Beholde than, that bothe saynt Peter, and also saynt Paule, conformablye and agreably the one to the other/ do saye, that kynges and dukes are sent by god, to the punysshynge of malefactours, that is to wytte to take vengeance vpon them, by coactyue power in this worlde/ but neyther they them selves, neyther the holy expositours of theyr sayenges/ euer sayde in any place, that bysshops or preefts are sent to do the same. But rather alwayes the contrarie, as it hathe euidently appered cheyfly by the worde of Chrysostome afore alleged/ for as moche than, as preestes may be malefactours, euen as well as they whiche are not preestes, concernynge all kyndes & sortes of transgressyons, or trespasses, named and rekened vp in the seconde chapytre of this dyccion, It foloweth necessaryly, that they also ought to be vnderneath the coactyue iudgemente of kynges, dukes, or other secular gouernours. And Peter sayth, that you do obey them (sayth he) is the wyll of god. This same thyng, agayne is confirmed by the sayenge, and also by the manifest example of saynt Paule the apostle, for it is red of hym, in the. xxv. chapytre of the Actes that he refusynge the coactyue Iudgement of preestes/ sayde openly, I appele to Cesar, and agayne he sayde I stande in the courte of Cesar the emperour, where I ought to be iudged. The glose interlineare sayth, because here is the place of iudgemente. Then Paule refusynge the iudgement of preestes knowleged and confessed hym to be subiecte to the coactyue iurisdiction of Cesar. But is it to be supposed, that the apostle spake thys word saynedly when he sayd. Where I ought to be iudged/ that is to wytte, in Cesars courte? whiche had chosen than, and determined in his mynde, to dye for the truthe as it appereth in the. xvi. chapytre of the Actes? whan he sayde/ I am redye not onely to be bounde / but also to dye in Jerusalem, for the name of the lord Ihesu chryste / for who is so madde to iudge that the apostle, for cause of prolongynge of his owne lyfe, wolde by his wordes haue comytted so great a cryme and offence, as to make al preestes subiect to the Iurydyccion of secular gouernours, by his doctryne & example, wrongfulllye, and other wyse than he ought to haue done, yf he had reputed this thyng to be vndue & vncouenyent? for it had ben better for hym, not to haue gone vp to Jerusalem seynge & no man compelled hym therto, than to go vp thither, & to make a lye both agaynst hym self, & also agaynst his neybour. & therefore for asmuche, as it is

That saynte
Paule was
subiecte to
Cesar.

vnlawful

vnlawfull and great synne, to haue any suche oppynyon of Paule, it appereth euidently, that Paule thoughte euen the same in his mynde, whiche he utteryd forth with his mouth, and in this thyng he dyd folowe hym whome he wolde not be superyoure vnto, that is to wyte chryste, whiche not onely knowleged Cesar to be his worldly iudge: but also Pylate the deputye of Cesar, whan he sayde in the. xlv. chapytre of Iohil / Thou shuldest not haue any powre agaynst me / yf it were not gyuen to the from aboue. &c. that is to saye, excepte it were gyuen to the, by the ordynacyon of god aboue. as saynt Augustyne sayde afore, in the. xliii. chapytre to the Romaynes / because there is no powre neyther to any good man, neyther yet to euyl man: but it is gyuen of god / whiche thyng also Bernarde dyd more largely declare, to the archebysshop of Senon / & it was brought in before in the. liii. parte of this chapytre / Seynge then, that to no bysshop, any iurysdyccyon or coactyue powre ouer any man, is graunted by the lawe of god, but rather suche powre is forbydden to them by counsel or precepte, as it hath ben euidently and openly shewed in this chapytre and in the nexte before gone, Neyther also suche powre is agreynge or appertaynyng to bysshoppes or preestes, in that they be bysshoppes or preestes, by inherytaunce, or successyon of theyr fathers: it foloweth necessaryly, that in suche powre or iurysdyccyon: they be subiectes to & secular prynces or gouernours / as it hath euidently / apperyd by the sayenges of saynt Peter, and saynt Paule apostles, and of other holy doctours / and by reason or demonstratyue syllogysme, it maye be proued of those thynges whiche haue ben sayde in the. xv. and the. xvii. chapytres of the fyrste dyccyon, that neyther bysshop, ne Pope, haue any coactyue iurysdyccyon in this worlde, neyther vpon any preeste, neyther vpon any other persone beyng no preeste, onles suche iurysdyccyon be graunted to hym by the humayne powre / In whose powre it is alwayes, to reuoke and call agayne the same auctorite from them, for any reasonable cause chaunsynge / The full determynacyon wherof, is known also to belonge and appertayne to the same powre / Thus then, that chryste hym selfe refused and dyd forsake domynyon or coactyue iurysdyccyon of any man, who soeuer he were, in this worlde: and that he hath forbydden the same to his apostles, and to theyr successours preestes or bysshoppes, by his counsaile or precepte, and that his wyll and mynde was, bothe hym selfe, and the sayde apostles to be subiectes to the coactyue iurysdyccyon of secular prynces or gouernours / and that he taughte the same to be obserued / and also that his chiefe apostles Peter and Paule taughte the same, bothe by theyr wordes or speache, and also by the example of theyr workes and dedes / I suppose we haue euidently shewed by the eternall testymonyes of Euangelicall verities or textes, and also by the interpretacions or expositions of sayntes, and of other approued doctours of the chrysten byleue and faythe.

That preestes be subiectes to secular prynces or gouernours.

Of the auctorite and powre of the keyes, gyuen to preestes / and what maner of powre, the preeste or bysshoppe hath, in excomunicatyng of any persone.

The. vi. chapytre.

Nowe

THE DEFENCE



Mowe it remaineth consequētye to shewe, what maner of powre, or auctorite, and what maner of iudgement ouer chrysten men: chryste was wyssyngge or mynded to gyue, or els dyd gyue in very dede: to the same apostles, and to the successours of them, by the vertue and strength of the wordes of holy scripture / and amonge all other wordes: those wordes semeth to gyue moste expresse signyfycacyon & knowlege herof: whiche chryste spake to Peter in the. xvi. chapytre of Mathewe / To the I wyll gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens / and also the wordes semably spoken by the same chryst, to all the apostles / in the. xviij. chapytre of Mathewe / and in the. xx. of Iohā / whan he sayde / what soeuer thynges you shall bynde vpon the earthe: they shall be bounde also in heuen / and whose synnes you shall forgyue: they are forgyuen them. &c. For of these wordes principally & cheyfeldy, the oppynyō and tytē of the fulnes of powre, whiche tytē the bysshoppe of Rome ascrybeth to hym selfe, to haue taken theyr begynnynge.

Of the whiche wordes, that we maye haue more certaynlye the sence and knowlege: we muste call to remembraunce certayne thynges, whiche we sayde in the laste chapytre of the fyrste dyccyon / whiche thynges are these / That chryste very god, and very man, came in to this worlde, to beate testimony and wryttnesse to the truthe (as he sayd hym selfe in the. xviii. of Iohā) I saye to the truthe, of thynges to be beleued, of thynges to be done, and of thynges to be despyssed of mankynde, for the obtaynyngge of euerlastynge lyfe / whiche truthe, verely he taughte by his preachynge and shewed by his example / and laste of all gaue in wrytynge, by the sayenges of the euangelystes, and of his apostles / that by the scripture or wrytynge: we myght be dyrected and gupded, in the absence of hym, and of his apostles, in those thynges: whiche appertayne to euerlastynge helth / And this was the offyce, whiche he comytted to his successours the apstles, to be exercysed of them / when he sayd to them after his resurreccyon, & in a maner last of all / that tepte in the. xxviii. and the laste chapytre of Mathewe / So you therfore and teachē all nacjōns, baptyssynge them in the name of the father, and the sone, and the holy ghoſt / teachynge them to kepe al thynges: what soeuer I haue comaunded you / But by the mynystracyon of baptyſme, whiche chryste comaunded to be admynyſtred by the apostles: he caused them to vnderstande, also the admynystracyon of other sacramentes, whiche he hathe instytuted and ordayned, for the euerlastynge helthe of mankynde / of the whiche: the sacramente of penaunce is one, by whiche sacrament, the actual synne of mannes soule, bothe mortall & veniall: is put awaye / and in it, the grace, loue, and fauour of god / whiche was corrupted in vs by the reason of synne: is reformed and rentwed / without the whiche grace loue & fauour / all the workes of man (because god so hathe ordayned) shuld not be meritorious, to the obtaynyngge of euerlastynge lyfe / wherfore it is sayde in the. vi. chapytre to the Romaynes / By the grace of god cometh euerlastynge lyfe / therfore preestes are the mynyſtres of this sacrament of penaunce, euen lyke wyse they are of other sacramentes / because they be the successours of the apostles of chryste / to all whome, in it is proued by the aforesayd textes of scripture, the powre of the keyes, or of mynystryngge the sacrament of penaunce, to haue ben gyuen, in the persone of Peter / that is to saye, powre to bynde or lose men from synnes / for bothe these are all one thyngge / wherfore saynt Iherome vpon these wordes of the. xvi. chapytre of Mathewe, and to the I wyll gyue the keyes. &c. sayth thus / The other apostles verely haue the same iudiciary powre and auctorite / to whome he sayde after his resurreccyon / Take or receyue you the holy ghoſt / whose synnes you shall forgyue: they shall be forgyuen them / And whose synnes you

The offyce
of preestes.

Penaunce

Iherome.

you shall retayne: they shall be retayned. &c. All the church also hath the same power in preefts and bysshops / But therefore Peter receyued it specially: that all men shoulde vnderstande, that who soeuer dothe sepetate and departe hym selfe from the vnyte of the fayth: neyther maye be assoyled of his synnes, neyther may entre in to heuen. And note here that saynt Hierome sayd, from the vnyte of the fayth: and not from the vnyte of Peter or of the bysshoppes of Rome / for some of theym: myght be heretykes, or otherwysse peruerse and lewde persones / And in verry dede many of theym haue ben founde by experyence to be such maner persones in dede. And this Judycary power: is the power or auctorite of the keys, after the mynde of Hierome and Augustyne, in the same place / for of theym: Augustyne saythe thus. The keys: are the science or knowlege of dyscernynge, or iudgyng the good from the euyl / and power, wherby he / that is to wyt, the preeft: ought to receyue them, whiche be worthy / & to shytte out the vniworthy persones, from the kyngdom of heuens. But howe, or in what maner, he may receyue: and howe he may exclude or shytte out from the sayde kyngdom / it shall hereafter be declared / and by that, it shall euidently appere: what & howe great is the power and auctorite of these keyes which were graunted by Chryst, to Peter, and to the other apostles. But yet fyrste of al, we ought to marke and take hede, that in the soule of hym that synneth deedly: is engendred defaulte and blame / and the grace of god, whiche was gyuen to hym before / is corrupted and destroyed. By the reason of whiche defaulte or synne, the synner is bounde to the dette of euerlastynge dampnacyon. By the whiche synne so engedred, the synner is oblyged or bounde to the payne of eternall dampnacyon, for the state of the worlde to come. In whiche faulte or synne yf he do / also resyste and contynue, he is cut a waye from / the company or felowshyp of Chrysten men in this worlde / by a certayne correccion amonge Chrysten men / called excomuncacyon. And agayne contrarywysse we ought to marke and take hede / that a synner by heynnes and sorowe for his synne and by outwarde Confessyon made to the preeft (whiche bothe outther Joyntly or seuerally are called penance) getteth thre benefytes. ¶ The fyrste is that he is clenched from the inwarde faulte or synne, & the grace of god is renewed in hym. ¶ The seconde is that he is dyscharged and losed from the dette of euerlastynge dampnacion / wherunto he was bounde by the reason of synne. ¶ And the thyrde is, that he is reconcyled to the Church / that is to saye he is reuyned and knytte & made atone agayne, or elles oughte to be reuyned and made atone agayne with the congregacyon of Chrysten people. Therefore to do and worke these thynges in a synner / that is to wyt to bynde or lose from synne, & from the dette of euerlastynge dampnacyon: (whiche thyng ought to be done partely by the power of the keyes graunted to the preeft as it shall be sayd hereafter) is to mynysstre the sacrament of penance. These thynges than thus set before: lette vs come nere to our purpose and saye after the mynde of the Mayster of the sentences, or rather accordynge to the mynde of the holy scripture & of saynts, by the auctorite of whom the sayd Mayster speaketh in the.iiii. booke the. xlii. distinction, & also accordynge to the mynde of Rycharde in a certayne booke. whiche he made entytled, the power of the keyes gyuen to preefts, that to true penance or to receyue the sacrament of penance. Fyrste of all there is requyred in the synner inwarde contrycyon or heynnes & sorowe for the synne or trespasse comytted and done. Secondaryly there is requyred the purpose and acte of confessynge his synne by expressynge it / with wordes of mouth or otherwysse gyuyng knowlege therof to the preeft, yf he may conueniently come to the preeft, or the preeft to hym / But in case no preeft coulde be gotten, than the psone so penytent or contryte, hit is suffycient to haue a stede

Hierome.
Augustyne.
The power
of the keyes.

Penance.

THE DEFENCE

What god
worketh be-
fore confessyon
in a synner.

That god on-
ly forgiveth
synnes.
Ambrose.

Augustyne

It is sooner
sayde than
proued.

Then he wry-
teth them.

fast purpose to confesse and knowlege his synne to the preeft as sone as he shall conueniently come to the speache of one / and therfore consequently the intencion and mynde of the sayd mayster (of Rycharde is) that in a synner beyng truly penitent / that is to wytte beyng contryte and haunyng purpose to be confessed to the preeft: certayne thynges are wrought by god onely afore confessyon, and afore all maner accyon or operacyon of the preeft / and they are these / expulcyon or dryuynge out of synne / the renuyng of grace / and the forgynynge of the dette of euertlastynge dampnacyon / & that god alone worketh these aforesayd thynges the mayster proueth in the .iiii. boke the .xviii. dystynccyon and the .iiii. chapytre by the auctorities of holy scripture and of sayntes. First by the auctorite of the maker of the psalmes: whiche sayth in the persone of god I alone / do put awaye the iniquities and the synnes of people. Agayne by the auctorite of Ambrose / whiche saythe / The worde of god forgiveth synnes, and the preeft is iudge / The preeft verely dothe his offyce: but he exerceyth the rygth of no powre / yet more ouer the same Ambrose saythe / He onely forgiveth synnes whiche onely dyed for our synnes / Furthermore he proueth it by Augustyne whiche sayth / No man taketh awaye synnes, but onely chryste whiche is the lambe that taketh awaye the synnes / of the worlde / and that god doth this thyng, afore that the preeft dothe worke any maner accyon belongynge to his offyce: & mayster proueth it by 2 wor- des of saynt Augustyne vpon 2 terte of 2 psalme: Quoniam tecta sunt peccata: whose synnes are coueryd / for of these thyngs (sayth the mayster) it is euidently shewed that god hym selfe loseth the penitent from the det of payne / And than he dothe lose hym whan he lyghtheneth hym within, breathynge in to hym, true contricion and sorowe of herte / to the whiche sentence of the mayster: reason is agreynge and also auctorities bereth wytnesse / for no man is now compuncte and sorow for his synne, haunyng his herte contryte and humbled: but onely in charytie / but in that he hath charytie / he is worthy of lyfe / Nowe no man is worthy bothe lyfe and dethe at one tyme / wherfore it foloweth: that he is not than bounde to the dette of euertlastynge death / for he hath ceased to be the chylde of wrathe & dyspleasure, euer syns he began to loue, and to be penitent / Therfore euer sythens that tyme he hath ben losed from the wrathe of god / whiche wrathe abydeyth not vpon hym that beleueth and trusteth in Jesu chryste: but vpon hym that beleueth & trusteth not / therfore he is not deliuered from the eternall wrathe of god afterwarde by the preeft to whome he confesseth his synnes / for from that wrathe he hath ben deliuered alreedy by the lorde euer sythens he sayde / Confitebor. I wyll confesse me. Thus than it is god alone whiche clenseth the man inwardly from the spote of synne / and whiche loseth hym from the det of euertlastynge payne & consequent- ly the mayster of the sentences repeteth the auctorities of the psalmiste and of the sayntes afore alleged / after which wordes also he makynge expylogacyon: sayth thus. By these and other testymonyes mo it is euidently shewed, that god alone by hym selfe dothe forgive synnes / & as he forgiveth certayne men they synnes so doth he retayne the synnes of certayne other / But yet this notwithstandinge god requyeth in the penitent persone purpose to confesse his synnes to the preeft also, as sone as he maye haue oportunitie / as the mayster saythe in the .iiii. boke, the .xviii. dystynccyon and the .iiii. chapytre / wher he moueth this questyon / wher- ther it be suffycient to confesse our synnes onely to god / and he determyneth by the auctorities of scripture that it is not suffycient / yf a man may conuenient- ly haue a preeft / but yf no preeft can be gotten than it is suffycient to haue con- fessed our synnes to god alone. so that we haue alwayes purpose to be confessed to the preeft / yf we myght conueniently. This was also the mynde of Rycharde in the

In the booke aforesayde, agreeable to the mynde of the mayster / and of the thynges
determined by hym in dyuers chapytres: it is gathered and concluded that god
taketh awaye the synne from the trewe penitent / that is to wyt, from hym that
is contrite and sorow for his synne: afore all maner mynysterie of the preefte / and
also loseth hym and maketh hym free from the det of eternall deith / But yet vnder
a condycion: that afterwarde as sone as euer he maye conuenientlye: he oughte
to confesse his synne to the preefte / whiche condycion, truly, the mayster called a
stedfast and sure purpose to be confessed to the preefte, as sone as he may conueny
ently be had. This sentence, the mayster hath concluded in the same. iiii. booke, the
xviii. distynction in the. v. and. vi. chapytres / makynge answer besydes this, to a
reasonable questyon wherby it myght be doubted / wherfore or to what ende the
offyce or the workynge of a preefte, is requyred in penaunce / yf god alone, afore
all maner mynysterie of the preefte dothe take awaye the synne / and loseth from
the dette of eternall dampnacyon / and the mayster sayd / in this so great varietie
and dyuersytie of oppynyons (for aboute this thyng as wel holy sayntes as other
doctours semed to dysagre, albeit they do not dysagre, in very trouthe) that this
we maye safelye bothe saye and thynke / and that it is to be holden / that onely god
forgyueth synnes, and retayneth them / & yet neuertheless he hath gyuen powre
of byndynge and losynge to the churche (that is to wyt to preestes, whiche at cal
led the churche after one sygnifycacion of the sayde worde / as it was shewed in
the secōde chapytre of this dyccion). But it is not after one maner of fasshyon that
he loseth or byndeth. And in the churche (that is to wyt, the preestes) lose or bynde /
but he loseth or byndeth after one maner: and they after an other / For he by hym
selfe onely dothe so forgyue the synne. & he dothe bothe make the soule cleane from
the inwarde spotte: and also loseth from the dette of euerlastynge deith / But he hath
not graunted this powre to the preestes / to whome yet he. hath gyuen powre to
bynde and lose / that is to say powre to shewe and declare that men are bounde or
lose / In whiche wordes he hath expressed for what ende: the offyce or mynyste
rye of a preeft, is requyred in penaunce / and by and by after declarynge the same
he sayde / wherfore also the lorde restored fyrste by hym selfe, the persone ful of Le
prye to his helth / and than afterwarde, sent hym to the preestes / by whose iudge
ment / he shuld be shewed and declared made cleane. And after the same maner also
after that hym selfe had reysed Lazarus agayne to lyfe: he offered hym to his dys
cyples, for to be losed / for albeit, & some man is losed afore god: yet is he not accōp
ted or taken for losed in the face, & is to say, in the knowlege of the church, but by the
iudgement and declaracyon of the preefte / In losynge therfore or retaynyng of
synnes / the preefte of the newe lawe, doth so worke and iudge / as the preefte of the
olde lawe dyd worke & iudge, in them which were defyled with lepry whiche lepry
betokeneth synne. This sentence, also he doth repete & reherse / agayne aboute the
ende of the synthe chapytre / & confyrmeth it with the auctorytie of saynt Jerome /
vpon that sayenge of chryste in the. xvi. chapytre of Mathewe / and to the I shall
gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens / where the sayde Jerome sayth in this
wyse. The preestes of the gospell, hath the same auctorytie and offyce: whiche the
legale preestes had vnder the lawe, in olde tyme, in healyng of persones whiche
were infected with leprye. These therfore preestes of the gospell: dothe forgyue or
retayne synnes, whyles they do pronounce, declare, and shewe, theyr synnes to be
forgyuen or retayned of god / wherfore in the booke of Leuiticus, the lepers are cō
maunded, to shewe them selues to the preestes / whome, the preestes neyther ma
keth full of Lepre, neyther yet cleane from the same / But onely do dyscerne, iudge
and declare, who be cleane persones and who be vncleane. The offyce and mynys
tery

Howe preefts
haue powre
to bynde and
lose

Jerome.
Marke this
well.

THE DEFENCE

This geare
muste be iud-
ged by higher
iudges, wher
ther there be a
purgatory af-
ter this lyfe
or no.

To whome
penytencyall
satysfaccyon
is to be moy-
ued.

The pope for-
gyueth nomo-
re the synne/
than any o-
ther preeſte/
then yf the
preeſte do his
dutie as he is
bounde/ who
goiſe to pur-
gatorie? and
the wherfore
ſhuld we bele-
ue that there
is one.

The man
rayſeth.

ſettle therfore of a preeſte is requyred to the penytent. for the aforeſayd cauſe/ that
is to wote, that by hym it maye be ſhewed and declared in the face of the churche/
to whome god hath eithet forgyuen, or elles retayned theyr synnes. There is an
other thyng alſo, whiche god worketh in a ſynner: not without the mynſterye
of a preeſte/ as the ſame maſter of the ſentences and alſo Rycharde, do iudge/ that
is to wote, the chaungynge of the temporall payne of purgatory (whiche the ſyn-
ner ſhuld haue ſuffered for his synnes, were he neuer ſo wel penytent, and confeſ-
ſed) in to ſome ſatysfaccyon of this worlde / as in to faſtynge / prayer / or almoſe
dede, or in to ſome other ſyke dede. And as touchynge this poynthe: the preeſte ex-
erciſeth ryght of powere vpon the ſynner/ wherfore the maſter in the .xviii. diſtyn-
cyon, and the .vii. chapytre, ſayth thus. And it is to be noted and marked, that in
that, that any preeſtes do bynde any men, with the ſatysfaccyon of penaunce: they
do ſhewe the ſame men to be loſed from theyr synnes/ for penytencyall ſatysfaccy-
on is enioyned to no man, but onely to hym, whome the preeſte doth iudge to be
truelly penytent/ for vnto other, he enioyneth no ſatysfaccyon/ and in that he iud-
geth his synnes to be retayned of god. The preeſte alſo chaungeth the paynes of
purgatorye, which were dewe to the ſynner: in to ſome ſatysfacciōs of this worlde
And afterwarde, he reconſyleth the ſynners to the churche/ that is to wote, to the
cōmunyon or felowſhpy of chriſten men, in which poynthe, ſemblably he doth ex-
erciſe powere ouer ſynners: yf it be ſo, that he do it accordynge to diſcrecyon and iud-
gement/ wherfore the maſter in the place afore alleged ſayth. The preeſtes alſo
dothe bynde: whan they do enioyne the ſatysfaccyon of penaunce to them, whoſe
confeſſions they haue harde/ and they do loſe. when they do forgyue any parte
of the ſame: or elles whan they do admytte and receyue them/ that be purged by
ſuch ſatysfaccyon in to the cōmunyon or felowſhpy of chriſten men/ & to þe parte
takynge of the ſacramentes / After this maner preeſtes are ſayde to forgyue or to
retayne synnes/ wherfore ſaynt Auguſtyn ſayde afore. To whome they do for-
gyue synnes god doth forgyue. &c. for they do exerciſe the worke of iuſtice vpon
ſynners: whan they do bynde them with iuſt & dewe punyſſhemēt / & they do alſo
exerciſe þe worke of mercye, whan they do releaſe any parte of þe ſame. or els do
recoſyle them to þe cōmunyon or partakynge of þe ſacramēt. Other workes than
theſe þe preeſt can not exerciſe vpon ſynners/ wherof it may alſo appere euident-
ly: that the Byſſhop of Rome, maye releaſe no more of the ſynne or of the payne:
than may an other preeſte, who euer he be. ¶ Thus than, of the aforeſayd aucto-
rytes of ſayntes, of the maſter of the ſentences, and of Rychard/ it appereth eu-
dently, that onely god remytteth or forgyueth the ſynne and the dette of eternall
payne, to the true penytent ſynner/ without any worke of the preeſte/ outher god
ynge before/ or elles cōmyng betwene, as it hath ben ſhewed here tofore/ wher-
of I wyll alſo ſhewe an infable & ſure demonſtracyon or argument, accordynge
to the ſcripture, and to the ſayenges of ſayntes and doctours/ For god onely is
he, whiche can not be ignorant, whoſe synnes are to be forgyuen, and whoſe to
be retayned/ and it is he alone whiche is not moued or ſtyred with any peruerſe
or croked affeccyon, & whiche iudgeth no man wrongfully. But it is not in ſyke
caſe, of the churche, or of any preeſt, who euer he be, euen the Byſſhop of Rome/ for
euery one of them maye otherwhyles erre and myſtake, or elles be inclyned & mo-
ued by peruerſe affeccyon/ or els both/ wherfore yf the ſynne, & the dette of eternal
payne or dāpnacyon, ſhuld not be forgyuen to þe true penytēt, hauynge dewe pur-
poſe to be confeſſed, or alſo after he hath ben confeſſed in very dede, becauſe the
preeſte happely dothe retayne his ſynne, eithet through ignorance or malice,
or bothe/ than often tymes that ſaythfull promyſe of chryſte in the goſpell, ſhulde
peryſhe,

peryshe, and be of no strengthe or truthe / wherby he sayde / that he shall gyue to good men the rewarde of eternall ioye / and to euill or wycked men the euerslastyng paynes of the fyre of hell / wherfore, as it chaunceth and cometh to passe / also oftentymes. I put the case, that a certayne synner had confessed his synnes faynedly, and not duelye, as he ought to do / and that after suche fayned confession made / he hath through the ignoraunce, or fauoure of the preeste / or elles both receyued absolucyon and benedycyon. I put the case agayne, that there were another certayne synner, whiche had confessed his synnes suffyciently, and duelye to the preeste / and that the preeste through ignoraunce, or malycie, or els through bothe / had refused to gyue to hym absolucyon, and benedycyon. Are the synnes of the former persone whiche confessed his synnes faynedly forgyuen / & the synnes of the latter man, beyng truly penytent and confessed yet retayned. It is to be holden stedfastlye / and vndoubtedlye, that no / wherfore, Chrysostome vpon these wordes in the .xx. chapptre of Iohn. Receyue you the holy ghost & whose synnes ye shall forgyue. &c. saythe thus. Neyther the preeste neyther yet any aungell or archaungell may worke any thyng in those thynges. that are gyuen of god. But yet the preeste gyueth his benedycyon, & putteth to his hande. For it is not ryght that for the malycie of an other man, aboute the sacramentes of our helthe those men shulde be hurte, whiche come to the saythe. The same Jerome also a tytel before recyted, vpon that sayenge in the .xvi. of Mathewe, and to the I shall gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens. sayth thus / certayne men vnderstandynge not this place / take to them selues somwhat of the pryde of the pharyseis / in that they do suppose, them selues to dampne innocentes / or to assoyle and lose wycked persones / whan of trouthe. afore god, the sentence of the preestes is not requyred or soughte for: but the lyfe of the synners, or persones accused / after whiche wordes, the mayster of the sentences, in the .vi. chapptre of the .xviii. dystynccyon putteth this notable teytle folowynge. So it is here also openly shewed, that god foloweth not the iudgement of the churche, whiche otherwhyles indgeth by surrepcyon and ignoraunce / By the churche here he meaneth the preestes. whiche are in the churche / & he addeth this also, in the .viii. chapptre of the same dystynccyon. Otherwhyles he that is put forth (that is to saye, the whiche is iudged by the preeste to be without the churche) the same is within the church / and he that is without the church (vnderstande thou in very dede) semeth to be retarned within the church / that is to wote, by the false iudgement of the preestes. This sentence of the powre and auctoritie of the keyes gyuen to preestes whiche we haue gathered of the sayenges of sayntes and doctours, and haue here tofore reserced / the mayster of the sentence repeatynge agayne, in the .liii. booke the .xviii. dystynccyon and in .v. viii. chapptre / sayth thus. Now it hath ben shewed howe and in what maner, preestes do forgyue, or retayne synnes. And yet god hath reserued to hym selfe a certayne synnguler and specyall powre of forgyuynge or retaynyng synnes. For he onely by hym selfe and of his owne auctoritie / loseth or forgyueth the dette of euerslastyng dampnacyon / and purgeth or clenseth the soule inwardly. The same mayster sayth also in the .ix. and laste chapptre of the same dystynccyon. Wherfore by that vnkynnesse or that elongacyon or beyng farre awaye from god, whiche is caused in the soule, through the synne: is vnderstande the spotte or fylthe of the soule / from whiche it is purged and clensed by penaunce. But this thyng is done onely by god / whiche alone, rayseth vp or quykkeneth the soule, and doth illumynate it / whiche thyng preestes can not do, whiche are the physycyons or leches of soules. There is also another maner of byndynge and of losynge, to the whiche also is requyred the offyce or workynge of the preeste / and this is by excomunicacyon / and

Chrysostome

Jerome

God regardeth & lyfe of men & not the iudgement of the preestes.

THE DEFENCE

When excom-
municacyon
ought to be
done.

on/and this excomunicacion (as the mayster saythe in the.iiii. booke of the senten-
ces, the.viii. dystynccyon, & the.vii. chapytre) ought to be done, when any man
which hath ben thysse called to the amendement of an open synne, accordynge
to the dyscyplyne of the gospel, and yet regardeth not to make satisfaccyon: by
the sentence of the churche is cut away from the place of prayer / from the parteta-
kyng of the sacramentes / and from the company and felowshyp of chrysten men /
to the entente he shulde be abasshed and a shamed / and so by the reason of shame
shulde be converted and repentaunte / for his synne, that his soule maye be saued /
whiche persone, yf he do professe and knowlege openly hym selfe to be penitent,
and doth amende: is admytted and receyued to the partetakyng of the sacramen-
tes whiche was afore to hym denyed / and is reconcyled to the churche. But this
excomunicacion or cursynge done by the churche: byngeth this punysshement to
them, whiche are worthely stryken with the sentence therof: that the grace of god
and his proteccyon or defence, is taken awaye from them / and they are leste to
them selues / so that they be at lybertie, to fall in to the dethe of synne, and vpon
them also, the deuyl hath more powre gyuen to hym for to rage, and cruelly to
depe them. The prayers also of the churche, and the suffrages or helpes of bene-
dyccions, & good workes: are supposed to be nothyng awaylynge to them. But
nowe to knowe, to what persone, or persones, and after what maner, the powre
of excomunicacyon or cursynge doth appertayne / we ought fyrst to attende and
take hede, that in excomunicacyon, the synner is iudged to punysshement, for the
state of the world to come, by a certayne iudgmet, wherof we shall speake more
expressely and playnely in the. ix. chapytre of this dyccyon / and there is also a cer-
tayne great payne or punysshement, put to hym, euen for the state of this present
lyfe / in that he is defamed openly and banysshed the company of other men / by
reason wherof, also he is berefte of & cypyle comynon and comodytie / and albe-
it, that the instyccyon of the fyrste payne, to hym whiche is unworthely & wrong-
fully stryken with the sentence of excomunicacyon, doth nothyng hurte, for the
state of the worlde to come: because god doth not alwayes folowe the iudgement
of the churche / that is to say of preestes, whan they do iudge or declare any man
accursed wrongfully (as we haue shewed suffyciently here tofore) yet shulde he
whiche were wrongfully stryken with the same sentence by the preeste: be very
greatly and sore hurte for the state of this presente lyfe / for that he is dyffamed o-
penly, and berefte the company of the cytezens and the cypyle comodyties / and
therfore it is to be sayd, that albeit, that the voyce or wordes of the preeste, and his
operacyon or mynistrye, is requyred to the promulgacyon or publysshynge of
suche iudgement: yet for all that, iudgement coactyue, & powre to gyue comaundes
ment, of the excomunicacyon or assoylynge of any persone or persones, dothe
not appertayne to any of them alone, or onely to the colledge or copanye of them
But to ordayne, and make any suche iudge, to whome it may be lawfull, to call
the persone so accused or gylty, afore hym, and to exampyne hym & to iudge hym
& condempne, or to assoyle the persone, whiche is so to be openly dyffamed, or to
be cut awaye from the company or felowshyp of chrysten men: doth appertayne
and belonge to the superioure or soueraygne of the same comynyte, or els to the
counsaile, by hym apoynted, and the preestes onely to iudge or dyscerne by scrip-
ture the crimes (takynge this worde iudgement in his fyrst sygnifycacion) wher-
fore any man ought to be cut awaye from the company of chrysten men, lest he
myght infecte other men / lykewyse, as a physicion, or a company of physicions
must iudge (by iudgement of the fyrst sygnifycacion) of the bodely dysease, wher-
fore any man ought to be seperated from the copanye of other men, lest he myghte
infecte

Note this.

infecte them/as a persone haupnge the leprye, or other lyke cōtaggyous syckenes/
and agayne, the cryme ought to be proued by sure wytnes: to haue ben cōmytted
in dede. And therfore by the wyse, as it doth not appertayne to any physycion, or to
any cōpany of them onely, to ordayne the iudgement or iudge, whiche hath coac-
tyue powre, to expell or dryue out persones ful of leprye, but vnto & hygher pow-
ers of a realme, to wone, or cytie: euen so it doth not appertayne to any preeft alone
or to any colledge or cōpany of them onely, to ordayne in & cōmuntye of chrysten
men, the iudgement, or the iudge: whiche hath coactyue powre ouer such persones
whiche are to be expulsed & dryuen out from the cōmune company or felowshyp,
for the dyscase of the soule/as for a notorpe cryme/that is to say, a trespassse open
ly knowen, all thowghe they are bounde to know the lawe of god: in which lawe
the crimes and offences are determyned & apoynted/for whiche any synfull per-
sone ought to be forbydden & banysshed the cōpany of other chrysten men, whiche
be innocent or faultles/for the tpyes of the preeft kepeth knowlege, & the people
shal requyre the lawe of his mouth, as it is wyrtten in the seconde of Malachie &
prophete. But whether he, whiche is accused of suche maner trespassse hath cōmyt-
ted suche trespassse, or els not: this ought not to be iudged by the bysshop, or preeft
but by the superyour powres as we sayde before. Yet that notwithstandinge, ac-
cordinge to the probacions afore brought in: yf he be conuicted by wytnesse, and
the cryme also is suche, wherfore he ought to be excomūnycate/then the persone
founde gylty of suche cryme, ought to be pronounsed worthy to be excomūnyca-
ted by sentence of a superyour iudge. And the excaucion of suche sentence: ought
to be done by the mouth & voyce of the preeft/and that because suche sentence of
the preefte toucheth the persone so accused or gyltie/for the state also of the worlde
to come. And this to be trewe, which we haue sayd/it is euidently shewed by that
scrypture, wherof this kynde of correccyon semeth to haue taken his begynnyng: &
is in the .viii. chapitre of Mathewe, whan chryst sayd. Yf thy brother shal haue
trespassed agaynst the: go & rebuke hym betwene hym & the alone/yf he shal har-
ken to the/than shalt thou haue wonne thy brother/ but yf he shal not harken to
the: take one or two wytnesses with the/ & in the mouth of two or thre wytnesses
euer word or sayeng may stāde/ but yf he wyll not regarde or obeye them, than
tell it to & church, but yf he wyll not here the church: let hym be to the, as a gentyle
or a publycane. Chryste than sayd, tell it to & church/ & not tel it to the apostle or
to the bysshop/ or to the preeft/ or to the colledge or cōpany of them onely/ & chryste
vnderstode therby & church the hole multytude of chrysten people/ or els the iudge
ordayned for suche purpose, by the auctoritie of the hygher powre/ for in this syg-
nification, & apostles & the prymytiue church, vsed this worde church (as it was
fully & ppytely shewed in the seconde chapitre of this dyccion) & that chryst mea-
ned by the church, the hole cōgregacyon of faythfull beleuyng people/ & that it be-
longeth to the sayde cōgregacyon to haue a superyoure heed to gyue suche maner
iudgement, agaynst stubburne or dysobedyent persones, or such haynouse offen-
ders & synners. I pue by the apostle, in & .v. chapitre of & fyrste epystle to the Co-
rinthians/ wher & apostle declarynge the sentēce of chrysts word, teacheth more
expiely the cause, & forme & maner, & by what persones suche maner iudgement
of excomūnycation: ought to be gyuen agaynst any man sayenge in this wyse/
I beyng absente verely in body, but present in spyrite: haue nowe iudged, as yf
I were presente, you beyng assembled in the name of our lord Ihesu chryst, and
my spyrite with the auctoritie and powre of our lord Ihesu, to gyue hym which
hath done & dede/ to Satan, that is to wyte that synful persone, which had fleshe
ly knowen his fathers wyse: wher the glose after & mynde of Augustyne sayth.
this thinge I haue now iudged & you beyng assēbled togyther i one place without

The forme &
maner of do-
yng excomū-
nycation.

What & apo-
stles vnder-
stode or mea-
ned by this
worde church

Augustinus.

THE DEFENCE

any dyssencion, with whome bothe myne auctoritie & the powere of chryste shall worke toggyther: do gyue such maner persone to the deuyll. So here, wherfore or for what intent of whome, and vnder what maner any persone is to be excomuni- cated/ accordynge to the intencion and doctryne of the apostle. In whose wordes peraduenture, is marked rather a counsaile, than a comaundement /euen accord- ynge to the lawe of god. For in case, that the Corynthians throughe theyr pacy- ence, had suffered the aforesayd criminouse persone to haue ben conuersaunt, and in companie amonge them, howebeit it not without flaunder and ieoperdy of infec- tyng other men: yet myght they neuerthelesse haue ben saued, & haue done mery- torious workes. Agayne the case put, that this had ben a precepte and comaunde- ment accordynge to the lawe of god / yet was it not comaunded that this thyng shuld be done by a preeste, or bysshop onely, or elles onely by a colledge or compa- ny of them / and therefore. whan the apostle sayd, I verely beynge absent in body but present in spyrite, haue nowe iudged. &c. his wordes ought to be vnderstâded of iudgement taken in his fyrst sygnifycation, and not in the thyrde / because he sayth afterwarde / you beynge assembled, and my spyrite. &c. By whiche wordes, he doth also teache them the foune and maner, howe to auoyde that no contencion or stryfe myght ryse amonge them. by the pronouncynge of the sayd excomuni- cacion. If it were done by them assêbled toggyther / wherfore Augustyne sayth that you beynge gathered toggyther without any dyssencion. &c. that is to saye, & it be done by you of comune assente, or elles by the superiour therunto apoynted by the hygher powere of the laytie, whiche is all one thyng / & therefore the apostle dyd not comaunde all the whole tragedie of this thyng to be done by any preeft neyther dyd he wyte to any bysshop or preeft, that this thyng shuld be done by hym / & yet euen at the same tyme he dyd sende Tymothe vnto them whiche was a bysshop (as it is euident in the .iiii. chapytre of the same epystle) whiche thyng doubtes he wolde haue done, yf he had knowen this iudgement to appertayne onely to the auctoritie of a preeft euen lyke wyse as he had done in other thyngs as we haue declared here tofore in the laste chapytre of this dyccion, afore gone, by the auctoritie of the thyrde chapytre of the fyrste epystle to Tymothe, & of the fyrste chapytre of the epystle to Titus / & this sentence proueable sayd, which we do hold, myghtie also be confirmed and fortifyed by reason agreably to the scryp- ture / for suche maner of iudgement is done more certaynely, and more without suspicion. by the hygher powres or theyr deputies, than yf it were done by wyll of one preeft alone, or elles of any colledge or company of preefts onely / for his or theyr iudgemēt myght sooner be peruerted throughe loue & fauour, or els throughe hatred and euill wyll, or els for respecte and regarde of theyr owne pryuate and syngular profyte and aduantage: than the iudgement of the superiours afore- sayde, to whome it chaunceth alwayes men to appeale / albeit (as I haue sayde) the pronounciacion of such maner sentence, ought to be done by the preeft / for as- moche as by it the powere of god is called on in this worlde, to do some punyssh- ment to the criminouse and synfull persone euen in this worlde / whiche payne or punysshment coude not be done to hym by the powere of man, that is to wyte, the vepacyon of the deuyll. And also because he is lyke wyse iudged to payne for the state of the world to come / and because he is berefte the suffrages of þ church / whiche thyng peraduenture god hath ordayned to be done by the opetacyon onely of a preeft. & oreouer because, yf any maner bysshop or preeft alone, or els with a colledge or cōpany onely of his clarkes. shuld haue this auctorite. to excomuni- cate any maner man, without the consente of the hygher powres or theyr deputi- es, it dothe folowe therof, that preestes, myght take away al kyngdomes & lord- shippes

Augustinus.

**Excomūny
cacyon is not
cōmytted one
ly to preeſtes.**

shyppes from the kynges or prynces whiche haue them / For so any pryncce or gouernour beyng excommunicated: the multitude of his subiectes shall be also excommunicated, yf they wolde obeye the pryncce or gouernour beyng so excommunicated / and so the powere of euery maner pryncce or gouernour shall be voyde, and of no strength / whiche thyng shulde be contrary to the wyll and mynde of Paule the teacher of the Gentyles, in the .xiii. chapytre to the Romaynes, and in the .vi. chapytre of the fyrste epystle to Tymothe / and also agaynst the mynde of saynt Augustyne, in the glose vpon the same place, as we haue declared in the .vii. and .viii. partes of the .v. chapytre of this dyccyon / and the obieccyons, whiche apparently myght be brought in agaynst this determynacyon / shal easely be answered vnto, and auoyded by those thynges, which shall be sayd hereafter, in the .ix. the .x. & .xiii. and the .xviii. chapytres of this present dyccyon. ¶ There is agayne an other certayne auctorite belongynge to preestes / & that is that wherby breade and wyne is transubstanciated, or turned in to the substaunce of chrystes blyssed body, at the oration of the preefte, after the pronounsynge of certayne wordes by hym. And this auctoritie is a character of the soule: euen lyke wyse as that auctoritie of keyes is. And this auctoritie or powere, is called the powere of makynge the sacrament of the aultare / and certayne dyuynes sayth, that this powere is euen the same character, of the whiche the powere of the keyes is, wherof we haue spoken here tofore. And certayne other dyuynes saye this powere is by a dyuers and sondry character, gyuen to the apostles at an other tyme, and also by other wordes of chryste, than was the powere of the keyes / For this powere, was gyuen (as they of this oppynyon do say) to the apostles, whan he sayd to them these wordes, wyrtten in the .xxvi. chapytre of Mathewe / & the .xiii. of Marke / and the .xxii. of Luke / This is my body, which is gyuen for you, do this in the remembraunce of me / do this, that is to say, haue or take you powere to do this thyng. But how soeuer the trouthe is in this so great dyuersyte of oppynyons / it skylleth not greatly to this our consyderacyon / for we thynke that we haue reherfed as moche as is suffycient for vs to our purpose, concernynge the maners of auctoritie or powere gyuen by chryste to preestes or bysshoppes / which may be proued by the holy scripture. But now we gatherynge togyther agayne, and makynge as it were a sūme of those thynges whiche haue ben sayde of vs, concernynge the powere or auctoritie of the keyes, whiche was gyuen by chryste to the apostles, and to preestes the successours of them / Let vs saye, that in a synner truly penytent that is to say, beyng sorrowfull for his synne comytted: god alone worketh some thynges, euen without any mynistry of the preefte goynge before / that is to wyt, the illumynatyng of the mynde, the purgacyon or clensynge of the faulte, spotte, or synne / and the remyssyon of the euerlastynge dampnacyon. And other some thynges therbe whiche god worketh in the same synner, not by hym selfe alone / but by the mynistry of the preefte / as this folowynge / to shewe and declare in the face of the churche, who is accompted bounde or losed from synnes in this world, so that he shall be bounde or losed in an other world / & is to say whose synnes god hathe retayned, or els forgyuen. Agayne, there is an other thyng, which god worketh aboute a synner, by & mynistry of the preefte / & is to wyt, the chaungynge of the payne of purgatorie, whiche is dewe to the synner, for the state of the worlde to come / in to some temporall satysfaccyon in this worlde / for he dothe releasse the sayd payne, outther in parte or in the houle, accordynge to the satysfaccyons iniouyned, & after the cōdyccyon or state of the penytent / whiche thyngs euery one of them ought to be done by the preefte with the keye of powere accordynge to dyscrecion / after this maner also dysobedyēt psons are excludyd, from & cōmunyon or parte talkynge

The character of holy ordre.

This is but a sely soye glose.

A corollarye

What thyngs god alone worketh in man.
What thyngs are done by & preefte.

We be not agreed as yet of any purgatorie aft this lyfe.

THE DEFENCE

kyngge of the sacramentes, by the preeſte / And perſons repentante & amendyng theyr conuerſacyon, are receyued to the ſayde cōmunyon by the preeſte / as we haue ſayde aboute the ende of the Lhappytoure laſte afore gone. And this was the ſentence and mynde of the mayſter in the .iiii. booke, in the .xviii. diſtynccion and the .viii. chappytre / whan he ſayd. After theſe maners or wayes of byndyng or loſynge, that ſayenge of Chryſte is true, what ſoeuer you ſhall loſe vpon erth: it ſhall be loſed alſo in heuens / and what ſoeuer you ſhall bynde vpon erth: it ſhall be bounde alſo in heuen / Somtyme the preeſtes, do ſhewe or declare certayne men to be bounde or loſed whiche are not ſo afore god / and other whyles they do loſe or bynde with the payne of Satyſſacyon, perſones therof vnworthy / and do admytte or receyue vnworthy perſones: to the parte takynge of the ſacramentes / and do ſhytte out ſuch as are worthy to be receyued / But this is to be vnderſtanded, in theym: whoſe merytes or deſeruynges requyre to be loſed, or to be bounde / whome ſoeuer therfore, they do loſe or bynde. vſynge the keye of diſcrecyon / Judgynge the merytes or deſeruynges of the ſynners or perſones accused: the ſame perſones are loſed or bounde alſo in heuens / that is to ſaye, afore god / for the ſentence or Judgement of the preeſte, whiche hath ſo proceeded or gon forth / is aproued and confirmed by the Judgement of god. And by and by after, the mayſter of the ſentens ſayde after the maner of an epylogation. Beholde, what manner one, and howe great, is the uſe and proſyte of the apoſtolyke keyes.

The keye of
diſcrecyon.

¶ But for the further euydence hereof to be had / I ſhall brynge the example or compariſon made by the ſayd mayſter, whiche is ſampylare or playne ynoughe and ſemet to be very moche agreynge to the wordes and mynde of Chryſte, and of ſayntes. whoſe auctorities we haue heretofore alleged, and namely of Ambroſe / for he ſaythe that the worde of god forgyneth ſynnes. And the preeſte alſo verely dothe his offyce / but exerceyſeth not the offyce of any power. But let vs ſaye, that the preeſte whiche is as it were the iayloure of the heuentye iudge deliuereth the ſynner moche lyke. as doth the Jaylor of the worldy iudge. For lyke wyſe as by the worde or ſentence of the ſeculare Judge, that is to wytte, of the ſoueraigne or gouernour, the perſone accused is other dampned or elles quyte and deliuered from the cypyle treſpaſſe or blame, & from the cypyle payne / even ſo by the worde of god, any man is vtterly bounde or loſed from synne, and from the dette of euerlaſtyng dampnacyon, for the ſtate of the worlde to come / And as by & workynge of the iayler belongynge to the worldy pryncce. no man is dampned or loſed from the worldy offence or blame, and from & worldy punyſſhemēt but onely by his mynyſtery wherby he ſhytteth or openeth & pryſon, the perſone accused is ſhewed & declared outther to be deliuered or els dāpned: ſo in lyke maner no man is bounde or loſed from synne, & from & dette of euerlaſtyng dāpnacyon, by the operacyon or workynge of the preeſte / but it is ſhewed in & face of & church who is counted bounde or loſed of god, whyles he taketh the preeſts benedycyon and is receyued to the cōmunyon of the ſacramentes / in ſuche maner, as we haue ſhewed aboute the ende of the chappytre laſte afore gone / And therfore, as the iayler of the worldy iudge by openynge or ſhyttinge the pryſon, ſheweth and dothe his offyce, and yet he exerceyſeth not the ryght or offyce of any iudycarye powere outther of abſoluyng & deliuerynge, or els of cōdempnyng (for althoughe in very dede he wolde open the pryſon to any pſone beyng accused but not deliuered or quytte by & iudge, & dyd alſo declare to & people by his wordes. & ſuche perſone were quytte / yet ſhuld not the pryſoner therfore be loſed & quytte from & cypyle offence & punyſſhemēt / & contrary wyſe, yf he wolde reſuſe to open & pryſon to hym whome & iudge had verely deliuered by his ſetēce, & moreouer by his wordes wolde ſaye

Ambroſe.

The ſymple
tude betwene
& preeſte and
& iudges ſar
uaūt or iayler

The worde
of god biddeth
and loſeth.

Marke this
my mayſtres

saye and declare, that suche persone were not despyered but dampned: yet shulde not the prysoner or persone accused therfore be detter of the cnyple blame or punysshment). So lyke wyse the preeſte, which is the iapſer of the heuenty iudge: ſheweth and fulfyllerth his offyce, by the vocall or verball pronuncyacion of absolucyon, or els of byndynge & maledyccion / But in caſe that þe preeſte hym ſelfe through ygnoraunce or through ſurrepcon, or els through both, dyd prouide, & they ſhal be hereaft absolued, or els at alreedy absolued, which in very dede & of trouthe outther ſhal be hereafter condempned, or els at alreedy condempned by þe hyghe iudge aboue or elles contrary wyſe dyd pronounce them, outther to be alreedy condempned, or elles hereafter to be condempned, which are in very dede and of trouthe outther alreedy aſſoyled and loſed, or els hereafter to be aſſoyled: yet for all that the perſones ſhulde not therfore in very dede be aſſoyled and loſe / neyther the ſeconde ſorte dāpned / becauſe the preeſte had not applyed the keye or keyes with dyſcrecyon, to the merytes of the ſayde perſones / And therfore (as ſaynt Ambroſe ſayth) the preeſte exhibiterth his offyce / But yet he exerceyſeth not the lybertyes of any powre / For otherwhyſes the preeſtes pronounce in the face of the churche them to be alreedy bounde, or elles hereafter to be bounde, for the ſtate of the worlde to come: which are in very dede and of trouthe outther alreedy loſe, or elles hereafter to be loſe in the ſyght of god / and contrary wyſe, as we haue ſayde afore by the auctorytie of ſayntes, and of the mayſter, in the.iiii. booke the.xviii. dyſtynccyon and the.viii. chapytre and therfore the preeſte exerceyſeth not the ryght & offyce of any powre / for yf it were ſo / otherwhyſes than the iuſtyce of god and his promyſe ſhulde perſyſſe and be voyde / It is god therfore onely and none elles that exerceyſeth the ryght and offyce of powre vpon ſynners / and which is iudge hauynge coactyue powre, he (I ſaye) which alone can not be dyſcepued, nor ignoraunte of the cogitacyons and thoughtes, neyther of the operacyons & dedes of men. For as Paule ſayth in the.iii. chapytre to the hebrewes, all thynges are naked and open to his ſyght / and which onely can not haue any peruerſe wyll, or wronge affeccyon / for thou / O lord arte ryghtuouſe, and all thy iudgementes are ryghtuouſe / and all thy wayes, mercy, trouthe, and iudgement (in the thyrd of Thobye) and therfore he onely is ſuche maner iudge / wherfore it is redde in the.iii. chapytre of James. There is but one lawe maker and iudge, which may dyſtroye & deſpyer / which wordes James ſpake, not meanynge of hym ſelfe, or of any of the apoſtles, nor wiſtādynge that he was one of thoſe.iii. which ſemed to be pylers of the churche as the apoſtle ſayd in the ſeconde chapytre to the Galathyans. But chryſt wolde that ſuche ſentences and iudgementes outther alreedy gyuen, or els hereafter to be gyuen by hym in an other worlde: ſhulde be pronounced and publiſſhed of the preeſtes, by a certayne iudgement of the fyrſte ſygnifycacion and as it were pronostycatpue / & by þe reaſon therof, ſynners in this worlde myght be made aſtade, and be called backe agayne from vyces & ſynnes vnto penaunce or repentaunce / to which thyng, the offyce of preeſtes is requyred, and is alſo of great ſtrength & auayleable / Lyke wyſe & after ſuch maner, as yf þe phyſycon of bodely helthe, to whome lyſence & auctorytie is gyuen for to teache, worke, & practyſe accordynge to the arte or craſte of phyſyke, by the inſtytucion & ordenaunce of the humayne lawe maker ſhuld openly declare and publiſſhe iudgement accordynge to the ſcyence and knowlege of phyſyke amonge the people, who ſhall be hoſe, & who ſhall dye to the intent, that by the reaſon therof, men ſhulde lede a ſobie lyfe, & uſe temperate dyete / and ſhulde be brought backe agayne from ryotyng & ſurfetyng, for the conſeruyng & recoueryng of theyr bodely helth, and ſhuld declare the preceptes & documentes of phyſyke: doubtles the phyſycon ſhulde (after a certayne maner)

The preeſte ſheweth and declareth the ſynner to be absolued, but dothe not aſſoyle þe ſinner and then ſate well the ſerchyng of mennes ſoules out of purgatory Nota.

Jacob. iiii.

The phyſycon of þe ſoule is lyke to the phyſycon of the body.

THE DEFENCE

The preeſte
hath auctory-
tie to tech but
not to cōpelle
& this forget
not, for the
pope leſeth
here his ſharp
ſwerdes, and
his gōnes his
moriſpykes,
& his haulde
bardes.

maner) cōmaunde ſuche preceptes and documentes to be obſerved, & ſhulde iudge
that the obſervers and fullfillers of them ſhal be hole, and that the tranſgreſſours
of the ſame ſhuld be ſycke or els dye, to whom he hym ſelfe neyther ſhuld make ſycke
neyther make hole, pryncypally, but the workynge of the nature of the men, yet
that notwithstanding he ſhuld exhort and do ſome mynſtery or offyce, and
agayne the ſame phyſycyon coulde not by his owne auctorytie compell neyther
the hole man, neyther the ſycke, to do ſuche thynges, were they neuer ſo moche a-
uaylable to theyr bodely helthe, but onely he myght exhorte and teach them, and
put them in feare by his pronostycatyue iudgement of the fyrſte ſygnifycacyon
ſhewynge vnto them & they ſhall haue helth by the obſeruyng of certayne thyng-
es, and that they ſhal be ſycke or els dye, yf they do tranſgreſſe and breake ſuch
preceptes. Euen ſo lykwylſe the phyſycyon or leche of ſoules, that is to wytte the
preeſte iudgeth and exhorteſt men concernynge ſuche thynges, whiche brynge to
euerlaſtynge helthe or to euerlaſtynge death / for the ſtate of the worlde to come /
and yet neyther he maye neyther ought to compell any man to the obſeruyng of
ſuche thynges, by iudgement coactyue in this worlde / as we haue proued by the
auctorytie of the apoſtle, and of Ambroſe, in the fyrſt chapitre of the ſeconde epy-
ſtle to the Corynthyans / and alſo we haue broughte in with & ſame, the expreſſe
ſentence of Chriſoſtome, afore in the ſypte parte of the .v. chapitre of this preſent
diction. Wherefore the preeſt as touchynge to his offyce ought not to be lykened to
a iudge of the thyrd ſygnifycacyon: but of the fyrſte that is to wytte haun-
gynge auctorytie to teach, or to worke and practyſe, lykwylſe as the bodily phyſyc-
on hath, but not haun-
gynge powre coactyue / for after this maner chryſt called hym
ſelfe a phyſycyon or leche, not a pryncce or gouernour / whan he ſayd in the .v. cha-
pytre of Luke, ſpeakynge of hym ſelfe they whiche be to hole men nedeth no phyſy-
cyon / but they whiche be ſycke / he ſayd not here, they nede a iudge: but they nede a
phyſycyon / for he came not in to this worlde to exercyſe coactyue iudgement / of
contencionys and debatefull matters / as we haue declared by the .vii. chapitre of
Luke, in the .iiii. chapitre of this dyccyon in & .viii. parte. But he ſhall iudge both
the quycke and the deed, by ſuche maner coactyue iudgement in that day: wherof
the apoſtle ſpake in the laſte chapitre of the ſeconde epyſtle to Tymothe whan
he ſayde / There is layde vpon me the crowne of iuſtyce: whiche the lord ſhal yelde
to me, in that daye, whiche is a ryghtuouſe iudge / for than he ſhall by coactyue
iudgemēt punyſſhe them, whiche haue in this worlde tranſgreſſed the lawe, whiche
was imedyatly made by hym / and therefore he ſayde notabyle and accordynglye
vnto Peter, I wyll gyue to the: the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens / & he ſayde
not I wyll gyue to the the iudgement of the kyngdome of heuens / and therefore,
we haue ſayde here tofore, that neyther the keye berer or Jaylor of the worldlye
iudge / nor of the heuentye iudge hathe any coactyue iudgement (of the thyrd ſy-
gnifycacyon) becauſe neyther of them exercyſeth the ryght lawes or offyce of any
ſuche powre, as ſaynt Ambroſe ſayd playnlye and openly of the preeſte / and as
it hathe ben ſhewed ſuffycientlye, by the auctorytie alſo of other ſayntes / There-
fore as touchynge to the auctorytie of preeſtes or byſhoppes, and of the powre of
the apoſtolyke keyes gyuen to them by chryſte: let it be determyned in this wyſe.

Of the duppyſon of the dedes of men and howe they are re-
ferred to the lawe of man, and to the iudge ſeculare.

The .viij. chapitre.

And



And forasmuche as all maner coactyue iudgement, conser-
ne and apperteyne to the voluntarve actes of men, accor-
dyng to some lawe or costume, and that to suche volunta-
ry actes, as outther ben dyrected to a synall ende and pur-
pose of this worlde, that is, to the suffycyencie of þe world;
ly lyf/or elles as ben dyrected to synall ende of the worlde
to come, which we do cal eternall lyfe, or enerlastyng glo-
rye/to the intente therfore that the dystynccyon and dyffe-
rence of the iudges, or of them whiche ought to iudge maye the more largely ap-
pere and be open/and also accordyng to what lawes, and by what iudgement,
or howe and in what maner they ought to iudge: let vs somwhat treate & speake
of the dyfferences and dyuersyties of the sayd actes, operacyons, or dedes. For the
determinacyon of them shall be not lytle anayseable and helpefull to the solucy-
ons of the doubttes here tofore moued. Let vs therfore say that of suche workes of
men whiche procede and cometh forth by knowlege and desyre, some certayne of
them procede without delyberacyon of mannes mynde or vnderstandyng, and
other some are cause and precede by the comaundement or delyberacyon of man-
nes vnderstandyng. Of the fyrste sorte, are knowleges, desyres, and loues sodeyn-
ly chaunsyng or caused of vs and in vs, without the empyre or comaundement
of the vnderstandyng, or of the appetyte delyberatelye prouoked, concernyng
suche operacyons/as ben (for example) the knowleges and effeccyons wherby we
do go forth, when we ar sodeynly awakened from slepe, or as be knowleges, and
desyres otherwyse caused in vs, without the comaundement or delyberacyon of
our mynde/and nexte to these folowe the knowleges, consentes, affeccyons, and
desyres to contynue and holde on such workes as were had in hande before, or els
to enquire and serche forth and to comprehend and perceyue certayne thynges/
as in the accyon or dede which is caused by callyng agayne to remembraunce &
these accyons or operacyons bothe are in dede, and also are called the comaunde-
mentes or preceptes of the mynde, because they are done or broughte forth by our
comaundement/or elles by them certayne other thynges, as loues, desyres, hatre-
des or eschewynges. ¶ And the dyfference of the operacyons comaunded or done
with good aduysment, and of the operacyons not comaunded or done without
aduysment, is by the reason of that whiche we haue sayd here tofore, because of
the operacyons not comaunded: we vtterly haue not in vs lybertie, rule, or powre
whether they shall be done or not done. But of the operacyons comaunded/accor-
dyng to the chrysten relyggyon, there is powre in vs, that they shall be done or els
not done. And I haue sayde, that we haue not vtterly powre in vs of the actes
not comaunded/because it lyeth not in our powre, wholy or vtterly to proshybe
and let the chaunsyng and comyng to passe of them. Howbeit by the seconde
sorte of actes or operacyons whiche are called comaundementes or preceptes, and
by the actes folowenge them/we maye so dyspose and ordie our soule, that it shal
not lyghtely do cause or receyue the act of the fyrst sorte or kynde/that is to wyt
whan eche man hath accustomed hym selfe contrarve to theyr nature/ and of the
actes or dedes comaunded or done with good aduysment: certayne be and are cal-
led actes or operacyons inwarde, & other some are and be called actes outwarde.
The inwarde actes are and be called the comaunded knowleges, and the affeccy-
ons comaunded/or qualyties permanent, caused, and made of the mynde of man
because they do not passe out in to any other subiecte matter, or persone, from hym:
whiche is the doer and worker of them. But the outwarde actes, or operacyons
passyng forth, or as they are called in the latyne Actus transcuntes, are and be

The dystyncc-
yon & dyfferen-
ce of mannes
actes.

Sodayne
knowledges
& affeccyons.

Knowleges,
affeccyons, &
appetyt; aby-
dyng and per-
manent.

Dedes proce-
dyng of dely-
beracion, ben
called the pre-
ceptes of the
mynde.

He meneth i
man hath fre
wyll in actes
delyberate, yf
he be iudged
with the spy-
ryte of god.

A dystynccy-
on of act; co-
maunded, or
done with
good aduys-
ment.

Inward act;
outward act;

THE DEFENCE

**A dystynccy
on of out-
warde actes.
Profytable.**

**Unprofyta-
ble & harme
full.**

**Arts and scy-
ences.**

**A dysticcyon
of coactive ru-
les & lawes.
Mannes lawe
Goddes lawe**

**Secte, is here
well taken.**

**The lawe of
Chryste.**

called all the actes or loues of thynges desired, and the omysions of them/ and also the mouynges, caused & made by any of the exteryour or outwarde organs or instrumentes of the bodye, namely beyng moued as touchyng the mocyon whiche is called *Locale*, that is to saye from place to place. Agayne of the actes whiche are called *Actus transeuntes*, some ar and be done without the hurtynge nopaunce, or iniurye of any synguler persone, company, or comynytie, beyng a sondrye thyng from hym whiche is the doer or worker. Of whiche sorte, ben the kyndes of al thynges possyble to be done and the geyng of money/ and the cha styement of a mannes owne body, with beatynge, strykyng, or any other ma- ner of waye/ and other dedes lyke to these. And other some of those outwarde ac- tes, ar and be made with the nopaunce or iniury of an other sondry persone from hym that is the doer or worker of them. Of whiche sorte be the strykyng of an o- ther man, thefte, rauyne, or robbery, extorcyon, false wytnesse, and many other after dyuers kyndes and facyons. And there is founde out and deuysed certayne rules or measures, habytes and scyences of all the aforesayde actes, whiche come forth and are caused of mannes mynde/ namely of the actes comaunded or done with aduysment/ by whiche rules, the sayde actes or workes may be done and brought forth conuenientlye, and in ryght and dewe fourme and maner, bothe for the gettyng and purchasyng by them of a suffycient lyfe in this worlde/ & also in the worlde to come. But of these rules there are certayne, by the which, the accyons, and operacyons of mannes mynde, as well the outwarde actes, as the inwarde, are taught, ruled, and ordred eyther in doyng of them or in leuyng of them vndone, without payne or rewarde to be gyuen to hym that dothe them or that leueth them vndone, of any other man, by powre coactyue/ of whiche sorte verely be the most parte of dyscyplines, artes or scyences, operatyue, actyue & fac tyue. And there ben other of the sayd rules, after which the operacyons of manes mynde, are comaunded to be done or to be lefte vndone, vnder payne or rewarde to be gyuen by the powre coactyue of an other man, eyther to the workers of the sayd dedes, or elles to the leuers of them vndone. And agayne of these coactyue rules: there are certayne, wherby the obseruers or transgressours of them are pun ysshed or rewarded, in the state, and for the state of this present lyfe. Of whiche sorte be all the cyuple & worldly customes and lawes of men. And there be other some of the same rules, accordyng to which, the workers ar punysshed or rewar- ded onely for the state, and in the state of the worlde to come. Of whiche sorte are the lawes of god for the moost parte/ whiche in the comune name are called sects. amonge whiche (as we haue sayde) the secte, which is of chrysten men: onely con- tayneth the trouthe and suffycencie of thynges to be hoped, for & worlde to come. ¶ There is therfore for the suffycient lyfe of this world a rule set, which is precep tyue of the acte of man, done with aduysment, & suche as are called *Actus tran- seuntes* that is to saye outwarde actes or actes passyng forth, beyng possyble to be done, to the profyte or dysprofite, to the ryght or wronge of an other sondrye persone from hym that is the worker of suche dedes/ and the same rule is also co- actyue of the transgressours/ by payne or punysshment, for the state of this pre- sent lyfe/ whiche we haue called by the comune name the lawe of man in the .p. chapytre of the fyrste dyccyon. The fynall necessytye also, and the cause agent or effectyue wherof: we haue assygned and shewed in the .vi. and .vii. and .viii. cha- pytres of the fyrste dyccyon. And howe we shuld lyue in this world, for the state of the worlde to come/ there is a lawe gyuen or made and sette by chryste/ whiche lawe, doubtles is the rule of mannes dedes, beyng by the grace of god in the ac- tyue powre of our mynde, as well (I saye) of suche dedes as be inwarde actes, as of those

of those which are called outwarde actes, accordynge as they may eyther be done or elles leste vndone, betwex or vnderwex in this worlde / but yet for the state of the worlde to come and this rule is also coactyue and dystributyue of payne or rewarde to be gyuen and executed in the worlde to come (but not in this worlde) accordynge to the merytes or demerytes of the obseruers, or transgressours of the sayde lawe / or rule in this present lyfe. But because these coactyue lawes, as well the lawes of god as of man, lacke lyfe or soule, and a pryncypale or cause motyue in them selues to gyue iudgement, & to do execution: they had nede to haue some subiecte (as they call it) and some pryncypale, or cause, hauynge lyfe & soule, which may comaunde, rule or iudge the dedes of men, accordynge to the sayde lawes / and also do execution of the iudgement gyuen, and punyshe the transgressours of the same lawes. This subiecte or pryncypale / is called a iudge / takynge this worde iudge in his thyrde sygnifycacyon, whiche we haue sayde in the seconde chapytre of this dyccion / wherfore Aristotyle sayth in the fourthe of the Ethikes, wherhe treateth of Justyce or ryghtuousnes. A iudge is as it were, iustyce hauynge lyfe. Therefore accordynge to the lawes of man, there ought to be a iudge, hauynge suche auctoritie (as we haue sayd) to iudge by iudgement of the thyrde sygnifycacyon, of the cōtencyons dedes of men / to execute the iudgements gyuen / and to punyshe any maner transgressoure of the lawe, by coactyue powre / for suche a iudge is the mynystre of god, and a venger for wrothe, to hym whiche worketh euyl / as the apostle sayd in the .xiii. to the Romaines / and sent by god for this entent, as it is sayd in the seconde chapytre of the fyrste epystle of Peter / And note that the apostle Paule sayd, to hym that worketh euyl, that is to wyte whoeuer he shal be, meanynge this indyfferently of all men. And therefore for as moche as preestes or bysshoppes & generally all the mynystres of churches which by the comune name are called clarkes, may do or worke otherwhyles euyl outher in cōmissyon or in omysyon, yea and some of them (wolde god not the most parte of them) otherwhyles do euyl in very dede, to the hurte and iniury of theyr euen charyten: euen they also are subiectes, and set vnderneath the vengeaunce or iurysdyccyon of the iudges and hygher powres, whiche haue, coactyue powre to punyshe the transgressours of mannes lawes / whiche thynge the apostle / sayde openly and playnly to the Romaines in the .xiii. chapytre / wherfore sayth he / let every soule be subiecte to the hygher powres / that is to wyte, to kyngs / to prynces / to capytaynes / and to suche other theyr deputies accordynge to the exposycyons of saynt / for euermore the matter or stuffe ought to receyue the operacyon of the actyue cause / whiche is apte and ordayned to worke vpon it, for the ende to the whiche it is mete / as it appereth in the seconde booke of the physykes or naturales for as it is sayd there every thyng is so wrought / as it is apte and mete for to be wrought / and contrary wyse. But now the transgressoure of the lawe, is a conuenient matter or subiecte, wherupon the iudge or gouernoure is apte and ordayned to worke iustifycacyon, and that, to cause and make proporcyon and equalityte, and for the conseruacyon of peace and tranquyltye, and of the cōpyle companye and socyete of men, and last of all for to cause the suffycyencie of mannes lyfe. And therefore wher soeuer suche a subiecte, matter, or stuffe is founde in the prouynce beyng vnder the iurysdyccyon of the sayd iudge / he ought to iustifye, and set it in ordie. For as moche than, as every preeste maye be, of hym selfe suche propre matter or stuffe, that is to wyte, the transgressoure of mannes lawe / he ought to be vnder the iudgement of the sayd iudge. For to be a preest or no preest / is an accydental thynge to the transgressoure, as touchynge the comparyson of hym to the iudge / as well, as to be an husbände man or a carpenter / & euen lyke

Cause motyue, is & kyng whiche is heed of the churche & correctoure in this lyfe of all crymes & enormities & issue forth.

What a kyng is.

Yea euen a bysshoppe.

Bysshoppes are subiectes as well as bochers.

The transgressoure is the stuffe & matere & the kyng is the cause of fectyue, apte to worke vpon the stuffe.

To be a preeste is but an accedental thynge.

THE DEFENCE

The preeſte
hode taketh
not awaye &
man. nor cha
geth hym in
to an aungell

Preeſtes ou
ghte to be pu
nyſhed by the
ſecular iudge
and yet Tho
mas of Lau
turbury wol
de not haue it
ſo.

The obiection
of the ſp
itualtie is an
ſwered vnto.

The Pope of
Rome is not
exempte fro
the iurysdy
ction of ſecula
re princes.

Wyle as it is but an accydentall thyng to the perſone that maye be ſoule or ſpyke to be a Muſycyon, or no muſycyon, in compariſon to the Phyſycyon or leche. For that whiche he is of hym ſelfe, and that whiche is eſſencyal: can not be taken awaye, or chaunged. By that whiche is accydentall / ſo elſes: ſhulde there be inſy nyte kyndes or ſortes of iudges & phyſycyons. Therfore any maner Byſſhoppe or preeſt beyng the tranſgreſſoure of the lawe made by man / oughte to be iuſtyfied and punyſhed by the iudge / whiche hath the coactyue power in this world ouer the tranſgreſſours of manes lawe. And this iudge is the ſeculare pryncce or gouernour in that that he is a pryncce / and not any preeſt or Byſſhop: as it hath ben ſhewed in the. liii. and. v. chapytours of this dyccyon. And therfore all Byſſhoppes & preeſtes beyng tranſgreſſours of manes lawe / oughte to be punyſhed by the prince or gouernour. And not onely the preeſte, or other ſpyrytuall mynyſter, oughte to be punyſhed as a ſecular man for his tranſgreſſyon of the lawe: But alſo he oughte to be punyſhed ſo moch the more greuouſly and largely: By howe moche his offence is more heynouſe or vnſemyng and can leſſe be defended. For that he doth synne more knowyngly, and more of election, whiche oughte more to knowe the preceptes of thynges to be done and to be eſchewed. And agayne becauſe the offence is more ſhamefull of hym, whiche oughte to teache: than of hym whiche oughte to be taughte. But it is the preeſt whiche oughte to teache, and the laye man whiche oughte to lerne. wherfore the preeſte offendeth more greuouſlye, and therfore he is the more ſore to be punyſhed than the laye man. Neyther his obiection oughte to be receyued or alowed, whiche wolde ſay, that all maner iniuries verball, reall or perſonall, and ſuche other thynges proſcrybted by manes lawe, yf they be done agaynſt any man by a preeſt. are accyons ſpyrytuall / and that therfore it dothe not appertayne or belonge to any Pryncce or ſeculer gouernour to punyſhe the preeſt for any ſuche offences and treſpaſſes / for ſuche maner thynges proſcrybted by the lawe, as aduoutrye / maymyng / murther / thefte / robbery / dyffamacyon / detraction / treaſon / fraude or gyle / heresye, and ſuche other crymes comytted and done by a preeſte are carnall and temporall dedes or offences, as it is verye well knowne by experyence / and as we haue declared it heretofore in the ſeconde chapytre of this dyccyon, by the auctorytie of the Apoſtle in the thyrde chapytre of the fyrſte epyſtle to the Corinthians, and in the. xv. to the Romayns / ye and alſo they are to be iudged ſo moche the more carnall and temporall offences, by howe moche the preeſt or Byſſhop in comyttynge of them, synneth more greuouſly, and more ſhamefully, than any of them, whom he oughte to call backe from ſuche offences. grynge occaſyon to theym and redynesse to offende and treſpaſſe in the ſame throughe his lewde and vngcracyous example.

¶ Therfore euery preeſte and Byſſhoppe is vndre, and oughte to be vndre the iurysdyccyon of prynces & ſecular gouernours in thoſe thynges, whiche are comaunded to be obſerued by the lawe of man: as well as other ſeculare & laye men. Neyther is the Byſſhoppe or preeſte exempted from the coactyue Judgement of ſuche prynces: neyther he maye exempte any other man by his owne auctoryte whiche thyng I proue, by an addycyon to thoſe thynges / whiche hath ben ſayd in the. xvi. chapytre of the fyrſte dyccyon / dedusynge and bynngynge hym whiche doth ſaye the contrary: to amercyous great inconuenient. For yf the Byſſhop of Rome or any other preeſte were ſo exempted, that he ſhulde not be vndre the coactyue iurysdyccyon of prynces and gouernours, but were hym ſelfe ſuche maner Judge, without the auctoryte of the humayne lawe maker, and myght ſeperate and exempte all & ſpyrytuall mynyſters, whom by & comune name they do call clarkes, from the Iurysdyccyon of prynces and gouernours, and make them ſubiectes to hym

hym selfe, as the Bysshoppes of Rome done now a dayes: it folowed then necess-
 sarylye, that the iurysdyccyon of the secular gouernours were in a maner utterly
 adnulled, destroyed and made of no strength/whiche thyng I do recontre to be
 a great inconuenient, and intollerable to all gouernours and comynyties. For
 the chrysten religyon dothe depriue no man of his ryght, as it was shewed afore
 by the auctoritie of Ambrose vpon the sayenge of Paule in the seconde chapytre
 to Titus/admonyshe them to be subiectes to prynces and powres. &c. as it was
 brought in and alledged in the .v. chapytre of this dyccyon. And that this inconue-
 nyent dothe folowe of suche exempcyon: thus I proue. For it is not founde pro-
 hybited any where in goddes lawe, but rather it is graunted, and also lawfull by
 the same, for hym to be preefte or Bysshop: whiche hath a wyfe/namely yf he haue
 no mo wyues than one: as it is redde in the thyde chapytre of the fyrst epystle to
 Tymothee/and that whiche is decreed and ordayned by mannes lawe or consty-
 tucion, maye by the same auctoritie be reuoked and adnulled, in that it is man-
 nes lawe. Therfore the Bysshop of Rome, whiche maketh hym selfe a lawe maker
 maye of the fulnes of his powre (yf any man wyll graunte hym to haue such ful
 powre) graunte to all preestes, deacons, and subdeacons, to haue wyues / & not
 onely to them / but also to other whiche haue not taken any of the foresayd ordres
 nor be otherwyse consecrated / whome they call clarkes of syngle consure / yea
 moreouer more semyngly to these / whiche thyng Bonifacius the .viii. semeth to
 haue done in very dede / that he myght increase secular powre to hym selfe / for as
 many as hadde maryed a virgyne, and whiche were wyllynge to wedde but one
 wyfe, he ascrybed them to the company of charkes / and decreed that they shuld be
 ascrybed, by his ordynacions and constytucyons whiche they call decretales / ney-
 ther keepynge them within these boundes: they haue exempted from the cyuple
 lawes of man duely made, certayne laye men, whome they do call in Italy Fra-
 tres gaudentes / and in other places they are called begynnes So they haue also ex-
 empted the bretherne called Frates hospitaliorum & templariorum / the brethern
 of hospytalles and templars / and many other suche lyke ordres / & lyke wyse them
 whiche are called De alto passu / and so also for theyr pleasure: they myghte do in
 lyke maner and by lyke reason of other / wherfore yf all such maner men throughe
 this, are exempte from the iurysdyccyon of prynces and gouernours, accordynge
 to theyr decretales (whiche also gyueth to the persones so exempted certayne lyber-
 ties and imunites from the publyke and cyuple chargis or burthaynes) it semeth
 very lykelye that the greater multytude or parte of men shall declyne to the com-
 pany of them / namelye seynge that they do take and receyue indyfferentlye both
 learned and vnlearned / for every man is prone and redye to folowe and to draue
 to his owne profyte: and to auoyde and escheue his owne dysprofyte / But yf the
 greater multytude of men shall declyne to the company of clarkes / then shall the
 Iurysdyccyon & coactyue powre of prynces remayne of no strength, but weake
 and feble / whiche is a great inconuenience / and a thyng / wherby the comune
 wealth and cyuple gouernaunce shulde be destroyed. For who soeuer enioyeth cy-
 uyle honours, comodities, and profytes, as peace, and the defence of the cheyfe
 gouernour: ought not to be exempte from the cyuple chargis and burthaynes / and
 from the cyuple. Iurysdyccyon without the determynacyon of the same gouer-
 nour. For the aduoydynge therfore of this great inconuenient: we oughte to
 graunte / accordynge vnto the trouthe, that the hyghe and cheyfe gouernour
 hath iurysdyccyon vpon Bysshoppes, preestes, and all clarkes / lest it myght
 chaunce the good ordre of the comune weale to be broken: throughe the pluralitie
 of cheyfe gouernours, beyng not the one of them vnder any other / as it was de-

It maye be
 graunted to
 preefts to ha-
 ue wyues.

Frates gau-
 dentes begini.

Relygious
 men receyue
 men that be
 not lerned, in
 to theyr or-
 ders.

THE DEFENCE

termyned in the .v. li. of the fyrste dyccion. And that the chiefe gouernour ought to determyne and apoynte a certayne nombre of them in the prouynce vnder his gouernaunce: lyke wyse as he dothe of the persones of any other of or parte of the comune weale/ lest yf they dyd growe vp in to ouer greate a multytude: they myght be able to resyste the coactyue powre of the gouernours, or other wyse do great dysturbauce to the comune weale/ or elles with theyr pryde and ouer great multytude: depriue the cytie, realme, or other comunytie of the profyte & auauantage, of theyr necessarye workes and occupacions. So than the outwarde actes or dedes goynge or tournynge to the profyte or dysprofyte, to the ryght or to the wronge of a sondry persone from the doer: ought to be ruled & measured by the humayne lawe/ and by the iudge of the thyrde sygnyfycacion. To the whiche coactyue iurysdyccion all secular & laye men, and also all charkes: oughte to be subiectes.

Lawyers.

There be also other iudges accordynge to the lawes of man, whiche are called iudges of the fyrste or of the secōde sygnyfycacion, as & teachers of the same lawes, but yet lackynge or wantynge coactyue powre or auctoritie/ of whiche sorte, no thyng letteth: but that there may be many, not ordred one of them vnder an other/ and that euen in one comunytie.

Of the relacyon and respecte of mannes dedes or workes vnto the lawe of god, & to the iudge of the other worlde/ that is to wytte to chryste/ and also howe the same dedes ar compared to the teacher of the same lawe/ that is to wytte, the byshoppe or preeste in this worlde.

The .ix. chapytre.



There is but one lawe maker & chryste.

Accordynge therfore to this maner, there is also a certayne iudge haunyng coactyue iurysdyccion or auctorite vpon transgressours after the lawe of god, whiche lawe, also we haue sayde to be a coactyue rule of some dedes or workes of men/ as well those whiche are called Actus immanentes, as of those whiche are called Actus transeuntes. And this iudge is but one/ that is to wytte, Chryste, and none other/ wherfore it is wyrtten in the .iiii. chapytre of James. There is but one lawe maker/ whiche maye dystroye and despyer. But the coactyue powre of this iudge, is not exersysed vpon any man in this world, as to wyrtte the dystribucion of payne or rewarde to the transgressours or obseruers of the lawe imedyatly gyuen, by hym, whiche often tymes we haue called the lawe of the gospell/ for chryste of his great mercy, wolde graunte vnto vs space, wherin

wherin we myghte do penance of our synnes comytted agaynst his lawe: even vntyll the laste ende of euery mannes lyfe / as it shall be shewed hereafter also by the auctorities of holy scripture. There is also after the scripture of the gospel an other iudge, of the fyrst sygnifycacyon. Lyke wyse as there is of mannes lawe / that is to wytte, the preeft / whiche is in this worlde the teacher of goddes lawe and of suche thynges, whiche are eyther to be done or to be eschewed, for the gettyng of eternall lyfe / or for the aduoydng of the payne eternall / but yet haue no coactyue powre in this worlde, to copele any man to the obseruynge of the preceptes and comaundementes of the same lawe. For it shuld be in vayne and to none effecte to compele any man vnto the obseruynge of them. For to hym that shulde obserue them onely by compulssyon: they shulde be nothyng auaileable vnto eternall helthe / as we shewed before euidently by the auctoritie of Chrysostome / and also of the apostle Paul, in the .v. chapytre of this dyccyon. And therfore this iudge is conuenientlye lykened to a physycyon or leche whiche hath the auctoritie gyuen to hym, for to teache or comaunde, and to puenosticate or iudge of those thynges, whiche are profytable to be done, or to be lefte vndone for the optaynyng and gettyng of bodely helthe, and the aduoydng of death and sykenesse whiche shulde chaunce to hym / for the whiche cause Chrysostome also in the state and for the state of this presente lyfe called hym selfe a physycyon or leche / not a prynce or a iudge. And therfore he sayd vnto the pharysees, speakyng of hym selfe, as it was brought in, in the chapytre afore gone. They nede not a leche whiche are in helthe: but they whiche are sycke and dysseased. For Chrysostome hath not ordayned that any man shulde be compelled in this worlde to the obseruacyon of the lawe made by hym. And therfore he hath not ordayned any iudge spirytual haue coactyue powre to punyshe the transgressours of this lawe in this worlde / wherfore it is to be marked and taken hede of, that the lawe of the gospel may be two maner wayes compared vnto the men, vpon whome it was made, by chrysostome. One waye, it maye be compared to them in the state and for the state of this presente lyfe. And in this comparyson it maye rather be called a speculative or a practyue doctryne, or elles bothe, than a lawe taken in his propre and last sygnifycacyon / albeit that it maye be called a lawe, after other sygnifycacyons of the same worde / as after the seconde and the thyrde sygnifycacyons of whiche we haue spoken in the .v. chapytre of the fyrste dyccyon. And the cause of this whiche we haue sayde: is this / for that the name of this worde lawe, in his thyrde sygnifycacyon: belongeth onely to a coactyue rule / that is to wytte, such a rule accordyng to whiche, the transgressoure is punysshed by powre coactyue / gyuen to hym whiche ought to iudge accordyng to the same rule. But now by the lawe of the gospel, or by the lawe maker therof, it is not comaunded that any man shulde be compelled of any spirytual man in this worlde to obserue those thynges, whiche are comaunded in the same lawe to be done, or to be lefte vndone, in this worlde. And therfore it beyng compared to the state of man in this worlde, and for this worlde ought to be called a doctryne, and not a lawe / but onely after suche maner as we haue sayde. And this was the mynde of the apostle, in the thyrde chapytre of the seconde epystle to Tymothe. All scripture inspyred from god aboue: is profytable to teache, to argue, or proue, to rebuke to instructe in ryghtuousnesse. But he neuer sayde that it was profytable to compele or to punyshe in this worlde / wherfore in the fyrste chapytre of the seconde epystle to the Corynthyans, the apostle sayth / not because we are lordes and gouernours ouer your saythe: but we are helpers or comforters of your Joye. Because you stande in saythe / where saynt Ambrose (as we haue shewed before in

A iudge here is taken but for a preacher

This iudge hath no coactyue powre.

The clargy many a yere hath done all by compulssyon as with swerde and fyre.

THE DEFENCE

Ambrose.

Fayth is voluntarie.

Pf men seme to be punysshed for breakeynge of goddes lawe in this world as for comittige aduoutry, for nycaciō, theft heresy, and so forth it is because the mallice of theyr hert breketh forth, and deteteth theyr neyghbours, & therby offēdeth þe kyngs lawe, & not i that respecte that they offendē goddes lawe, whiche is onely referred to god to be punysshed euerlastigly.

Chrysostome

the .v. chapytre of this dyccion and it greueth me not to reherse the same oftentimes agayne) sayth these wordes/and lest the Corynthyanes myght be myscontent and angrie, as yf the apostle had taken vpon hym to be lord ouer them. Because he had sayd, it was for the sparynge of you, that I haue not come/therefore the apostle sayth followynge. I do saye these aforesayd wordes/it was for the sparynge of you and not because your fayth suffereth any domynyon or compulsion, whiche is a thyng of freewyll, and not of necessitye. But I speake these wordes therefore, because we are helpers, yf you wyll worke with vs. &c. Loo here he sayth helpers, that is to wyte by our doctryne/and he saythe also yf you wyll worke with vs/whiche now we do stande in saythe. that worketh by loue and not by domynyon or compulsion. An other maner way, the scripture or the lawe of the gospell, maye be compared vnto men, for the state of them in an other worlde in whiche worlde onely, and not in this, they shal be payned and punysshed, who soeuer hath transgressed and broken the sayd lawe in this worlde/and so it maye well be called a lawe, in his moste propre sygnification. And he that iudgeth accordynge to it whiche is chryste, maye than be called a iudge, in the moste propre sygnification of this worde/because he hath coactyue powre after the thyrde sygnification of this worde. But the preeste or bysshop, who euer he be, for as moche as he dothe rule and ordre men accordynge to this lawe, onely in the state of this presente lyfe, althoughe it be to the lyfe to come: neyther is it graunted to hym by the imedyate maker of this lawe, that is to wyte, chryste, for to punyshe a man accordynge to it in this worlde:therefore the preeste or bysshop is not called a iudge properly in his thyrde sygnification, as the whiche hath not coactyue powre, and neyther maye, neyther ought to punyshe any man by suche maner iudgement, in this worlde with eyther reule or personall payne or punysshement. And in this or in lyke maner, any doctour or teacher operatyue, as a physycion is in comparyson to the iudgement of the bodely helth of men, hauynge no powre coactyue of any man as we haue sayde aboute the begynnynge of this present chapytre. And this was also the sentence of saynt Iohn Crisostome playnly & openly (agreyng to the mynde of the apostle, in the fyrste chapytre in the seconde epytyle to the Corynthyanes) in his booke of dialoges, whiche is also entytled of the dygnitie of preesthode, in the seconde booke, and the thyrde chapytre. But the ordre of his wordes, whiche we haue brought in heretofore in the .vi. parte of the .v. chapytre of this dyccion: we haue not reherfed agayne here, for cause of shortnesse. But these wordes of his, whiche folowe nexte after the aforesayde texte: we haue put here, and they be these. For this cause than, there is moche nede (sayth he) of the helpe of crafte and conynge, that men may be perswaded and brought in mynde, whan they be sycke, of theyr owne accorde and freewyll to offre them selfe to the leche crafte or physyke of preestes/and not onely this, but also that the preestes maye do good and be gentle to them that are to be cured. For whether any man wolde starte backe whan he is bounde (for verely in this thyng he hath powre & free libertye) he shall make his dysease worse/or whether he wyl refuse the wordes whiche shulde haue done hym good, then in the stede of the surgeons salues and instrumentes, he ioyneth and addeth an other wounde vnto his fyrst wounde by the reason of this his cōtempte/and is by the occasyon therof becomēd vnto hym selfe an instrument of a more peryllous and deadly dysease. For there is no man that maye cure and heale one agaynst his wyll. And the sayd Chrysostome after certayne wordes added of hym, consernyng the correccion or amendement of the people, to be marked of al curats, but not cōsernyng & cōpellyng or cōstraynynge of them: he sayth these wordes, But yf any man be led out from þe right sayth: tha it remaineth

remayneth to the preeft, and appertayneth to his charge, to vse moche exhortacion moche wyse dylygence, & moche pacyence / for he may not bynge any man agayne to the saythe: by violence / but he shall enforce hym selfe & do his uttermost ende: woure, for to perswade suche persone, & he wyll retourne to the ryght sayth, from whiche he hath fyrst fallen. So here howe this holy man, doth seperate & departe the iudgement of preeftes, from the iudgement of prynces & gouernours / because coactyue iudgement neyther dothe besonge, neyther ought to besonge to preeftes assignyng the causes whiche we haue sayde ostentymes heretofore. The fyrste because that coactyue power is gyuen by the temporall lawe, or elles by the lawe maker or pryncce / whiche was not graunted to preeftes in Ehysofomes tyme or prouynce. Secondaryly, for that yf suche coactyue power shuld be graunted vnto them / yet shulde they in wayne / exerce it vpon theyr subiectes / for no spyrytuall thyng auayleth men that are compelled vnto it / neyther profyteth them any whyt to eternall helthe. And he sayd the same vpon that tecte in the .ix. of Luke yf any man wylleth to come after me: lette hym denye hym selfe. But I haue here lefte out the ordre of his wordes, partely because these aforesayd are suffycient and partely for cause of shortenesse / This same also was pplynely and openly the mynde of saynt Hilarie. to Constantinus the Emperour / in whiche epystle amonge other thynges / thus he wrote to the same Emperoure. God hath taughte the knowlege of hym selfe: rather than hath exacted it / and gettyng admynacyon and estymacyon to his preceptes. by his heuently workes: he despyed and refused all maner auctorytie coactyue of men, to confesse and knowlege hym selfe. Soo here, that god wylleth men to be taughte the knowynge and confessyng of hym, that is to wytte by sayth / but not any man to be compelled: therto for that he despyseth. And he reherseth the same agayne not longe after sayeng / God requyeth not any coacte confessyon. And agayne afterwarde in the persone of all preeftes, he saythe thus / I can not receyue any man excepte he be wyllynge / I can not here any man, but prayeng / not sygne or marke any man: but hym that professeth. Therefore god wyll not haue any coacte confessyon of his owne selfe / neyther he wylleth any man to be drawen therunto, by any violence don to hym or by compulssyon. Wherfore the same Hilarius agaynst Auxentius bysshop of Mylayne (whom he reputed to be an Arriane, and whiche procured men to be compelled by force of Armes) as the sayde Hilarius saythe (to confesse those thynges whiche belonged to his owne oppynyon, aboute or rather agaynst the sayth, and rebukynge hym. Albeit that it had ben so, that he had taughte no thyng but the trouthe) he sayth thus. And fyrste of all I maye petye the laboure and trauayle of our tyme or age / and sorowe and bewayle the folysshe oppynyons of these tymes / in whiche, worldly thynges are supposed and beleued to helpe and to defende god / and it is laboured by seculare ambycyon, to defence and mayntayne the churche of Ehyfte. And agayne to the same persone, in the same place, he sayth. But now (alas for pytie) the erthly helpes or aydes do comende the sayth of god: and causeth it to be accepted / and chryste is proued to be without his powre and might: whyles ambycion is ioyned to his name. The church putteth men in feare with banysshmentes and prysons / and copelleth men to gyue credence vnto her / and she is beleued by banysshmentes & prysonamentes. And here Hilarius speaketh of the churche vnderstandynge by it, the colledge or company of preeftes or bysshoppes, & of other mynysters of the churche, whome they do call comenlye clarkes. This was also openly the mynde of saynt Ambrose, to Valentiane the emperour in the seconde epystle, whiche is intytled to the comune people, whan he sayde / I may wepe / I may be sorry / I may mourne & syghe / agaynst weapons or armour, agaynst

Nota.

Euen so woe
re it pyte to
be graited in
o' tyme, whe
rein be so ma
ny tyraunt
of the clergye

Hilarius.

Hilarius.

I se are me
there hath be
& yet be ma
ny such Arri
ans, yf they
myghte haue
the ful swyn
ge of swerde
in theyr own
handes.

It is tyme to
punyshe Hi
larius for he
rayleth a
gaynste the
clargye.

Ambrose.

THE DEFENCE

agaynst men of warre, and agaynst the Gothians/ my teares are my wepone
for suche is the armoure of preestes otherwyse I neyther ought neyther may respy-
ste. Beholde here that the preeste ought not, althoughe he myghte to moue or stee
any wepon, or power coactyue agaynst any man/ neyther yet commaunde or exor-
te any wepons or power coactyue to be moued/ namelye agaynst chrysten men.
The contrarie wherof all this worlde maye iudge & thynke of certayne preestes
agaynst the doctryne of the holy scripture and of sayntes. Therefore accordynge
to the trouthe, and to the open and playne intencion and mynde of the apostle,
and of sayntes, whiche of all other, were the cheyfest doctours or teachers, of the
churche, or of the saythe. No man in this worlde is commaunded to be compelled of
the spyrytualltie by any payne or punysshment, to the embiacyng or obseruacy-
on of the preceptes in the lawe of the gospel neyther in synnell, nor yet vnin synnell/
wherfore the mynystres of this lawe, bysshoppes or preestes, neyther maye iudge
any man in this worlde, by iudgement of the thyrd synnyfycacon/ neyther com-
pell any man to obserue the preceptes of goddes lawe, namely without the aucto-
rytie of the humayne lawe maker/ for suche maner iudgement, accordynge to the
lawe of god, ought not to be exercysed in this worlde/ nor exequyson therof to be
done, but onely in the worlde to come/ wherfore in the. xix. of Mathewe, Ihesus
sayd vnto the apostles. Of a suertye I do saye vnto you, that you whiche haue
folowed me/ in the regeneracyon, whan the sone of man shall sytte in the seate of
his maiestye/ you also shall sytte vpon twelue seates, iudgyng the. xii. trybes
of Israell. Here maye ye se whan the apostles shall sytte with chryste, as it were
iudges with hym, of the thyrd synnyfycacon/ verely in the worlde to come, and
not in this worlde/ wher the glose sayth/ in the regeneracion, that is to say whan
deed men shall ryse incorruptible/ wherfore after the mynde of the glose, there are
two regeneracyons/ the fyrste, of water and the holy ghost/ the seconde, in the ge-
nerall resurreccyon/ wherfore vpon these wordes, you also shall sytte: saythe
the glose/ after the mynde of Augustyne/ whan the fourme of the seruaunte/
that is to wytte, of Chryste, whiche in this worlde was iudged by coactyue
power, and dyd not iudge, shall exercyse the power of a iudge, that is to wytte,
in the Resurreccyon: than shall you also be iudges with me. ¶ Loo here than
that accordynge to the sayeng of Chryste in the gospel/ and after the exposicion
of sayntes: Chryste hathe not exercysed iudicare, power/ that is to wytte, coacty-
ue power, in this worlde. But rather beyng in the fourme of a seruaunt: he was
iudged of an other, by suche maner iudgement/ & also that whan he shal exercyse
suche iudicare power coactyue in an other worlde: that than the apostles also shal
sytt with hym, to iudge by suche maner iudgement, and not afore that tyme.

Bysshoppes
take vpon the
more auctory-
tie than chry-
ste had.

As obstynat
Thomas of
Caüterbury
otherwyse cal-
led Thomas
Becket.

¶ Wherfore hit is worthely to be greatly meruayled at: wherfore any bysshop or
preeste, who euer he be shulde take vpon them, or be in wyll to haue greatter, or
other auctorytie, in this worlde/ than Chryste or his apostles wolde haue/ for they
in the fourme of seruauntes/ haue ben iudged by the seculare and worldly pryn-
ces/ But the successours of them, preestes and bysshoppes, not onely refuseth to
be subiectes to prynces contrarie to the example and precepte of Chryste and his
apostles/ but also they saye, that theym selues are aboue prynces and the hyghest
powers, in coactyue iurysdyccion/ and the prynces to be subiectes vnto them/ not
withstondyng that Chryste sayd in the. x. of Mathewe. And you shalbe ledde vnto
kynges & rulers for my sake/ & he dyd not say you shall be kyngs & rulers/ and
hit foloweth afterwarde/ in the same chapytre/ The discypple is not aboue his tea-
cher nor the bondeman aboue his lord. Therefore no preest or bysshop, in þe he is su-
che one, neyther may, neyther ought, to exercyse iudgemēt, domynyon, power, or
gouer

gouernaunce coactyue, in this world. And this also was euidently the mynde of Aristotle in the .liii. booke of his politykes, and the .xii. chapitre.

This may be proued also after this maner. For yf chryst had wyllid, the preestes of þe newe lawe, to be iudges by the auctoritie of þe same lawe, by iudgement coactyue of the thyrd sygnifycacyon þe is to wyt, by desynnyng a deternynnyng the contencionys and debatefull actes of men, in this world, by such maner sentence/doubtelesse he wolde haue gyuen suche specyall preceptes of such maner thynges, in this lawe/ lyke wyse as he dyd in the olde lawe to Moyses/ to whome god by his owne mouth or wordes and not by any man: ordayned and made gouernour and coactyue iudge of the Jewes/as it is red in the .vii. chapitre of the actes of the apostles/ for to which cause also/god gaue to hym a lawe, of thynges to be obserued, in the state of this presente lyfe, contaynyng specyally preceptes of such thynges, for the departynge and endynge of the contencions and stryfes amonge men, & beyng very moche lyke vnto the lawe of man as touchynge some parte of it. To the obseruynge and keepynge of whiche preceptes, men were compelled and constrayned in this worlde by Moyses & his substytutes coactyue iudges, with or by payne or punysshement/ but not by any preeste/as it appereth euidently in the .xviii. chapitre of Exodus. But chryste hathe not gyuen any suche preceptes in the lawe of the gospel/ but supposed them to be alreedy gyuen, or that they shulde afterwarde be gyuen, in the lawes of men/ whiche lawes he comaunded to be obserued, and also the gouernours accordynge to those lawes to be obeyed of euery soule, at the lest wyse in those thynges, whiche shuld not be contrary to the lawe of eueraastyng helthe. And therefore he sayth in the .xxii. of Matthew, and in the .vi. of Marke. Gyue you to Cysare those thynges, that belonge to Cysare/ vnderstandynge by Cysare: any maner pryncce or gouernour. So also the apostle in the .viii. to the Romaynes saythe (for it greueth me not to reherse it agayne) Let euery soule be subiecte to the hygher powres. So also in the last chapitre of the fyrste epystle to Timothe, he byddeth the seruauntes to be obedyent to theyr lordes, yf theyng they be in fydeles. And the glose also in the same place after the mynde of Augustyne, agreeth with the same/ whiche we haue brought in afore in þe .viii. parte of the .v. chapitre of this dyccyon/ of all which auctorities it appereth euidently, that it was the intencion and mynde of chryste, and of the apostle and of sayntes: that al men ought to be subiecte and obedyent to the lawes of men/ and to those that be iudges accordynge to the same lawes.

Moreouer of these aforesayd thynges it is euident: that chrysten men are not bounde to obserue and kepe all thynges, whiche in the olde lawe or testament were counsayled or comaunded to the people of the Jewes to be kepte. But the obseruacyon of certayne thynges whiche comaunded to the Jewes/ is vtterly forbydden chrysten men (as for example the seremonyes) vnder payne of eternall perdyccyon/ as the apostle teacheth in the .iii. and .vii. chapytres to the Romaynes/ in the seconde and .v. to the Galathians, and in the seconde to the Ephesynes/ and in the .vii. and .x. chapitres to the Hebrues. To whose mynde saynt Jerome & saynt Augustyne agreynge, say in theyr epystles sent from the one of them to the other the .vi. and the .xiii. concordynge eche with other/ that the obseruers of suche seremonyes, outhet truly or saynedly, after the publysshynge of the lawe of the gospel, shal be cast downe in to þe doggyon of þe deupl. Lyke wyse also, chrysten men are not bounde to þe obseruacyon of þe legales as it appereth by þe apostle & also by Augustyne vpon þe sayeng aforesayd in the last chapitre to Timothe whan he sayd/ let not chrysten seruauntes requyre (þe is they can not requyre) that whiche is sayde of the

Chryste wolde not þe preestes of the newe lawe to be coactyue powre

Not all þe preceptes of þe olde lawe are to be obserued.

Augustyne.

THE DEFENCE

Pea and to be
punysshed in
this worlde by
the prynce.

The lawe of
the gospell to
suffycient is
the lyfe euer-
lastynge.

of the Hebrewes. &c. for asmoche than, as there is not in the lawe of grace any preceptes specially gyuen for the contencionys & debatefull actes of men in this worlde to be determyned and ended / it is left, that such thynges ought to be determyned by the lawes of men, and by the iudges accordynge to those lawes, haupnge auctoritie of the humayne lawe maker or prynce. There were also certayne other thynges in the lawe of Moyses comaunded to be obserued for the state of this worlde to come, as the preceptes of the sacryfices, or of certayne hostes, or oblacys to be made, for the redempcyon of synnes / namely of the pryncypall synnes / whiche are comaunded by the inward actes or iudgement / to the accomplisshynge of which preceptes / no man was compelled or constrained by payne or punysshement of this present worlde / & very lyke vnto these, are al the counseyles preceptes of the newe lawe / because chryste neyther wolde, neyther comaunded any man to be compelled to the obseruacyon of them, in this worlde. Albeit, that he dothe comaunde by a generall comaundement, that the ordynaunces of mennes lawes, shulde be obserued / but yet vnder payne or punysshement to be done vnto the transgressours in any other worlde by hym / wherfore the transgressours or breaker of mennes lawe in a maner for the most parte / trespasseth agaynst the lawe of god, but no contrary wyse. For there be many actes, in which he that doth them, or leueth them vndone trespasseth agaynst the lawe of god, whiche comaundeth suche thynges / wherof to gyue comaundement in the lawes of men, it were in vayne / as the dedes, whiche we haue called inward actes, neuer brastyng forth / whiche can not be proued to be in any man or not to be in hym; and yet they can not be hyd or vnknewen to god / and therfore the lawe of god was conueniently gyuen of suche thynges duely to be done or to be left vndone / for the more goodnes of men, both in this presente worlde and also in the worlde to come. ¶ But peraduenture some man wyll reken imperfeccon in the doctryne of the gospell / yf by it (as we haue sayde) the contencionys or debatefull actes of men can not be suffyciently ruled, for the state and in the state of this present lyfe. But let vs saye, by the doctryne of the gospell we are suffyciently dyrected in the thynges to be done, and in the thynges to be auoyded and eschewed in this present lyfe, and that for the state of the worlde to come eyther to the gettyng of euerlastynge lyfe, or to the auoydynge or escapynge of euerlastynge punysshement / for the whiche endes and purposes the scripture was made / and not for the worldly reducyng of the contentious dedes of men, vnto equalitye, or to some comensuracyon, concernynge the state or suffycientie of this present lyfe. For chryste came not in to this worlde, to rule or strayghten suche maner dedes, for this present lyfe, but onely for the lyfe to come. And therfore the rule of temporall and worldly actes of men, ben sondry maners and dyuerse facions dyrectynge vnto these endes. For the one, that is to saye the lawe of god / teacheth that in no wyse we ought to stryue, or go to law, or to aske our owne agayne afore a iudge / albeit it doth not forbyd this. And therfore it gyueth no specyall preceptes of suche thynges, as we haue sayd afore. But the other rule of these actes or dedes, that is to wote the lawe of man / teacheth these thynges & comaundeth transgressours to be punysshed: wherfore in the .xii. of Luke whan a certayne man despyed of chryste worldly or temporall iudgement betwene hym & his brother: Chryst made answer. Thou man who hath ordayned me iudge or deuyder betwene you. &c. As yf he had sayde, I am not come to exerceise such temporall iudgement / wherfore the glose there sayth / he dothe not vouchesawe to be iudge of sutes or stryffes in the lawe, nor to be iudge or vmpere of worldly goodes and substaunces, whiche hath the iudgement bothe of quicke and deed, and the arbitrement of them all. Therfore the actes or dedes of men coulde not be suffyciently

measured or ruled by the lawe of god, or by the euangelicall lawe, for the ende of this presente worlde. And in dede the comensuratyue rules of suche dedes, to the proporcyon which men lawfully desyre for the state of this present lyfe, ben taught in the same lawe. But supposed eyther gyuen or elles to be gyuen, and taughte of the lawes of men, without the which also for defaulte & lacke of iustice, it myght channce throughe the occasyon and contencyon of men fyghtynge, and seperacyon, and departynge of them, and the insuffyciencie of mannes lyfe in this world which thynge in a maner all men hate and auorde naturallly. It can not be sayd therefore accordynge to trouthe: that the lawe or doctryne of the gospel is vnperfyte. For it is not ordayned & apte to haue the perfeccyon, of worldly maters. But it was made and gyuen, that by it imediatly we shulde be dyrected, cōcernynge those thynges, and in those thynges which belonge to the obtaynyng or gettingynge of euerlastynge saluacyon, and to the auoydynge of euerlastynge mysery: in which thynges: it is very suffycient and perfyte, for it was not made to the detemynynge of cruyle contencyous busynes or maters, appertaynyng to the ende which men desyre, and lawfully in this worldly lyfe: & truly yf it shulde be called vnperfyte therefore: it myght be called as conueniently vnperfyte, for that by it we are not taughte to hele bodely dyseases: or to measure quantyties or to sayle in the occyan see: howbeit this maye be graunted safely, that it is not utterly perfyte, for so there is no thyng perfyte: but onely one: that is to wytte, god. And to this sentence, as beyng vndoubtedly true: the glose after the mynde of Gregory beareth wytnesse, vpon the sytte chapptre of the fyrste epytyle to the Corinthyans, where he saythe. I say it to your rebuke and shame. They (sayth Gregory) shulde exampne/erthly causes: which haue gotten wysdome of exteryour thynges: but those which are endewed with spyrityuall gyftes: ought not to be wrapped or entangled with erthlye busynesse. Nowe yf he had vnderstande by the wysdome of exteryour thynges, and of erthly causes or contencyons the holy scripture: he wolde not haue sayde afterwarde: but they which are induced with spyrityuall gyftes, that is to saye with holy scripture: ought not to be entangled with erthlye busynesses/neyther wolde haue seperated suche persones, accordynge to this doctryne/one of them from the other. Moreover, because the apostle & also the sayntes after one exposycyon, had afore called them, which had suche knowlege and wysdome: that is to wytte of exteryoure thynges/contempryble persones in the churche/which thyng neyther the apostle, neyther yet the sayntes expoundynge his wordes, meaned or thought of them: that were lerned in the holy scripture. Thus than, how many and what maner legale actes of men there be/ by what lawes also and iudges/ howe, and whan, and by whome, they are to be ruled, made strayghte, and amended. I suppose we haue shewed suffyciently, to the intencion purposed of vs.

Here ye se, & we lacke no necessary vnwritten vanyties, verities I wolde saye but the scripture is perfite & suffycient as the auctore affyrmech.

Onely god is perfyte.

Gregory.

Of the coactyue iudge of heretykes, that is to wytte, to whome it appertayneth to iudge them in this world, to punyshe them by personall or reall punysshementes, & to whome or whole ble or behofe these ought to be applyed or put vnto.

The .x. chapptre.

THE DEFENCE



Of these thynges which we haue sayd, it is doubted not without a cause / for yf the instyccyon or exaccyon of real or personal paynes, by coactyue iudgement of all persons, that are to be coarted or punysshed in this present tyme, apperteyneth onely to hym that is heed gouernoure and pryncce, as it hath ben shewed here tofore / than it foloweth, that the coactyue iudgement of heretykes, or other wyse infydels / or scysmatykes, and the instyccyon, exaccyon, or ap-
 plicacyon, of real and personall punysshment: shall appertayne to suche pryncce and gouernour / whiche semeth and appereth to be a great inconuenient. For in
 asmoche as it appereth to belonge al vnto one, & to the same auctorite, to knowe
 to iudge, & to correcte the offence or trespasse: and it belongeth to the preeste or bys-
 shop, to dysserne the cryme of heresye, and to none other: it shall appere that both
 the counsaile, the coactyue iudgement, and the correccyon of this cryme, shall ap-
 pertayne or belonge to the preeft or bysshop alone. Moreover the iudgement of the
 trespasser, & the exaccyon of punysshment, semeth to appertayne to hym, agaynst
 whome or whose lawe / the trespasser hath offended / but that is onely the preefte
 or bysshop (for he is the mynyster and iudge of the lawe of god, agaynst whiche
 lawe pryncypally the heretyke, scysmatyke, or other wyse infydell, doth offende &
 trespasse, whether it be a company, or els a synguler persone) it foloweth therfore
 & this iudgement belongeth to the preefte, & in no wyse to the secular gouernour.

Obieccyons.

The preefte is
the mynyster
of goddes
lawes.

Answer to
the obieccyons
before propo-
ned.

We not here
so hasty & cap-
tious. as to
thynke & be-
cause of these
wordes thau-
toure wolde
haue no here-
sy punysshed
(as it may se-
me) but reade
a litle further
& se the conclu-
syon. how he
wolde haue it
punysshed by
comen law
& not by no
spyrituall
lawe or man.

Heretykes are
to be taughte
& exhorted by
the preefte.

And this appereth to be openly the mynde of saynt Ambrose in his fyrst epystle
to Valentinian the emperoure / and because it appereth and semeth that he meaneth
the same throughtout the hole processe of & same epystle. I haue lefte out his wor-
des here because of breuytie and shortnesse. ¶ But let vs saye that, that who so-
euer trespasseth or offendeth agaynst the lawe of god / is to be iudged, corrected, &
punysshed accordynge to the same lawe / but as to whyng to that lawe / there is
two maner of iudges. The one a iudge of the thyrd sygnifycacyon, hauynge co-
actyue powre to coarte the transgressours of this lawe, & to exacte punysshment
of them / and this is but onely one / that is to wyt, I hysse / as we haue shewed in
the chapytre afore gone by the auctorite of James in his.iiii. chapytre / whiche
iudge for all that, hath wylled and ordayned, that all the transgressours of this
lawe shalbe iudged by coactyue iudgement in the worlde to come / and to be coar-
ted with payne or punysshment onely in that worlde, and not in this / as it hath
suffyciently appered of & chapytre afore gone. But the other iudge as touchynge
to this lawe is the preefte or bysshop / not a iudge of the thyrd sygnifycacyon, so
that it belongeth not to hym to compell any transgressoure of this lawe in this
worlde, or to requyre or exacte any payne or punysshment vpon hym, by powre
coactyue, as it hath ben openly shewed in the.v. chapytre of this dyccyon and in
the last chapytre afore gone, by the auctorite of the apostle & of sayntes, & by the
inuyncible reason of them / yet that notwithstandinge, he is a iudge of the fyrst
sygnifycacyon, to whome it apperteyneth to teache, to exhort, to rebuke, and re-
proue synners or transgressours of the same lawe, & to put them in feare, or drede,
with the iudgement of eternall dāpnacion, & the instyccyon of euerlastynge payne
whiche shal be done to them by the coactyue iudge, that is to wyt I hysse, in the
worlde to come / as we haue declared in &.vi. &.vii. chapytres of this dyccyon, wher
in we treated of the powre of the keyes gyuen to preeftes / & also in the last chapy-
tre afore this wher we compared the preeftes whiche are the leches or physycions
of soules: vnto the bodely physycyons. as saynt Augustyne sayd by the auctory-
tie of & prophete & as the mayster of the sentence recytereth in the.iiii. booke of & sen-
tences in the.xviii. dystynccion & the.x. chapytre / for asmoche than as an heretyke
a scysmatyke,

a schismatyke, or any other infydell, who soener he be is the transgressour of the euangelicall lawe, yf he shall contynue in that cryme or offence, he shall be punysshed by that iudge to whome it belongeth to punyshe the transgressours of gods lawe, in that they are suche ones, whan he shall exerce his iudyciarie powre. And this iudge is onely chryst which shall iudge the quicke & the deed & those that shall dye, but yet in the worlde to come, and not in this (for of his great mercy he hath graunted to synners, that they maye repent or do penance, euen vntyll they last departynge or passage from this world / that is to wyte euen vntyl deeth. But by the other iudge, that is to wyte, the pastor or curate, bysshop or preefe / he is to be taughte and exhorted in this present worlde / and the synner is to be reproued & rebuked, and to be put in feare and drede with the iudgement of eternal gloire, or euerlastynge dampnacyon to come / but not to be compelled in any wyse / as it is euident of 3 chapptre last afore gone. But yf it shall be proshybed by the lawe of man that any heretyke or other wyse infydell shall contynue or abyde & remaine in any regyon: who soener shall be founde / in that regyon to be such one, that is to wyte an heretyke, or mysbeleuer, and so iustlye & manifestly proued, in that he is nowe a transgressour or breake of the lawe of man: he ought to be punysshed euen in this worlde, with payne or punysshement ordayned, & set in the same lawe, for suche transgressyon or offence / and that by suche iudge: whiche we haue shewed in the xv. chapptre of the fyrst dyccyon, to be 3 keeper or mayntener of the lawe of man, that is by the pryncce or his deputie. But yf it be not proshybed by the lawe of man, an heretyke or an other infydell, to dwell & abyde in the same prouynce, with chrysten men: lyke wyse as it hath ben permytted to heretykes, and to the sede of the Jewes nowe by the lawes of men, euen in the tymes of chrysten people, chrysten prynces, & chrysten bysshoppes: than I say it is not lawfull for any man to iudge any heretyke or other mysbeleuer or to compell hym by any payne or punysshement eyther reall or personall, for the state of this present tyme. And the cause generall hereof is: for that no man though he synneth neuer so greatly agaynst any maner dyscyplynes speculatyue or practyue, is punysshed or coarted in this worlde precysely in that he is suche one: but in that he synneth agaynst the comaundement of the lawe of man. For yf it were not proshybed by the lawe of man, to be drunken, to make or to sell noughtie leather or shoes, & that so yll wrought as any man may or wyllith, to practyse false phisyke, and falsly teache or to exerce other occupacions, euen as he lyst hym selfe: the dronkarde, or who soener dyd amysse in the other workes or occupacions, in no wyse should be punysshed. And therfore we ought to marke & to take hede, that in euery maner coactyue iudgement of this world, afore that sentence of delyueraunce, or of condempnacyon be pronounced, & gyuen forth: as cōcernynge the iust tryall of the truthe, certayne thyngs ar to be enquired in ordre. One is, whether the worde or the dede, wherof the persone is accused / be suche as it is sayde to be, And this is to knowe afore, what it is whiche is sayd to be cōmytted. The seconde thyng to be requyred is, whether it be proshybed by the lawe of man, suche thyng to be done. And the thyrde is whether the persone accused hath cōmytted that offence whiche is layde to his charge. Than after inquysycyon made of these thyngs / foloweth iudgement or sentence of cōdempnacyon agaynst the persone accused, or els of absolucion & delyueraunce / as for example. Let any man be accused for an heretyke, or els for a cōterfayter of golden vessells, or of any other metall. After that this persone so accused, be delyuered or dāpned by coactyue sentēce of 3 iudge it ought fyrst to be inquyred whether the worde or the dede layde to his charge, be heretycall or elles not. Secōdaryly it ought to be serched out, whether to save any

When heretykes are to be punysshed, & by whome

Of a certayne orde and dede pcesse to be obserued in 3 bulkyng forth of all treuth.

Howe heretykes are to be examyned & iudged.

THE DEFENCE

By lepre he
resy is sygnify-
fyed.

Nota.

What maner
men bysshops
pes ought to
be.

Wytnesses.

Fornycacion

thyng in such wyse: be forbydden by the lawe of man. Thyrde whether such cry-
me or offence hath ben comytted by hym whiche is accused therof. Than laste of
all after these inquisycions duely made foloweth iudgement coactyue eyther of
absolucyon, or els of cōdempnacion. As concernynge the fyrst of these.iii. thyngs:
the gouernour or iudge ought to be certyfied by them whiche are lerned & skylled
in eche maner of science, to whome it belongeth to cōsydre the quidditie or nature
of & sayenge or dede, whiche is layde to the charge of the persone accused / for such
persons ar iudges of suche thyngs, in the fyrst sygnifycacion, as we haue sayd in
the secōde chapytre of this dyccion, & they are bounde to knowe & nature of suche
thyngs: to whome the auctoritie is gyuen by the pryncce or gouernour, to teache,
or to practyse, & to worke such thyngs, in the cytie or cōmunytie (whiche auctoritie
gyuen by the gouernour we are wonte to call in the lyberall sciences: a science) &
it is after lyke maner in all other artes practyue or mechanikall, as it hath ben
shewed & declared in the. xv. chapytre of the fyrst dyccion. For a physycyon ought
to knowe those, that be full of lepre concernynge the body: & those & be not. So
also the preeft ought to discern & knowe, which sayeng or doctryne is hereticall:
& which catholyke. So also & goldfynner or goldsmith ought to dyscerne & know
one metal from an other / & so the lawyer ought to iudge betwene thyngs borow-
ed, or layde to kepe / and other lyke cyuple actes. For the pryncce or gouernour, in
that he is gouernour, is not bounde to knowe such thyngs. Albeit after yf the lawe
be perfyte he ought to be sertyfyed of the nature of wordes, or sayenges, of workes
and dedes, by the teachers, workers & practysers of sciences & artes. Than to the
questyon purposed & moued in the begynnynge of this chapytre: I do saye / that
any maner teacher of the dyuine scripures, whiche is or ought to be euery preeft
may & ought to iudge / by iudgemēt of the fyrst sygnifycacion, whether & cryme
wherof any persone is accused, by heresye or not. wherfore it is sayde in the secōde
of Malachie the prophete. The lypes of the preeft kepe knowledg, & men shall
requyre the lawe (that is to wyte the lawe of god) of his mouthe / for suche maner
men, ought the successours of the apostles preefts or bysshops for to be, to whome
it was sayde of chryste in the. xvi. chapytre of Mathewe. So you therfore and
teache you all nacys. &c. teachynge them to kepe al thyngs, what soener I haue
gyuen to you in cōmaundement. So also it is wyten in the. iii. chapytre of the
fyrst epystle to Timothe amonge other thynges he ought to be apte to teache / un-
derstāde thou, the lawe of god. So also in the fyrst chapytre to Titus he saythe a
bysshop ought to embrace & cleue fast to that saythfull & true speche: whiche is ac-
cordinge to doctryne, that he maye be able to exhorte in holy doctryne, & to con-
uynce & reprove them, whiche gaynsaye it. For there ben many deceyuers / whiche
are to be reprovied & conuynced. But the secōde thyng / that is to wyte, whether
suche trespassse be prosybyted by the lawe or not / the pryncce ought to knowe. And
the thyrde thyng whiche he ought to knowe / is whether he, to whose charge that
cryme is layde, haue sayde or exerceysed the cryme of speakynge or doynge hereti-
cally. And this iudgement may be iudged by the exteryoure or interyo^r sciences or
wytttes, as well of vnlearned: as of learned men / whome we cal wytnesses or recor-
des. Than after these thyngs done, iudgement or sentence is to be gyuen by & go-
uernour, outher of cōdempnacion, or els of absolucyon or desyueraunce from payne
or punysshemēt / & eyther exaccion or relaxacion to be made of the same punysshē-
ment vnto hym, whiche was accused of such trespassse. For no man is punysshed
of the gouernour, for that that he doth offende or trespassse onely agaynst & lawe
of god. For there ar many deedly synnes, & agaynst the lawe of god, as the synne
of Fornycacion, whiche the humayne powre doth sometyme wyttynglye pmyt
(as in

(as in that case where no lawe is ordayned for such enormities) neyther any byshop or preeſte dothe proſcribte, neyther maye or ought to proſcribte by coactyue powre. But the heretyke which treſpaſſeth agaynſt & lawe of god, yf ſuch ſynne be alſo proſcribted by the lawe of man: is punyſſhed, in that he dothe offende and treſpaſſe agaynſt the lawe of man / for this is the preeſe and the very pynnyſſall cauſe / wherefore any man is punyſſhed by payne or punyſſement of this preſent worlde. And where the cauſe is preſent: there the effecte of that cauſe muſte nedes folowe / and where the cauſe is aſſent: there & effecte muſt nedely be away. Lyke wyſe on the contrary ſyde, he that treſpaſſeth agaynſt the lawe of man, by any offence: ſhall be punyſſhed in an other world / but yet not for that that he doth offende agaynſt the lawe of man onely. For there are many thyngs proſcribted by the lawe of man: which are permytted by the lawe of god / as yf a man do not pay home that he hath borrowed, at the tyme ſet, & appoynted, eyther through lacke of habyltye, or by & reaſon of any fortune or chaunce, or of forgetfulnes, or of ſycke neſſe or through any other impedymment or ſettyng, he ſhall not be punyſſhed for this in an other world: by the coactyue iudge, accordynge to the lawe of god / and yet that notwithſtandynge, he is ryghtuouſly punyſſhed in this worlde / by the coactyue iudge, accordynge to & lawe of man. And therefore to treſpaſſe or offende agaynſt the lawe of god: is the very pynnyſſall cauſe & the neceſſary cauſe, wherefore one ſhall be punyſſhed in an other worlde / for where this cauſe is: there neceſſaryly foloweth the effecte, that is to wote payne or punyſſement for the ſtate & in the ſtate of the worlde to come / and where this cauſe fayleth: there fayleth alſo the ſayd effecte.

¶ Therefore the iudgement of coactynge or exactynge of temporall payne or punyſſement vpon heretykes, ſcylmatykes, or any other myſbelouers who ſoeuer they be / and the powre therof belongeth onely to hym that is gouernour, and not to any preeſte or byſſhop for that they offende or treſpaſſe agaynſt goddes lawe / which compared vnto men in the ſtate and for the ſtate of this preſent lyfe: is a lawe / but not after & laſt ſygnifycation of this worde hauynge coactyue powre of any man in this worlde (as it appereth by the chapytre laſt afore gone, and by the .v. chapytre of this dyccion) but it is called a lawe after the thyrde ſygnifycation of this worde / as it appereth in the .v. chapytre of the fyrſt dyccion. Accordynge to which lawe, preeſts euen in this worlde are iudges / after the fyrſte ſygnifycation of this worde iudge or iudgement / hauynge no coactyue powre, as it hath ben ſhewed in the .v. chapytre of this dyccion, & in the chapytre laſte afore gone, by the auctoritie of the apoſtle, of Ambroſe, Hilarie, and Criſoſtome / for yf they were coactyue iudges or gouernours ouer heretykes, becauſe ſuch do treſpaſſe agaynſt the diſcipline / whereof they be teachers and workers, teachynge many thynges to other men accordynge to the ſame diſcipline, than by the ſame reaſon the goldeſmyth or the goldeſmyth ſhulde be coactyue iudge & gouernour, ouer hym, that is a falſe counterfeit of golden cuppes, which is agaynſt reaſon greatly. By the ſame reaſon alſo, the phyſician myght punyſſe them, that worke not aright accordynge to the arte and ſcience of phyſicke. And than ſhuld there be as many gouernours coactyue as there ben offyces or occupacions in a cytie, agaynſt the which it myght chaunce any man to treſpaſſe or offende / which thyng we haue ſhewed to be impoſſible & ſuperfluous, in the .vii. chapytre of the fyrſt dyccion / for thoſe that treſpaſſe or offende agaynſt the offyces, occupacions & craft in the cytie / ſhulde not be coerced or punyſſed / unleſſe there be ſomwhat elles comynge betwene, as for example the preeſe of the humayne lawe, made by the auctoritie of the pynce, for yf ſuch maner offences were not proſcribted by the

Why heretykes ben punyſſed
As where the crime brogeth forth.

That is to ſaye, he ſhall not be punyſſed in an other worlde for breakynge of his daye of paymet, ſo he paye after wardes, be it in caſe, & he myght not kepe his daye

who ought to iudge of heretykes and vnder what manner.

THE DEFENCE

lawe of man, they that do comytte such offences ought not in any wyse to be punysshed. This & we haue sayd: may be proued & declared by a samylyare exaple / for I put the case that it were forbydden by the lawe of man that persons infecte with leprye, shulde dwell or abyde amonge other cytezens / myght the physycion or leche (whiche alone can iudge theyr sykenesse accordyng to his facultie & scyence that is to wytte, whether they be full of leprye or not) by coactyue powre & of his owne auctoritie, because he is a doctour of physyke dryue them, whome he shall iudge by iudgemēt of the fyrst sygnifycation to be full of leprye: from the felowes, shyp & company of other men. &c. It is euident & vndoubted, that he myght not do so. But to do this thyngge belongeth onely to hym, to whome the custome of the humayne lawe coactyue is comytted / that is to wytt to the gouernour / for it is not lawfull for the people or for any company pryuate, to iudge, or to coarte, or punyssh any man: but onely to the cheyfe gouernour / whiche gouernour for al this concernynge the crymes, or trespasses & offences, wherof any man is accused: and concernynge the nature of the same, accordyng to the determynacion of the lawe, yf it speake of this thyngge (whiche doubtlesse it shal do yf it be a perfyte lawe) or els by his owne wysdome, yf it be not spoken but lefte out in the lawe: ought to vse & to gyue credence to the iudgement of the lerned men, & suche as be well skylled in the artes or scyences, whiche treat of the nature of suche workes, dedes, or wordes / as to the iudgement of a physycion concernynge the persons whiche be full of leprye or whiche be not so / & to the iudgemēt of a dryuyn of synners / whiche are fygyred or sygnifyed by leprouse persons in the holy scripture after the expoycion of sayntes. Lykewyse also he ought to beleue & iudgemēt of the goldsmiths concernynge the deceptfull counterfaytynge of golden cuppes, or of other metall, & semblably to any other maner lerned or conynge man, after the other kyndes of thynges, that maye be done or wrought. So than the physycion of soules, & is to wytt the preeft: ought to iudge of heretykes or infydels, by iudgement of the fyrste sygnifycation, that is to wytt in pronoucyng, & declaryng by the worde of god whiche sayenge or whiche dede is heretycall, & whiche not. But to iudge of suche persones by iudgement of the thyrd sygnifycation, that is by dāpnynge or absoluyng them from temporall payne or punysshement, or to copeell them whiche shall be dampned, suffre such payne or punysshement: & to applye the paynes exacted for these crymes, yf there be reall, as well as other paynes whiche are exacted & requyred for other crymes, & offences, accordyng to the determynacyon of the lawe of man. All these thynges (I say) belonge onely to the pryncce & gouernour or his deputie. And to these thynges whiche we haue sayde: the scripture beareth wytnesse. in the .xxv. chappytre of the actes of the apostles. For whan the apostle was accused of the Jewes for an heretyke, though he falsely & wrongfully: the inquisycion, deduccion, applicacion, & determynacyon of this cause, was made afore a iudge, to a iudge, & by a iudge / therunto ordayned & apoynted, by the auctoritie of the gouernour. Lykewyse as to other cōtenciōs or cōnyle actes or dedes. And it is no mastery, to assayle the reasons or obieccyons made cōtrary to these determynacyons / for whan it was sayde, that the iudgement of the heretyke belongeth vnto hym as iudge, to whome it belongeth to knowe the cryme of heresy: here is a dystynccyon to be made, because of the equiuocacyon or manyfolde sygnifycation of this worde iudge or iudgement / & after one sygnifycation of these wordes that is to wytt: the fyrst: & pposycion aforesayd is true / & after an other sygnifycation of this word iudgemēt / & is to wytt the thyrd, & sayd pposycion is false. And therefore nothyngge can be cōcluded agaynst our determynacion of this pposycion afore alledged. And to the other obieccyon whiche foloweth, that to hym belongeth

Synners are
fygyred by
the lepres

Answers to
obieccyons
made before.

Belongeth the iudgement / of the trespasser, & the exaction of the payne, & the application of the same, yf he be real, agaynst whome & whose lawe, the trespasser doth offende. And than when it is sayde afterwarde / & the heretyke trespasseth & offendeth agaynst the lawe of god: it is to be graunted / & therfore he shal be iudged by hym, that is iudge of the thyrd sygnification accordyng to that lawe / that is to wote by chryst in an other worlde / but not in this excepte it be by mannes lawe. But neyther preeft neyther any bysshop is suche a maner iudge of the lawe of god: but onely a iudge in the fyrst sygnification, for that he is a teacher therof / namely yf this lawe be compared to men in the state and for the state of this present lyfe. Agayne the fyrst proposicion of this syllogysme supposed to be true / after the sence which we haue sayd, that is to wote, & the iudgement of the transgressor / apperteyneth to hym as to a coactyue iudge, agaynst whome or agaynst the lawe wherof he is keeper / the transgressor doth offende (the lawe I meane of the last sygnification onely) than let vs adde therunto this seconde proposicion beinge very true / that the heretyke trespasseth onely agaynst the secular iudge, takinge this worde in his thyrd sygnification, & agaynst the lawe wherof he is keeper, takinge this worde lawe in the last & his propre sygnification, that is to wote coactyue onely, and not agaynst any other coactyue lawe or iudge in this worlde / And than let vs therfore conclude that the heretyke is to be iudged by such iudge, with coactyue iudgement in this worlde (the maker of this lawe so ordainyng) & payne or punysshment to be exacted of the same transgressor also by the same iudge / which payne yf it be real, is to be applyed by the same iudge, to hym, to whome the tēporal law hath ordayned & appoynted it to be applyed. Or elles we must make a dystynction of the fyrst proposicion, accordyng to the equocation of the word made in the paralogysme or deceyptfull reason last afore this. So then it can not be inferred or concluded thus of necessity / some man is to be cōdemned or iudged as an heretyke in this worlde & for this worlde, by coactyue iudgement, really, or psonally or both wayes: ergo he is to be iudged by some preeft or bysshop / excepte peradventure it be by iudgement of the fyrst sygnification / neyther it also followeth therfore, ergo the carnal or tēporal good which be exacted of the heretyke cōdemned, as punysshment or parte of the punysshment of his offence: ought to be applyed to any bysshop or preeft, lykewyse as it doth not also followe. This man is to be iudged as a coulerfayter of money / ergo he is to be iudged by the coyner excepte it be peradventure by iudgement of the fyrst sygnification, & not of the thyrd that is to wote by coactyue iudgement. Neyther it followeth also, that the tēporall goodes, whiche are exacted of hym as punysshment / ought to be applyed to the use & behoufe of the coyner, or to any company, or synguler persone of them / but he ought to be iudged with coactyue iudgement, by the gouernoure onely and the gooddes of hym to be applyed, accordyng to the determination of the humayne lawe. And to the obieccion grounded vpon the auctoritie of saynt Ambrose, it is to be answered & sayd that he vnderstode & meened, the heretyke, or the crime of heresye belongeth to the iudgement of preeft or bysshoppes / takinge this worde iudgement in his fyrst sygnification, & not in the thyrd / for neuer any bysshop or preeft vsed such maner iudgement coactyue, of his owne auctorite, aboute the state of the pryuate church / albeit afterwarde they proceeded vnto suche thyngs, by the occasion of certayne graunts made to them by prynces & gouernours / & therfore who so euer doth cōspire the very begynnynge of such thyngs: those thyngs which semen now by longe abusyon to be of strenght, & to haue the face & apparailce of ryght shal seme to hym but tryflynge phantasies & dreames / thus then, be it determined of the iudge & iudgement, & the coactyue powre ouer infydels & heretykes.

A preeft is a teacher & not a pryncce.

An heretyke is not to be cōdemned by a preeft.

Se these obieccions in the begynnynge of this chapytre.

THE DEFENCE

Of certayne sygnes, testymonyes, and examples, as well of the canonycall as of the secular scripture: by whiche it is shewed that to be true which hath ben determyned in p. iiii. the. v. the. viii. p. ix. & p. x. chapptres, of this dyccyon concernynge the state of bysshoppes & generally of preestes, and why, & wherfore chryste hath seperated the state of them / that is to wyt, the state of pouertie / from the state of prynces or gouernours.

The. xi. chapptre.

IN asmoch as it hath ben shewed of vs in the chapptres afore gone, as well by the auctorities of the holy scripture, as by other certayne euident polytypicall or cyuile argumentes, that to no bysshop, or preeft or any other clarke, belongeth any iurysdyccyon coactyue of any person in this worlde. Nowe we wyll declare the same by manifest sygnes & also testymonyes of whiche sygnes this is one & that euident, for that we do not rede, neyther of chryste, nor any of his apostles, dyd euer, or in any place, instytute any iudge or deputye in theyr stede, for to vse such maner domynion or to execute such maner iudgement: albeit that it semeth lyke to be true, that both he & his apostles neyther were ignoraunte, neyther dyd lytle regarde this whiche is so necessary, a thyng in the societie & copanyng of men one with an other in this worldly lyfe yf they had knowen this thyng to haue ben appertaynyng to theyr offyce, & yf they had ben wyllynge, that it shulde belonge to theyr successours, that is to wyt bysshoppes or preefts: they wold haue gyuen some precepte or els at the leaste some counsaile, concernynge the same / but as touchinge the instytutyng or makynge of spirituall mynystres, bysshops preefts & deacons: they shewed & taught the forme & maner, howe it shuld be done. And this thyng is knowen suffyciently, to appertayne vnto theyr offyce: by the sayenge of saynt Paule. in the thyrde chapptre of the fyrst epystle to Timothee & in the fyrst chapptre to Titus & it appereth also euidently in very many other places of the scripture. And chryst hath seperated & departed the offyce of preefts or bysshops, from the offyce of prynces & gouernours where as yf he had lyst, he myght haue exercysed the estate of a pryncce, & the offyce of a preefte both togyther / & haue ordayned his apostles lyke wyse to haue done the same. But he wolde not so do / but rather as a thyng more conuenient, he (as he hath ordayned al thyngs in the best wyse & myght be) wolde the these offyces shuld be of sondry maners & facyons / & also to be executed of sondry maner persons / for asmoch as he was come to teach humblenes & despyssynge of this world, as beynge the way wherby we myght obtayne euerlastynge helth. To the entent therfore that he myght teache humylyte & the despyssynge of the worlde or of temporal thyngs by his example, before that he taught it by his doctryne: he came in to this world in the most lowe & humble maner to the utter refusynge of such temporal thyngs / & that because he knewe, that men be nothyng lesse, but moche more taughte by worke or ensample, then by wordes or preachynge / wherfore Seneca sayth in his. ix. epystle. Loke (sayth he) what ought to be done: & that is to be lerned of the doer. Chryste then wolde be borne in most lowe & vyle maner & pouertie & in the greatest despyssynge of the world for to teache vs a practyse of the same thyngs by example. wherfore it is red in the seconde chapptre of Luke, that the blyssed vyrgyn his mother, wrapped hym in course clothes / and that she layde hym downe in a manger. Beholde here, that he was poorely borne in an other mannes house, beholde that he

Chryste was the teacher of humblenes & pouertie.

that he was layde downe in a matonger or cratche, which was a place for beasts to be fed in. And it is lyke to be true, & he was wrapped in clout; borrowd of an other body because Joseph & the blyssed virgyn were straungers, & pylgrymes or passengers in & place / & he whiche was thus borne in pouertie lyued also in pouertie, when he was growen in age / wherfore speakynge of his owne pouerte in the viii. of Mathewe, & in the. ix. of Luke: he sayde. The foxes haue dennes / & the byrdes of the ayre haue nest; but the sone of man hath no place, where he maye laye downe his heed. And this state (as beyng the state of pfeccion) after al other preceptes & counsailes duely & accordyngly obserued & fulfilled: he taught them, to electe & chose those, whiche be in wyll & mynde, to be his dyscyples & cheyfe folowers / & namely his successours in & same offyce, which for the exercysynge wherof, he came in to this worlde / wherfore in the. xix. of Mathewe, & in the. v. of Marke & in the. xviii. of Luke, when a certayne man demaunded a questyon of hym, sayenge in this wyse. Good maystre, what thyng shal I do, to obtayne & get euerlastynge lyfe? Ihesus answered to hym & sayd, knowest thou the comaundemēt? Thou shalte not kyll, thou shalte do no thefte. &c. he sayde agayne I haue obserued & kepte all these, from my youth / when Ihesus had herde & he sayde to hym / yet thou lackest one thyng / or as it is red in Mathewe / yf thou wylte be perfecte go & sell all that thou hast, & gyue it to poore folkes / & thou shalt haue a treasure in heuen. Agayne in the. xiiii. of the same Luke: he sayde to his dysciples / who so euer of you dothe not renounce al thyngs, which he possesseth: he can not be my dysciple. So here, & the state of pouertie, & despyssynge of & world, becometh euery perfecte man / namely the dysciple of chryst, & his successour in & pastoral offyce / yea moreouer, this state is in a maner necessary to hym, that ought to counsaile & exhorte other vnto the despyssynge of & world / yf he do intende & purpose, & any profyte or good shal growe of his teachynge or preachynge / for yf suche maner pson doth possesse ryches & despyrth domynyōs & soueraynneties, which teacheth other men, vnto whome he speaketh, to despyse these thyngs / that persone verely by his owne workynge & doynge doth manifestly reprove & rebuke his owne preachynge & wordes / wherfore Chrysostome, agaynst suche preachers, in his booke of the compunccion of herte / sayth in this wyse. To say, & not to do : is not onely no suete or aduantage, but also very moche losse & hynderaunce / for verely it is a great cōdēpnacion, to hym that ordereth wel & trimeth his speache / but regardeth nothyng his maner of lyuynge. This same also is & mynde of Aristotle, in the fyrst thapitre of the. p. booke of his etykes / where he sayth thus. For when the wordes be dyscrepynge from & workes of hym & speaketh, whiche workes be sene & perceyved by other bodely senses / the sayd workes destroye the trouthe / & he whiche ordereth and trimeth his wordes so well, can not be beleued. And he sayth a lytle after, & wordes, which be agreynge vnto the workes or dedes, shal be beleued / and therefore chryst whiche knewe, howe all thyngs were to be done most cōueniently, wyllynge credence to be gyuen vnto his wordes, wherby he taught the cōtempte of the world, & the despyssynge & eschewynge of worldly vanyties & carnall pleasures, he counsayled & the workes shulde be cōformable to the wordes or doctryne / wherfore in the. v. of Mathewe he sayth to all, that shulde afterwarde be doctours & teachers of such thyngs, in the persone of the apostles / let your lyght, & is to wyte your doctryne, whiche is cōpared to lyghte / so shyne before men, & they maye se your good workes, where the glose sayth these wordes. I requyre workes & they may be sene / & so by the reason of them, that your doctryne may be confirmed & establisshed, for els lytle credence is gyuen to the wordes & doctryne / where the workes be not sene / wherfore & glose vpon that texte in the. p. of Mathewe, do not you possesse golde

what bishoppes ought to chose.

Chrysostome

workes be requyred in a preeffe.

THE DEFENCE

The euyl
lyfe of bys-
shoppes.

Note this
well.

The preeftes
don robbe the
poore people.

That preefte
do waste vni-
thriftely the
goodes of
poore men.

Of benefyc-
euyl & vnhap-
pely bestow-
ed by the clark-
gy
Symon Ma-
gus.

nor syluer. &c. shewynge & cause hereof: sayth in this wyse / yf they had these thyn-
ges, that is to wyt golde & syluer. &c. they myght seme, to preache, not because of
soule helthe: but for cause of lucre & aduantage / for the teachers or pastours of o-
ther men possessynge suche thynge: do rather destroy the fayth & deuocyon of men,
with theyr cōtrary workes & exāples: then strength & establishe them with theyr
wordes & doctryne & that because they do set theyr owne workes & dedes many-
festly agaynst theyr owne teachynge / of which workes men take hede, rather then
of the wordes / & it is greatly to be feared, least at the last throughe the lewde exā-
ples of theyr workes / they do brynge the chrysten people, to the desperacyon of the
world to come. For such be the exāples & workes in a maner of all the mynysters
of the churche, bothe of bysshoppes or preefts, & of other clarkes, cōsequently & moste
euydently of them which sytteth vpon the greatest trones or chayers of the churche
that is to say, which be in most hyghe robes & auctoritie: that they do seme no
thynge at all to beleue, that there shall be any iudgement of god done in any other
worlde / for let them tel (I beseeche them) with what cōscyence towarde god, & yf
they do beleue, that there shall be made a ryght wyse iudgemēt of god in the worlde
to come: done by most parte of the popes of Rome, & theyr cardynalles, with other
preefts or bysshoppes (which be made ouerseers, & put in truste, to take charge of
soules, & to dystribute the tēporallies of the churche, to poore folke) & also in a ma-
ner all other deacons & clarkes of euery sorte, accordynge to theyr powre, why do
they I say of the thefte or robbery of suche tēporall goodes (which haue ben orday-
ned & bequest by deuoute chrysten men, for the sustētacion of the preachers of god-
des worde & of theyr poore folke) eyther despyer whyles they be lyuynge, or els be-
queth when they be dyenge, as great sūmes of money as they may, not to the poore
and neddy people: but to theyr nere kynnsfolke or to other who soeuer they be, rob-
bynge (wherof no man doubteth) the poore men of the same goodes. Let them tell
also, I requyre them, with what cōscyence accordynge to the chrysten relygyon,
do they lyuynge tēporally & after a carnal facyon (which for theyr mynystrynge
of the gospell, ought to be cōtented with meate, & drynke, & clothes, to couer them
with all, after the mynde of the apostle in the last chapytre of the fyrste epystle to
Timothe) cōsume & waste the goodes apperteynyng to the poore people in so ma-
ny superfluous & vnnecessary thynge, as horses, seruaūtes, feastes, & banketts &
other vanytes & pleasures / both open & secrete. As for the great incōuenyences &
enormytes, which be done, cōcernynge the dystribucyon of ecclesiastical offyces
& benefycs: I passe ouer here. For very many of those offycs eyther for moch pray-
er & intreaty, or for to obtayne the fauour of seculer men beyng ryche or of great
powre / or for money which is offred (yf it be lausfull to speake it) to the dystribu-
ters selues or elles to the mynystres of Symon & Magus, for to be intercessours &
brokers / ar gyuen to ignoraunte, to sclaunderfull persones / to chyldren / to straū-
gers vnkowen, to hateful / & to euydently vnserued persons after the iudgemēt
of the whole cōmen people. Albeit yet, by the apostle in the thyrde chapytre of the
fyrst epystle to Timothe, dothe teache that the ecclesiastical offycers ought to be
known, as honest & perfecte men both in lyfe or maners: & also in doctryne & ler-
nyng / wherfore he sayth in the place. He (which is to wyt, the bysshop or preefte) ought
to haue good reporte & testimony, euen of them: which be without the church / how
moche more then, of them which be within the church. And a lytle afterwarde
in the same chapytre he sayth. The deacons lyke wyse ought to be chaste / and let
these also be proued and tryed fyrst / and afterwarde let them so mynystre that no
man may accuse them / But here some may say cōueniently, that the most parte
of them be well proued as the world knoweth: that is to wyt, howe moch money
they

they be able to gyue / or howe great intreatige or prayer they be able to make / but because we wyl not take in hande, to nombr or reken vp pertyculerly all the inconueniences (which to do, is in a maner impossyble or very harde) we makynge as it were a generall summe of the actes & workes of preefts, deacons, & well nyght al other mynystrs of the temple: do wytnes here before chryst, callynge vpon our selues his iudgement & condempnacyn, yf we do make any lye, & the aforesayd bysshoppes, & all other welnere which be now a dayes, do worke in a maner the contrary thynges to all those, whiche they do teache vnto other men, for to be obserued, accordynge to the doctryne of the gospel / for they be all togyther inflamed with the desyre of pleasures, of vanytyes / of temporall and transytory goodes / & of worldly domynions and dygnytes / and with all labour and enforcemēt, not by ryght, but by bothe pryuy and open wronge, they go aboute to purchase and gette suche thynges / and vyolently possesseth them / whiche thynges every one for all that, chryste and the apostles his trewe folowers, both dyd theyr selues despyse: & also taught & comaunded other to despyse them / namely & most of al those whiche ought to preache the despyssynge of worldly thynges vnto other men. For chryste, yf he had wolde, and yf he had sene & perceyued it to be expedient for the preacher: myght haue kepte the estate of a prynce or ruler in this worlde, and haue suffered passyon lyke wyse in the same state. But he fledde out of syghte in to the mountayne, to refuse and despyse suche maner state / and to teache, that it is to be despyssed / as we haue alledged here tofore in the .iiii. chapytre of this parte, of the .vi. of Iohn. For it is not semely nor accordynge for them, whiche teacheth & preache the despyssynge of suche maner state / to bere the same estate / but rather to beare the state of subiectes, and lowe or vyle persones / whiche maner state, bothe chryste hym selfe & also his apostles kepte, whyles they were in this world. Contrary wyse, the state of outwarde pouertie, and the lowe or vyle state / is not semely nor conuenient for a prynce or gouernour / for suche state is expedient for hym whiche state the good subiectes may haue in reuerence, and the euyl subiects may feare and drede / and by whiche estate also, yf nede shall requyre, he may be able to punyssh the rebellyons and transgressours of the lawes / whiche thyng he coulde not do conueniently, yf he had a poore and lowe state / for whiche cause, also the offyce of a preacher is not conuenient nor semely for hym. For yf he that is prynce and gouernour ouer the people, shulde counsaile and exhorte men to the state of pouertie, & to the humble and lowe state, and agayne, that yf a man be strycken on the one cheeke, that he shulde holde out the other cheeke to the stryker: & also that to hym whiche taketh away our cote, we ought to gyue also our gowne, rather then to go to the lawe, and stryue before a iudge, with hym that hath wronged vs. Men wolde not lyghely gyue credence to hym in suche thyngs / for in the state whiche is settyng and semely for hym, and whiche he dothe also beare / he shulde do clene contrary to his owne wordes and teachynge. And besydes this, he shulde also do unconueniently and unaccordynge / for in as moche as it apperteyneth to his offyce, to restrayne & hold vnder by punysshment, them & done iniury and wronge, yet albeit & they do not requyre it whiche haue suffred the iniury or wronge yf he shulde preache, & iniuries be to be forgyuen to & doers of them both he shulde gyue to the euyl men a certayne occasyon of more largely trespassynge or doyng euyl / & also to & psones offended, & whiche haue suffred iniury or wronge: he shulde gyue occasyon to doubte or to mystruste of obtaynige true iustice: for whiche cause chryste, whiche hath ordayned al thigs alwayes in & best wyse & maner: wold not & offycs of prynces or gouernours, & of preefts to be ioyned togyther in one pson / but rather to be deptyd & one from & other, & to be executed of dyuerse psons. And this

Note this. &
beare it well
awaye.

Preefts shuld
be & despisers
of worldly
thynges.

Pouertie is
not settyng
or semely for
a prynce / but
he must nedes
be of a ryght
hyghe estate,
poure, and
ryche.

THE DEFENCE

Bernarde.

this semeth to be expressely the mynde of saynt Barnarde in the .iiii. chapytre of his seconde booke, which he wrote to Eugenius the pope De consideratiōe/wher he sayth thus. Darest thou then whiche arte a lord:vsurpe and take vpon the, the offyce of an apostle? or thou whiche arte an apostolique persone:take vnto the do mynyon or lordshyppe? playnely thou arte forbydden from bothe/yf thou wylte haue bothe togpyther at one tyme:thou shalt lose bothe/for elles:do not suppose or reken that thou arte excepted from the nombre of them, of whome god complayneth in this wyse. They haue reygued:and not by me:they haue ben prynces and gouernours (I haue not knowen them. To these before reherfed thyngs, beareth

The donacyon of Constantin.

That coulde not the emperour do iustly

wytnesse the decrees or certayne hystories of the bysshoppes of Rome/for in them is founde wyrtyn a certayne donacion pryuylege (whiche is also approued and allowed of the same) of Constantyne the emperoure of the Romaynes, wherby he graunted to saynt Syluester (as men saye) Iurysdyccyon coactyue, and temporall domynyon or soueraygnete, ouer all churches, and al other preefts or bysshoppes of the worlde. And for asmoche as euery pope of Rome, and with hym also & other congregacyon or company of preefts or bysshoppes, do confesse and knowlege, that graunte to be of valure & strength:consequently they must also graunt, that the same Constantyne had fyrst this iurysdyccyon or powre vpon them. Namely seynge that no suche maner iurysdyccyon is knowen to belonge vnto them ouer any clarke or laye man, by the vertue of the wordes of holy scripture/& this

Barnarde.

How lyke ye Barnarde my lordes?

The pope is successoure to Constantyne & not to Peter.

is it, whiche saynt Barnarde sayth expressely to Eugenius, in the booke of consideracyon and the .iiii. chapytre/for there he sayth thus. This Peter is he whiche is not knowen to haue come forth at any tyme, cyther adourned with precyous stones/or sylke garmentes/nor couered with gold/nor carped on a whyte palfrey/nor haupnge a thycke garde of men of warre aboute hym. And though he had none of all these thynges:yet he belened, that he myght well ynoughe fulfyll that holysome charge whiche was gyuen to hym, yf thou doest loue me: fede my shepe/for in these seculer pompes and powres, thou arte the successour not of Peter:but of Constantyne. Thus then to conclude, the offyce of prynces or gouernours is none offyce semely nor mete for preefts, in that it is suche one/nor contrarywyse the offyce of a preefte semely for prynces. Of & dyfference of whiche let this whiche we haue reherfed, be suffycient at this tyme.

Of the dystynccion, of certayne wordes, very necessarye for the determynacyon of the questyons, aboute the state of most hygge and perfyte pouertie.

The .xij. chapytre.



We then after that we haue thus synngularely and specyally shewwed, that chryst & his apostles whyles they were cōuersaunte here in this worlde dyd teache and kepe the state of pouertie and humylyte, & that this also is to be holden as sure & vndoubted of chrysten men, that euery doctryne or counsaile of chryste and his apostles, is som what merytoryous of euerlastyng lyfe:it semeth conuenient to make inquiry of theyr pouertie, what maner one. and howe great it was/that they maye haue knowlege therof:whiche whyles they be here in this present lyfe, are mynded and wyllynge to folowe them in the same pouertie. Takynge therefore this inquiry in hande, we shall fyrste tell and declare, what pouerte is/and howe

How many maner wayes one maye be sayd to be poore/and also how many maner wayes one maye be sayde to be ryche/for these two, that is to wote to be ryche, and to be poore, seme to dyfferre the one from the other/somtyme as *Habitus* & *privatio*/that is to say as a qualyte dyffereth from the lacke of it selfe (as *lyght* dyffereth from darkenes, which is nothyng els but lacke or wante of *lyght*) and somtyme they seme to dyffe as contrary qualyties. That done: we shall deuyde eyther of these notones in to theyr sygnifycacions/and shal afterwarde put to, the descryptyons of the same/that it maye appere to vs, whether there be any poertie meritorious/and whether amonge the dyuerse maners of ponerte, there be any ordre of perfeccion of the one to the other/and which is the cheyfe & hyghest of all other maners of ponertie. And for asmoche as all men calleth them ryche, which haue lawfully or of *ryghte*, *powre*, *domynyon*, or possession of temporall thyngs (which they cal ryches) eyther severally or in comen, or both wayes: & they do call hym a poore man, which is without such maner goodes: least by reason of the dyuerse vse of certayne of the sayd notones, which we shall haue nede to vse to our purpose, the sentence, which we entende to declare, myght be ambygrouse and doubtfull: we shall fyrst shewe the dyuerse sygnifycacions or maners wher in the sayd wordes may be taken. And the notones or names wherof we do meane, be these. *Jus*, *dominium*, *possessio*, *proprium*, *coē*, *diues*, et *pauper*. And fyrste we wyll begynne, to shewe the dyuerse sygnifycaciōs of this worde *Jus*/for we shall nede them in the assignacyons and dysposons of the other wordes, but not contrary wyse we shall not nede the other wordes in the declaracyon of the sygnifycaciōs of this worde *Jus*. This worde *Jus* therefore in one sygnifycacion betokeneth the lawe, as this worde lawe is taken in his thyrde and last sygnifycacion, wherof we made mencion in the .v. chapytre of the fyrst parte of this boke and this lawe is deuyded in to two membres or partes, that is to wote, the lawe of man/and the lawe of god/which also, as touchynge to a certayne tyme, & after a certayne maner may be called a lawe after the thyrde sygnifycacion, as it was sayde in the chapytre before alledged and of the nature and qualyte of these two lawes, and of the agrement & also of the dyfference of them: we haue spoken sufficiently, in the .viii. and .ix. chapytres of this dyccion. Of the which chapytres thus moche we wyll reherse nowe agayne for our purpose/ fyrst that the agrement of them is in that, that eyther of those lawes is a precepte, or prohibicion or a permyssyon of the dedes or workes, which be apte to set in ordre and rule the comāndement of the mynde of man/ but they do dyfferre in this, for that the fyrste of the two, that is to wote the lawe of man/ dothe punyssh the transgressours of it, in this worlde/ and the seconde that is to wote the lawe of god dothe not so, but onely in the worlde to come. And this worde precepte is sayd two maner of wayes one way actuely, that is to wote, of the acte or dede of hym that comaundeth, after which maner we be wonte to saye, that the wyll of any one that hath powre to comaunde, beyng expressed is a precepte or comaundement/ as the wyll & pleasure of a kynge or any other gouernoure, when it is expressed or vttered, is called the kynges or gouernours precepte. An other maner waye, the thyng, which is wyllled to be done by the acte of the comaunder: is called a precepte/ and after this maner we be wonte to say that the seruaunte hath fulfilled or done the precepte of his mayster/ not meanyng that the seruaunte hath done the acte or worke of the lord or mayster, which acte is to byd or comaunde: but meanyng that the seruaunte hath done the thyng, which the mayster by his acte, that is to wote by his byddyng or guyng comaundement, wyllled to be done/ and therefore as ofte as this notone precepte is referred to the comaunder: it is al one to say, as guyng

Ryche.

Poore.

Jus/Ryght.

The dyfference of the lawe of god & the lawe of man

THE DEFENCE

Precepte.
Prohybycion

Precept how
it is taken in
the lawe of
god.

Permission

Counsayles.

Precepte.

of comaundement, whiche is the worke or operacyon of hym that comaundeth/
But as ofte as it is referred to þe subiecte: it is all one with the thyng that is wyl-
led to be done by the gynnyng of a comaundement, and that it is sayde passyuely.
This nowne precepte then taken actyuely and comenly: is sayde of the ordyn-
naunce or statute of a pryncer or gouernour. aswell an affyrmatyue as negatyue
statute, byndynge the transgressour to some payne or punysshement / but proper-
ly, and after the vsage of this worde now a dayes: it is taken onely for a statute
affyrmatyue / for an affyrmatyue statute hath not any propre name belongynge
to it selfe after the vse: but hath kepte to it selfe the comen name precepte. But a
statute negatyue hath a propre name belongynge seuerally to it selfe. For it is
called a prohybycion. And I call þe an affyrmatyue statute, wherby any thyng
is ordayned to be done. And I call that a negatyue statute, wherby it is orday-
ned, some thyng not to be done / and yf suche maner ordynaunce or statute be af-
fyrmatyue, byndynge the transgressour therof vnto payne or punysshement it is
called a precepte. But yf it be a negatyue ordynaunce, & also byndynge the trans-
gressours vnto any payne: it is called a prohybycion. And this worde prohybyci-
on is sayde two maner of wayes actyuely and passyuely, euen lyke wyse as the
worde precepte / and these two ordynacions byndynge the transgressoure vnto
some payne, are for the moste parte expressed in the lawes, eyther accordynge to
theyr owne kynde, or elles after a lyke or proporcyonale kynde. An other maner
waye, this nowne precepte is taken more straitly or narrowly in the lawe of god
and lyke wyse this worde prohybyted, for that statute onely whether it be affyr-
matyue or negatyue, whiche byndeth to eternall payne / and after this maner, the
deuynes vsen these wordes, when they do saye, that the preceptes be of the necessity
of helthe & saluacyon, that is to saye, nedely to be obserued, yf any man ought
to be saued / wherfore it is red in the .xviii. of Luke / yf thou wylte entre in to lyfe:
kepe the comaundementes / that is to saye preceptes. And there be certayne ordyn-
naunces expressed or vnderstanden onely, in the lawes, but affyrmatyue and also
negatyue eyther aboute one and the same acte, or aboute dyuers and sondry ac-
tes / whiche done not bynde the doer, or els hym that leueth it vndone to any payne
or punysshement as to exerceyse or to not exerceyse the worke of lyberal tyte, and
so lyke wyse of certayne other workes / and suche be properly called thynges per-
mytted by the lawe. Albeit that this worde Permissum taken comenly or gene-
rally / is sayde other whyles of statutes byndynge to payne / for euery thyng that
is comaunded by the lawe for to be done: þe same thyng is also permytted by the
lawe to be done / but not contrary wyse, euery thyng is comaunded: whiche is
permytted. So lyke wyse what soeuer is prohybyted or forbeden by the lawe
for to be done: the same thyng is also permytted by the lawe not to be done. A-
gayne of these thynges whiche be properly permytted, that is to saye, whiche byn-
deth not to any payne: some be merytoryous accordynge to the lawe of god, and
these be called counsayles / and certayne be not merytoryous, and these be called by
the comune name, permyssyons or thynges permytted / whiche wordes also so ta-
ken, that is to saye generally, and also specially or properly: are sayd two maner
wayes, that is to wyt actyuely and passyuely / lyke wyse as the wordes prohyby-
cion and precepte or comaundement. But these permyssyons for the moste parte
be not expressed accordynge to theyr propre nature and kynde in the lawes / na-
mely in the lawes of men / for cause of the great multytude of them, and also be-
cause the generall ordynaunce of them is suffycient in this, for euery thyng that
is not comaunded or prohybyted by the lawe, is vnderstanden to be permytted by
the ordynaunce of the lawe maker or pryncer. A precepte therfore accordynge to the
lawe

lawe, in his propre sygnifycation, is an affyrmatyue statute byndynge the trasgressour of it to payne or punysshement. And a prohibicion, pperly is a negatyue statute byndynge to payne or punysshement. And a permyssyon pperly is the ordeinaunce or statute of the lawe maker byndynge no man to payne/after which propre sygnifycations we must vse these sayd nownes. And of these thyngs thus declared it may couenyently appere, what this worde *Licetum* in englysshe lausfull doth sygnifye, & what we do meane by it/for euery thyng, which is done accordynge to þe precepte or permyssyon of the lawe: is lausfully done, & is a lausful dede & what soeuer thyng is leste vndone accordynge to the prohibicion or permyssyon of the lawe: is lausfully leste vndone, & maye be called lausfull/But the contrary of these may be called vnlaufully done, or vnlawfully leste vndone/hereof also it may appere to vs, what this worde *Phas* betokeneth. For in one sygnifycation this worde *phas*/ & this worde *Licetum* at al one so & what soeuer is *phas*: & same is *licitum*/ & what soeuer is *licitum*: & same is *phas*/ & so it may be englysshed lausfully. In an other sygnifycation this nowne *phas* betokeneth & thyng which it is reasonably presumed, that the maker of the lawe or pryncce hath permytted: albe it that suche a thyng be absolutely or regularly prohibyted, as otherwhyles to passe throughte an other mans ground/ or to handle an other mans thyng, without the expresse consente of the owner it is *phas*/albeit & it is not called ryght or lausfull regularly after any of the wayes & maners of these wordes afore reherced for the handlinge of an other mans thyng is regularly prohibyted / But yet in such a case or chaunce it is *phas* in which it is reasonably presumed, & the owner or lord of the thyng dothe consent, all though he dothe not graunt it expressely/ for which consyderacion or cause, there is nede otherwhyles in suche thyngs of favorable interpretacion of the lawe, which of the Grekes is called *Epikeia*/thus then this nowne *Ius* after one sygnifycation, is asmoche to say, as the lawe of god or the lawe of man/ or els a precepte, or a prohibicion or a permyssyon accordynge to these lawes. But there is a certayne other dyuysion of this nowne *Ius* & specyally of *Ius humanum*, that is mans lawe: in to *Ius naturale*, that is & lawe of nature, & *Ius ciuile*, that is the cypyle lawe. The lawe of nature after þe mynde of arystotle in the .iiii. booke of his etykes, in the treatyse of Justyce: is called that statute of the lawe maker, in which, as beyng honest & to be obserued, in a maner all men do consente and agre togyther/as that god is to be honoured: that our parentys are to be worshypped & had in reuerence/that the father & mother shulde noryshe and brynge vp theyr chyldren vntyll a certayne season / that we ought to do wronge to no man/that we may lawfully put backe iniuries from vs and other lyke thynges, which all though they do hange of the instytucion of man/transumptuely they be called *Iura naturalia*. i. naturall lawes/ forasmuche as all nacyns after one maner and facyon don beleue these thynges to be lausfull / and the contraries of them to be vnlaufull / lyke wyse as the operacions of natural thyngs, which yet haue no reason, wyll, or purpose: ben wrought conformably & after one facyon in all nacions/as for example, the fyre worketh his operacion & is to say, brynneþ here: euen so as yet dothe in all other nacyns. Howbeit there be certayne men, which call the lawe of nature, the iudgement of ryght reason, concernynge thyngs that may be wrought or done / which they make a parte contayned vnder goddes lawe/ for because euery thyng & is done accordynge to the lawe of god, & accordynge to the counsaile & iudgement of ryght reason: is vterly lausfull without any excepcyon. But yet not euery thyng that is done accordynge to þe lawes of man/ for these lawes in some poyntes sweruen & croken from ryght reason/ but this worde natural both here, & also before, hath

Prohibicion
Permyssyon

Lausfull.

Vnlaufull.
Phas.

Ius.

Ius naturale

THE DEFENCE

In hat this
worde Jus
doth betoken

Jus.

What domy-
nyon is?

dyuerse sygnifycaciōs for there be many thyngs accordynge to þe counsayle & iudgemēt of ryght reason, which be not graunted of all nacys as honest thyngs. As for exāple, such thyngs which be not euidently knowen of all nacys / & therefore consequently are not graunted of all nacys as honest. So also accordynge to the lawe of god certayne thynges be cōmaunded, proshybyted, or pmytted, which in this poynte be cōformable to the lawe of man / which thyng because it is knowen to be so in many thyngs: I haue leste out here exāples, for the more speede & breuenes of our processe. And hereof also it cometh to passe, that certayne thyngs ben lausfull after the lawe of man: which be not lausfull after the lawe of god / & backwarde agayne, many thyngs lausfull accordynge to the lawe of god: which be not lausfull accordynge to the lawe of man. Howbeit for all þe lausful & unlausful at to be taken hede of, & iudged aft̄ the lawe of god, rather then after þe lawe of man, in such precept, prohibiciōs or pmyssyōs, wherin these .ii. lawes don dysagre the one from the other. But this worde Jus / ryght in his secōde sygnifycacion: is sayd of euery humayne acte powre, or qualyte acquysyte, cōmaunded, interyour or exteriour, aswel inwarde & abydyng within our selfe, as out ward & goynge from vs in to some exteryoure thyng, or in to somwhat of the thyng (that is to wyte to the vse, or the takynge of profite of þe thyng, or the gettynge, or holdynge or the cōseruacyon or chaūgynge of the thyng or other lyke) conformably to the lawe, which we do call Jus, takynge this worde in the former sygnifycacion laste before this rehersed. Nowe what is vsus rei, or vsus fructus rei, with other lausfull handlynge of a thyng by ryght: let it be supposed to be knowen of the cyuyle lawe, at this present tyme. After this sygnifycacion we be wonte to saye, that it is the ryght of any man, when he wylleth or desyreth any thyng, or elles handleth or occupyeth any thyng, cōformable to Jus takynge this worde in his fyrst sygnifycacion afore rehersed that is to saye conformable to the lawe / wherfore such maner of handlynge or occupynge of a thyng, or suche maner wyll is called ryght or lawe / because it is cōformable to þe lawe, in that which it cōmaūdet proshybyteth or permytteth. Lykewyse as the pyller is called the ryght or the lefte pyller: when it is cituate or set in place, that is nerer to the ryght or the lefte syde of the sencyble creature. Then Jus in his secōde sygnifycacion, is nothyng elles but a thyng wyllid by the actyue cōmaundemēt, proshybicion, or pmyssyon, of the lawe maker, or prynce which we haue sayde here tofore to be a precept, or a proshybicion or permyssyon passyue. And this is it also: which we called afore Licetum. þe is to wyte lausfull. Agayne this latyn nowne Jus, in englysshe, ryght, sygnifyeth & betokeneth the sentence of them, that iudge accordynge to the lawe or they: iudgements, accordynge to Jus, taken in his fyrst sygnifycacion. And after this sygnifycacion of this worde, we are wonte to say, þe the iudge or prynce hath done ryght to any man, when by his sentēce, accordynge to the lawe he hath outhet cōdēpned, or deliuered hym, & set hym quyet. And also this nowne Jus in englysshe ryght, is of the acte or qualytie of perticulare iustyce / & after this sygnifycacion we are wonte to say, in our cōmen talkynge that he wyll the ryght, & that, that is iuste, which desyreth outhet equalytie or proporcionalytie, þe is to saye outhet euen or lyke: in makynge of exchaunges and dystribuciones. ¶ Here it is conuenient cōsequently to shewe the dyuerse sygnifycacions of this worde Dominion / which in englysshe is as moch to say as lordshyp. This worde Domynyon taken straitly & specyally: in one sygnifycacion, betokeneth a pryncypall powre & auctoryte to chalenge & clayme þe, that is optayned by the lawe or by ryght takynge this worde ryght in his fyrst sygnifycacion. I meane þe powre of hym, that knoweth & dysagreeneth not in this, and wylleth also, that it shal be lausfull

lawfull for no other man to haue, or occupie that thyng without the expresse cōsente of hym, that is to wyte of the lord & owner, as longe as he is lord & owner of it. And this powre is nothyng els, but an actuall or an habituall wyll, so to haue the thyng gotten by ryght or lawe, as we haue sayd / which truly is called the ryght of any man: because it is conformable to lawe or ryghte / takynge this worde ryght in his fyrst sygnifycacion, after which maner, we sayd the pyllet, to be called the ryght or the left pyllet, whan it shall be truly cōpared (touchynge verenesse) vnto the ryght or lefte part of a man, or of any other sensyble creature.

¶ Agayne this nowne Domynion is sayd more generally of the powre afore rehersed, whether it powre shall be vpon the thyng onely, or els onely vpon the vse or takynge the frute or profyte cōpynge of the vsage or occupynge of it thyng, or els vpon all these thyngs toggyther. ¶ Agayne this nowne Domynion is also sayd of the foresayd powre, belongynge to any man, but yet not knowynge or cōsentyng, neyther expressely dysagreyng or renouncynge. And after this maner, a thyng, or somwhat belongynge to a thyng, may be gotten to an insaute & to one that is absente, or to any other persone beyng ignorant (but yet beyng apte to receyue it) with the domynion also or powre to chalenge the sayd thyng, from hym that taketh it away / & to demaunde & make clayme to the same afore a iudge: outther by hym selfe, or by an other in his stede / and we sayd here, not dysse- tyng or renouncynge expressely: for because to hym that doth expressely disagre renounce, or forsake any thyng, or the vsage, or profyte of it thyng / such thyngs can not be gotten or recouered, neyther domynion or powre to chalenge them. For any maner man may, yf he lyst lawfully renounce the ryght or lawe, broughte in for hym, after the lawes of man / neyther any man after any lawe is cōpelled to receyue the benefyte of the lawe agaynst his wyll. And these domynions, wher of we haue now spoken / are legale domynions & that because they are gotten or maye be gotten be the ordynance of the lawe.

What possessi
on is.

¶ Nowe consequently the sygnifycacions of this worde, possessio, are to be shew- ed & declared. Whiche worde Possessyon, taken largely betokeneth one way the same, that this word domynion betokeneth, in his fyrst, seconde, or thyrde sygnifycacion. Or els it betokeneth any tēporall thyng, in cōparyson to hym that hath it, or els is wyllynge to haue it, after such wyse & maner, as hath ben sayde in the two fyrst sygnifycacions of this worde domynion / wherfore it is red in the. xiii. chapytre of Genesis. And he was very ryche in possessyon of golde & syluer / and in the. xvii. of the same boke / I shall gyue to the and to thy seide or offsprynge / the lande of Canaan in to eternall possessyon. ¶ An other maner waye, & not so largely, this worde possessyon is sayd of the foresayde domynion, with actuall, bodily contractacyon, handlynge or occupynge, outther presente or elles paste, of a thyng, or of the vse, or of the frute or profyte that cōmeth of it / after which maner, this worde possessyon, is very moche vsed in the cyuple lawe. ¶ Agayne this nowne possessyon, is sayd of the lawfull bodily cōtractacyon, handlynge & occupynge of a thyng beyng his owne, or els belongynge to an other man / wherfore in the. iiii. chapytre in the actes of the apostles it is wryten. ¶ Agayne this word possessyon, though vnproperly, is sayd of the vnlawful withholdynge of a thyng outther in this presente tyme, or in tyme paste / outther by hym selfe, or by an other man, corporally handlyd or occupied. ¶ Nowe it foloweth consequently to shewe the dyuerse sygnifycacions of these nownes Proprie, and Comune.

Proprie.

¶ This worde propre or property, in one sygnifycacion & maner: is sayd of Domynion / as this word domynion is taken in his fyrst sygnifycacion / & after this maner this worde propre is vsed in the cyuple lawe. ¶ Agayne takynge it more

THE DEFENCE

largely: it is sayd of domynion, both after the fyrst, & also after the seconde sygnyfycacion of this worde domynion. And after this maner: it is vsed amonge deuynes, and also very often tymes in holy scripture. ¶ Agayne this worde nowne Drope or properte is sayde amonge deuynes, of the syngulartye of a person, or a thyng belonginge onely to one person by hym selfe & not with an other/for so do they take this worde propre, makinge it contrary to this worde comune: which do moue this questyon, whether it be more meritorious as touchynge to eternal lyfe, for to haue temporall goodes in propre, that is to wyt seuerally to hym selfe than to haue the same thynges with one or mo other in comune. ¶ Agayne this nowne propre or properte, is sayd of an accydent or qualyte beyng in any subiecte/ & in this sygnyfycacion phylosophers vse this name/ but yet moste comune lye for that qualyte which can not be deperted from his subiecte/ nor the subiecte from it.

Comune.

**Who is called
ryche.**

¶ And this nowne Comune as touchynge to our purpose at this tyme: is taken contraryly to the two last reherfed sygnyfycacions of this worde propre. Nowe it resteth or remayneth to shewe how many maner wayes these nownes Ryche & Poore/ are take & vsed. ¶ This nowne ryche most comunely: is sayd of hym, which hath to hym selfe superhabundance or superfluyte of tēporal thyngs (which they do call ryches) for all maner tyme, both present & to come & that lawfully. ¶ An other maner waye he is called a ryche man, which hath lawfully vnto hym selfe the foresayd thynges, onely in a suffycient quantyte, both for the tyme present & the tyme to come. Yet agayn this nowne ryche, is sayd two maner wayes & more properly. ¶ Fyrst of hym that hath the thynges aforesayde superhabundantlye & more than suffycientlye, or is wyllynge also to haue the sayd thyngs in suche maner & facyon. ¶ An other waye it is sayd of hym, that hath the thyngs nowe sayd and reherfed onely suffyciently, as it was sayde in the seconde sygnyfycacion of this worde: or of hym that is wyllynge to haue them after such suffycient maner.

Poore.

¶ And this nowne poore in his two fyrste sygnyfycacions dyffereth from these signyfycacions of this worde ryche as a priuacion dyffereth from his habite. ¶ For one waye, he is called poore, which wanteth onelye superhabundance & superfluite of goodes, althoughe he haue suffycientlye. ¶ But an other waye he is called poore which hath not togyther at one tyme, suffycient thyngs for euery maner tyme, & is to wyt bothe presente & also for to come. ¶ But the thyrde waye he is called poore which of his fre wyl without cōpulsion: is wyllynge to be berefte of superabundance or superfluite of goodes for euery maner tyme/ and after this maner or sygnyfycacion: this worde poore dyffereth from this worde ryche, as one contrarye from an other contrarye. ¶ And the .iiii. way he is called poore, which is not wyllynge to haue togyther at one tyme so moche as is suffycient for euery maner tyme bothe present & also to come/ but otherwhyles wyl of his owne fre wyl lacke or wante them. Wherfore not euery sygnyfycacion of this worde poore and pouertye, is dyfferynge or contrarye to euery sygnyfycacion of this worde ryche: indyfferentlye. And here we ought not to ouerhypppe, that of those which be wyllynge poore: some there be which forsake temporall thynges for an honest ende, and in a conuenient maner. And other some seme to refuse and forsake suche thynges not for a good intente: but for vayne glorie/ or elles for to do some other worldly dysceyte or gyle. Here also it is to be noted & marked besydes these aforesayd thynges, that of temporal thynges which they do call ryches/ there are certayne of them, which are apte to be consumed or spent with onely one acte or ones vsynge of them/ as meates/ drynkes/ medycynes/ and suche other thynges/ and certayne other thynges there be: which abyde, contynue, and are apte to serue, to

ue, to moo vses than one, or oftener than ones/as a felde/a house/an ape/a garment/an horse/or a seruante.

The .xiii. and .xiiii. chappytres ben omittted as contaynyngge no matter moche necessarye.

Of the deuplyon of the offyce of preestes, that is to say preesthode by essencypall, and accydentall auctoryte /by seperable & in seperable auctoryte, And that, in the essencypall dygnyte a preeste is not inferyoz to a bysshop /but onely in auctoryte accydentall.

The .xv. chappytre.

The pryncypall and imedyate effectyue cause or maker of preesthode, is god, but yet certayne mynysterpe of man goynge before. The begynnynge wherof in the newe lawe: was of chryste. For he whiche was very god & man, in that he was a man & a humayne preeste: he dyd exhybite that mynistry whiche the preestes folowynge hym do now exhybite. But in that he was god: he dyd institute: and make them preestes. And so fyrst of all he instytuted the apostles, & his imedyate & nexte successours / and then cōsequently all other preestes / but yet by the mynistry of the apostles / & of other succedynge them in this offyce. For when the apostles & other preestes laye on theyr handes vpon other men, & do also speake the wordes & forme betwixt theyr unto. Chryst in that he is god doth make & admytte them and gyue them powre. And this ordre of preesthode is a powre or auctoryte, by whiche a preeste may cōsecrate of brede & wyne, the blyssed body and blode of chryste, with the pronouncynge of certayne wordes / & also may mynystre other sacraments of the churche / by whiche also he may bynde & louse men from synnes. And this powre the apostles receyued, after the mynde and oppynyon of certayne doctours, whan chryste sayd to them & whiche is wyrtten in the .xxvi. of Mathewe / in the .xiii. of Marke and in the .xxii. of Luke. But because the ordre therof appereth more perfytelly in Luke: we wyl alledge the tecte as it is had there in this wyse. After he had taken brede in to his handes / he (that is to wyte chryste) gaue thankes, & brake it, & gaue it to them (that is to saye to the apostles) sayenge. This is my body, whiche is gyuen for you / do this vnto the remembraunce of me / do this that is to saye, haue you powre to do this. But certayne other men haue thought, that this auctorite, was gyuen to the apostles by that, whiche is wyrtten in .i. .xx. chappytre of Iohā, whan chryste sayd to them. Receyue you or take you the holy ghoft. And whose synnes you shall forgyue: the same are forgyuen to them / and whose synnes you shall retayne: they ar retayned. Some other agayne, say, that this powre was gyuen to them by that whiche is wyrtten in the .xvi. of Mathewe, whan chryst sayd to them in the persone of Peter. To the I shall gyue the keyes of & kyngdome of heuens &c. or els by that, whiche was sayd to them of chryste in the .xxiii. chappytre of the same euangelyst / verely I saye to you what soeuer thyngs you shall bynde vpon erthe: they shal be boude also in heuen / & what soeuer thyngs you shall louse vpon erthe: they shal be loused also in heuen. And other some agayne say, & they are .ii. sōdry powres or auctoryties belōgynge to preesthode. The one wherby they may consecrate the sacrament of the aulter. And the other, wherby they may bynde or louse

The instytucion of preestes

At what tyme & apostles dyd receyue & powre of preesthode.

Tibi dabo clauos.

Two powres or auctoryties belōgynge to preesthode

THE DEFENCE

louse men from theyr synnes / whiche they say to haue ben gyuen to the apostles, at dyuerse and sondrye tymes, & also by dyuerse & sondry wordes of chryste / Nowe which of these sayde opinionones is most lyke to be trewe: it skylleth not to this present purpose / for howe soeuer, or whā soeuer & istitucion of this office was done or made vpon the apostles, this is vndoubted, that this powre or auctorite was gyuen to them by chryste / and that so also it is gyuen by the aforesayd mynistry of the apostles and theyr successours / vnto other men, whiche are taken vnto this of fyce / wherfore in the .iiii. chapytre in the fyrste epystle to Timothe, it is sayde / do not thou despyse or set lyght by the gyfte or grace, that is in the, whiche is gyuen to the by prophycie, by the preeft, layenge one of his handes vpon the. And in the same maner wyse, the deacons receyue a certayne powre belongynge vnto them: by the preeftes puttyng one of his handes vpon them / of the whiche deacons it is wyrtten in the sypte chapytre of the actes. They dyd set these men (that is to wyte those whiche shulde be made deacons) afore the syghte of the apostles, & they made kynge theyr prayers put there handes vpon them.

The auctoryte
essencial or
inseperable.

This powre of preefthode, whether it be one alone, or els mo than one, whiche we haue sayd to be the powre and auctorite of makynge the sacrament of the aultare, or of the body & blode of chryste, & the powre of byndynge & lousynge men from synnes, & which from henceforth we shall call the auctoryte essencial, or the auctoryte inseperable from a preeft, in that he is a preeft, this auctoryte (I say) all preefts (as me thynketh of very lykelyhode to be true) haue all one in kynde / neyther the bysshop of Rome, or any other bysshop hath this auctoryte any whyle more largely / than any other hath who euer he be, beyng called a symple or pryuate preeft. For in this auctoryte, whether it be one, or els mo than one: a bysshop dyffereth nothyng from a preeft / as saynt Iherome wytnesseth / or rather the apostle. whose playne & open sentence this is, as it shall euidently appere hereafter / for thus sayth saynt Iherome vpon the texte in the .xvi. of Mathewe. And what soeuer thynge thou shalt bynde vpon erthe. &c. The other apostles trulye haue the same iudiciarie powre (vnderstande, whiche Peter had) to whome chryst sayd after his resurreccyon / receyue you the holy ghoft / whose synnes you shal forgyue they are forgyuen to them. &c. Every churche also hath the same powre in preefts & bysshoppes / & here Iherome setteth preefts afore bysshops in this poynte / for this auctoryte is duely belongynge to a preeft, in that he is a preeft, fyrste & pryncypally, or essencially / and as touchynge to the powre of makynge the sacrament of the aultare. No man dothe stryue or saye agaynst it, but that any other preeft hath egall powre, with the pope of Rome. And therfore it is to be meruayled, wherfore some men do stryue styffely and frowardly affyrmyng, but yet no thynge reasonably: that the pope of Rome hath the more large powre of the keyes, gyuen to hym of chryste: than hath the other preefts / seyng that this can not be proued by the holy scripiture, but rather the contrarie. For whiche thynnges more euidently to be sene & perceyued: you ought to vnderstande & knowe, that these two wordes presbiter, & episcopus / that is to saye preeft or senyoute, & bysshop, were both of one sygnifycacion, & betokened al one thynge, in & prymatyue churche / albeit that they were put to sygnify one thynge of dyuers properties / for presbiter was a name gyuen to them of age, whiche is as moche to saye, as a seniour or elder. And Episcopus was a name gyuen of cure or charge vpon other / & is as moche to saye, as an ouersoker / wherfore saynt Iherom in a certayne epystle to Eudre preeft, whiche epystle is wyrtten to be intytled, howe a preeft & a deacon doth dyffer: sayth thus. Presbiter & Episcopus / the one is a name of age: the other of dygnyte / wherfore also to Titus & to Timotheus, mencyon is made of the ordynacyon

Iherome.
Tibi dabo
claves.

Marke this
terme, Every
churche, & how
& every preeft
hath as moch
powre in byn
dyng and lousynge as the
pope.

Presbiter.
Episcopus.

nacion of a bysshop or ouerseer & of a deacon, but of senyors or preeft: no worde at all is spoken / for in this worde Episcopus: presbiter is cotayned. This also appereth manifestly by the apostle, in the fyrst chapitre to the Philippians, whan he sayd. To al & sayntes or holy men, in chryste Iesu: which are in Philippe, with the bysshops & deacons. So here, that he nameth the preeft: none other wyse than bysshops or ouerseers / for this is vndoubted, there was not other wyse many bysshops in one cytie: but because there were many preeft. The same thyng agayn is euidently shewed, by the same Paule in the fyrst chapitre to Titus, whan he sayd. For this cause I lefte the behynde me at Creta: that thou shuldest furnyssh the vp suche thyngs, as are lackynge or wantynge / & that thou shuldest ordayne and make preeft: or senyors by the cyties, so as I haue ordayned & appoynted to the. yf any man be faultles. &c. and by & by after appoyntynge & shewynge the qualites belogging to them that shulde be made preeft: he sayth / for a bysshop ought to be without faulte as beyng the dispesatour or mynystre of god. &c. So here, that he called hym which was to be made preeft: nothyng els but a bysshop. The same Paule in the. x. chapitre of the actes, speakynge to the preeft of one church that is to say of Ephesus: sayth in this wyse. Take hede to your selfe, & to hole flocke, in whiche the holy ghost hath set you bysshops or ouerseers, to gouerne the church of god, whiche he hath redemed with his owne blode. So here that in the church of one cytie, that is to wote of Ephesus, the apostle spake to many as to bysshoppes or ouerlookers / which was not, but for that there were many preeftes / whiche all were called bysshops or ouerlookers: because they ought to ouerlooke the people. So wherbeit after wardes in the church folowynge, he onely was called bysshop or ouerseer: which by the other preeftes, & the people, was instytuted & made cheyfe or hyghest of all & preeft, of that cytie or place. And the apostle called them rather bysshops or ouerseers, than preeft: or senyors / because he wolde call vnto them remembraunce, the care & busynes or dyligent ouerlookynge, which they ought to haue, of the other chrysten people. He called hym selfe a preeft or senyor, & not a bysshop or ouerlooker / because of humilite & mekenes / as it appereth of the texte afore brought in, of .i. liii. chapitre of the fyrst epystle to Timothe, whan he sayd Do not despyse or set lyght of the grace or gyfte, whiche is in the. &c. So also Peter & Iohn called them selues senyors / for this name was gyuen of age / wherfore in .i. v. chapitre of the fyrst epystle of Peter / it is wyrtten. Therefore I beseeche the senyors whiche are amonge you, beyng my selfe a senyor with them, and a wytnesser of the passyons & affliccyōs of chryste. &c. And in the fyrste chapitre of the seconde epystle of Iohn, it is wyrtten. The senyor, to the chosen lady & to her sones. &c. And in the fyrst chapitre of the thrid epystle of the same Iohn. The senyor to the most derely beloued Caius. &c. But wher the comune texte of the canone, or holy scrypture, hath these wordes senior or cōsenior / saynt Iherome in the epystle afore sayd, hath euery where presbiter or conpresbiter. For the apostles vsed these wordes / as beyng all of one sygnifycacyon. But after the tymes of the apostles, the nombre of preeftes beyng notabyle augmented and increased, to auoyde sclaundre and occasyon of offendynge any man, and to auoyde scisme and dymysyon / the preeftes chose one amonge them selues, whiche shulde dyrecte and ordre the other, as touchynge to the percysynge of the ecclesiasticall offyce, or seruyce, and the dystributyng of the oblacions, & the dysposynge & orderynge of other thyngs in the most conuenient maner / lyfte yf euery man myght do this thyng after his owne pleasure, and as he left hym selfe / the good ordre & seruyce of the churches myght be troubled, by the reason of the dyuerse affections of men. This preeft whiche was so elected and chosen, to ordre and rule the other preeftes: by the

The same is apreeft which is a bysshop / that is to say bysshoppe or preeft are all one.
Landy.

wherfore Paule calleth preeftes bysshops or ouerseers.

whan bysshops or preeftes were first instytuted and why.

THE DEFENCE

Nota.

The eleccyon
of man aug-
menteth not
the powre of
spiritual byn-
dyng and lo-
synge in a bis-
shop, nor de-
creaseth it not
in a preeft.

Emperour

Archdeacon

Ecclit Ba-
bilon.

Iherome.

By the custome & vsed maner of speakynge of them that came afterwarde, was onely called a bysshop or ouerseer / because not onely he was ouer looker of the chry-
sten people, for whiche cause all other preefts also were called ouerseers in the pry-
matyue church / but also because he had the ouersyght of & other preefts / for whiche
cause such maner a preefte of Antioche retayned to hym selfe alone the name of a
bysshop or ouerseer / all they afterwarde retaynyng to them selues, onely the na-
me of a preeft. ¶ But this sayd eleccyon or instytucion made by man : gyueth or
addeth to the person so elected and chosen, no whyt of more large meryte essencial
or of the auctoryte of preeftshode, or of the powre aforesayde / but onely gyueth to
hym a certayne powre of a canonycall ordynacyon, in the house of god or temple
to ordre & dyrecte or rule other preefts and deacons, and other offycers and myny-
stres. Lyke as now a dayes vnto the pryour of a retyggyouse house / powre & auc-
toryte is gyuen vpon the conent. Powre I say not coactyue of any man but one-
ly so farforth as shalbe graunted concernynge this poynt, by the auctoryte of the
kyng, to the person so elected / as it hath ben proued in .i. liii. & the .viii. chapytres
of this dyccyon, & shal appere more largely in the chapytre nexte folowynge. Ney-
ther yet any other intrinsecall dygnyte or powre, is gyuen to hym so elected / by
suche eleccyon. After this maner the soldyars in warre, chose to them selues a ca-
pytaine / to whome they were wonte in the olde tyme to cal a mayster or emperour /
albeit that this worde Imperator, in Englysshe emperour, is now translated to
betoken a certayne maner or kynde of regale powre, hygher ouer all / & so it is vi-
sed now adayes. So also the deacons amonge them selues choseth an archdea-
con, to whome suche eleccyon doth not gyue or adde any essencyal meryte, or any
holy ordre, aboue deaconschypp / but onely it gyueth to hym a certayne humayne
powre or auctoryte (as we haue sayde) to ordre & rule the other deacons / wherfore
the bysshop of Rome hath no whyt more of the essencyal auctoryte of preeftshode:
than hath any other preeft, who euer he be. Euen lyke wyse as saynt Peter had no
whyt more of this essencial powre / than the other apostles / for all they receyued
this same auctoryte of chryste imedyatly & egally / as it was sayde before by the
auctoryte of Iherome, vpon that tecte in the .xvi. of Mathew. And to the I shal
gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuē, & as it shal be more largely declared in
the nexte chapytre folowynge. And this was openly the mynde of saynt Ihero-
me in aforesayd epystle / in whiche, after & he had shewed by many auctorytes of
& aforesayd apostles, & in the prymatyue church or in the tyme of the apostles, a
preeft or senyour, & a bysshop or ouerseer, was utterly all one in the essencial dyg-
nyte gyuen to them of chryst: shewynge & cause of the sayd thyng, he sayth thus /
But that one was electe, which shuld be aboue other: it was done for the remedye
of scisme & deuyssyon / lest yf euery man shulde drawe vnto hym selfe, the church
of chryst, by the reason therof, myght be broken or denyded in sondre. For in Alex-
andria also, from the tyme of Marke the euangelyst, vnto & tyme of Heridas &
Dionise bysshops: & preefts alwayes chose one amonge them selues, to whome they
dyd set in an hygher degre, & called hym bysshop or ouerseer / moche lyke, as yf the
hoost or army shuld make an emperour. Or els as yf the deacons dyd chose one
amonge them selfe, to whome they do knowe to be dyspygent and wyse / and dyd cal
hym an archdeacon. For what dothe the bysshoppe (ordynacyon onely excepted)
whiche a preefte myght not do: as touchynge to the actes or workes belongynge
to & essencial auctoryte? For Iherom wher he speaketh of ordynacion dyd not vn-
derstande therby ordynacyon, the powre and auctoryte to gyue, or the gyuyng
of holy ordres / for the bysshoppes do now adayes many thynges besyde the gy-
uyng of ordres, and so dyd the bysshoppes also in saynt Iheroms tyme / whiche
thyngs

thyngs the preeftes do not. Albeit þ to the gyuyng of al the sacramētes, by þ dy
 myne powre, any preeft may do as moch as þ bysshop. But Iherome vnderstode
 thesby ordynacyon, the powre of orderynge suche thynges, as pertayne to the ser-
 uyce of god, & other thynges aforesayd gyuen to hym imedyatly of man or men/
 whiche thyng I do confyrme both by reason, and the auctoryte of the same Ihe-
 rone. The reason is this/for there hath ben many elected bysshops by the whole
 people or cōmunaltie/as saynt Element/saynt Gregory/saynt Nicolas/& ma-
 ny other saynts/to whome it is vndoubted, that no greater holpe ordie, nor any
 inwarde characte, was gyuen by the people or by theyr felowe preefts: But onely
 powre & auctoryte to dyspose & ordie the ceremonies & seruyce of þ church, & to dy-
 recte & rule the mynystrs of the temples, as touchyng to the exercyse of goddes
 seruyce, in the temple or howse of god/for whiche cause & consyderacyon also, such
 persons elected to dyrecte other preefts in the temple, and to instructe the people,
 in suche thyngs whiche appertayne to the sayth, called bysshoppes: of the olde law
 makers as of Justiniane and of the people of Rome were than called Iconomi
 reuerendi. And the hyghest of them was called of the same law makers Icono-
 mus reuerendissim⁹. And therfore accordyng to the trouth, & after the mynde of
 saynt Iherome, a bysshop is none other thyng, than an archpreeft. And that the
 essencypall dygnyte of a bysshop and of a preeft is all one, neyther that one bys-
 shop hath more large essencypall auctoryte, than an other bysshoppe. Neyther one
 preeft than an other preeft: saynt Iherome also expressed in the aforesayd epyst-
 le, whan he sayde. Neyther it is to be iudged or thought, that there is one churche
 of the cytie of Rome, and an other of the whole worlde. Bothe Fraunce, & Eng-
 lande/and Affryke/Perselande/and the East/and the west/and Inde/& al Bar-
 barouse nacjons: do worshyp one chryste/they all do obserue and kepe one rule of
 the trouth/ys auctoryte be sought: the whole world is greater than a cytie/where
 soeuer he shall be bysshop, whether it be at Rome, or at Engobin, or at Constan-
 tinople, or at Regium, or at Alepandrie, or at Racheane: they are all of one & the
 same meryte, and all of one preefthode. The powre and myght of ryches, and the
 towne of pouerte: maketh an hygher or a lower bysshop/ but they are all, the suc-
 cessours of the apostles. But there are certayne other instytucyons not essencypall,
 of the offycs belongyng to preefts/as for exaple/the eleccyon whiche we haue spo-
 ken of a lytle here tofore, wherby one of them is taken or chosen to the orderynge or
 gouernynge of other, as touchyng to those thynges, whiche appertayneth to the
 worshypynge of god or the dyuine seruyce/& also the eleccyōs & instytucyons of
 certayne of them, to teach & instructe the chrysten people, & to mynystre the sacra-
 mēts of þ newe law, to a certayne people, & in a certayne place appoynted, great-
 ter or smaller. And also to dyspence & dysstrybute both to hym selfe & also to other
 pore men, certayne tēporall thyngs appoynted & ordayned by the kynge or by a
 plyament for the sustentacyon of poore preachers of the gospel, in a certayne pro-
 uynce or cōmunyte/& also for the sustentacyon of other poore folkes/ but yet of þ
 onely, whiche shall be superfluous, & more than nedeth, to the suffycient fyndynge
 of the preachers of the gospel / whiche tēporall goodes so appoynted & ordayned
 to suche vse, are after the cōmune vse & maner of speakyng now a dayes called
 the benefyces of the churche/for these are cōmytted & betaken to the mynystrs of
 the tēples, to be bestowed vpon the aforesayd vses/to the mynystrs I saye ther-
 unto ordayned, in a certayne prouynce. For by the auctoryte essencypall, by which
 they are the successours of the apostles they are not more determyned to teach &
 instructe the people, and to mynystre the sacramentes of the newe lawe, in one
 place / than in an other / but lykewyse as the apostles were not determyned or
 appoynted

A preeft may
 mynystre all
 sacramentes
 as well as a
 bysshop by þ
 lawe of god

In the olde
 tyme they
 were called
 Iconomi re-
 uerēdi whiche
 now are cal-
 led Episcopi.

A bysshop is
 an archpreeft
 Iherome.

Or at Caū-
 terbury, or at
 Lyncolne.

Ecclesiastli-
 call benefycs,

THE DEFENCE

The ceremonies of the church what manner ones they are.

appoynted, to any certayne places / to whom it was sayde. So therfore, & teach all nacions. Chryste dyd not appoynte them to certayne places / but they afterwar des amonge them selues, deuyled the peoples and prouynces to them selues, in whiche they wolde preache & shewe the worde of god, or the lawe of the gospell / and somtyme they were taught, where they shulde preache: by the reuelacyon of god / wherfore also it is red in the seconde epystle to the Galatians. They gaue theyr ryght handes to me, and to Barnabas, in token of felowshyppe (that is to wyt James, Peter, and Iohn) that we amonge the gentyles, and they amonge the Jewes. &c. So than of the premysse it appereth, of whome, as of the cause of fycient: the instytucyon of preefthode is, and of other holye ordies. Truly of god or chryste imedyatlye / albeit there gothe before as preparynge, a certayne myny sterre of man / as the layenge one of the handes / & the pronounsynge of certayne wordes / whiche peraduenture doth nothynge to this / but are so put before of a cer tayne promyse or ordynauce of god. It appereth also of 3 same premysse: & there is a certayne other instytucyon made by man, by whiche one preefte is preferred aboue other preeftes / by whiche also, preeftes are ordayned and appoynted to cer tayne prouynces, and to certayne people, to instructe and teach them in the lawe of god / and to mynystre the sacramentes, and to dyspose and dystribute the tem poralles, which we called afore the ecclesiasticall benefyces / it hath appered of the same premysse: that in the fyrste auctorytie whiche we haue called the essenciall auctorytie: all preeftes are equall in meryte and preefthode / as saynt Iherome sayde in the aforesayde epystle, shewynge also the cause. For that all preeftes are the successours of the apostles. In whiche sayeng he semeth to meane, that al the apostles were of egall auctorytie / and so consequentlye, that none of them syn gularlye by hym selfe, had auctoryte vpon an other or aboue other apostle or apo stles / neyther as touchynge to the essencypall auctoryte, whiche we haue called the fyrst and pryncypall auctoryte: neyther yet as touchynge to the secondarie insty tucyons / wherfore it semeth, that we ought to haue lyke oppynyon of theyr succes sours amōge them selues, one of them in comparyson to an other / to whome, and in to whome, howe sache manner instytucyons doth come, whiche we haue called secondarie institucyons, and made by the auctorytie of man: and whiche is accor dyng to reason, the effectyue cause of the sayd instytucyons, that is to saye who hath auctoryte to make sache instytucyons: it resteth and remayneth / to be de termined.

Howe the apostles were egall, in what soeuer offyce or dygny te was gyuen to them by chryste imedyatlye / wherof, that is proued: whiche was sayd in the last chapytre afore gone concernynge the egalyte of theyr successours / and howe all bpschoppes, are indyfferentlye the successours of what soeuer apostle.

The. xvi. chapytre.



So than begynnynge at the thynges afore determined: we shall in this chapytre, fyrst shewe that none of the apostles had prehemy nence aboue other in the essencypal dygnyte of preefthode / that is to wytte gyuen to them of chryste. And after we shall shewe, that in none other instytucyon, whiche we haue called secondarie / and by so moche the lesse

lesse in any iurisdiction coactyue/ howbeit this laste thyng hath ben suffycient
 by proued in the.iiii.and the.v.chapptours of this dyccion. Of which thyngs we
 shall also of necessity conclude: & none of the bysshops, successours to the apostles,
 synngularlye haue any of the auctorities or powres aforesayd, vpon or ouer other
 his felowe bysshoppes, or felowe preestes. And that the contrarie hereof can not
 be proued by the vertue of the wordes of holy scripture: but rather the present pur
 pose. And laste of all, hereof (whiche thyng also we dyd synallye intende in the
 chapptre last afore gone) we shall inferre and conclude of necessity, that these in
 stytucyons whiche we haue often tymes called secundarye: doth appertayne to
 the chrystened pryncer, as to the pryncypall cause effectyue of them, euen so as he
 is also of other offyces or partes of the cōmūnytie. The fyrst therfore of these pur
 poses, is proued by the. xviij. chapitre of Luke. For chryst gyuyng to the apostles
 powre to make the sacrament of the aultare: sayd vnto them. This is my bodye/
 whiche is gyuen for you do this thyng in to the remembraunce of me / that is to
 saye. haue you powre to do this thyng, but yet by speakyng lyke wordes, when
 you ought to exerceyse this acte / that is to wyte these wordes Hoc est enim corpus
 meum. And he dyd not speake these wordes, more to saynt Peter: than to other/
 for chryste dyd not saye, do thou this / and gyue thou powre to the other apostles,
 for to do lyke wyse / but he sayd do you this in the plurell nombre, and to them all,
 indyfferentlye. The same is also to be iudged in euery poynthe, of the powre of the
 keyes / whether it was gyuen to the apostles by these same wordes / or els by other
 wordes, or elles at any other tyme / as by the wordes whiche are had in the. xx. of
 Iohā / for after that chryste had sayde to his apostles, as my father hath sent me
 so also I sende you / he breathed vpon them, and sayd / receyue you the holy ghost /
 whose synnes you shal forgyue / they be forgyuen to them / and whose synnes you
 shall retayne: they ar retayned. Chryste than sayd, I sende you: as my father hath
 sent me / and he sayde not to Peter, or to any other apostle, synngularlye / I sende
 the, as my father hath sent me / & sende thou the other. Neyther it is agayne sayde
 there / chryste breathed vpon hym, but it is sayd. he breathed vpon them / not vpon
 one by an other / neyther sayd chryste to Peter, receyue or take thou the holy ghost
 and after ward / gyue thou it to other / but he sayde, receyue or take you, in the plu
 rell nombre / speakyng indyfferently to them all / and this is it also which is had
 in the last chapptre of Mathewe whan chryst sayd to them. Go you therfore, and
 teache all nacyns / and he sayde, go you, and teache you, speakyng in the plurell
 nombre and endyfferentlye / and not sayd to Peter, go thou therfore, & sende thou
 the other / whiche thyng the apostle expresseynge more largely, to determyne this
 questyon (that is to wyte that no man shulde beleue or suppose, that any of the a
 postles had this prerogatyue or auctorite vpon or aboue other) remouynge or ta
 kyng a waye expresselye such prerogatyue from Peter, of whome peraduenture
 this semed to be trewe, that he was aboue the other, because of certayne wordes
 spoken to hym synngularly of chryste, and also because he was elder than the other
 he sayth thus in the seconde chapptre to the Galatians. For they which semed to
 be somewhat or to be in pryce & greatly esteemed / gaue me nothyng or helped me
 nothyng / but contrarie wyse I them / whan they had sene and perceyued, that
 the preachynge of the gospel to the Gentyles vncircumcysed, was cōmytted to
 me, lyke wyse as it was cōmytted to Peter, to preache the gospel to the people of
 the Jewes / for he that wrought in Peter to be apostle of circumcysion / wrought
 also in me amonge the Gentyles. And whan they had knowen the grace, which
 was gyuen to me / James / Peter / & Iohā / whiche semed to be the pyllers / gaue
 to me & to Barnabas, theyr ryght handes of felowshyp. &c. he therfore & wrought
 p. i. in Peter

THE DEFENCE

Augustyne.

Paul, toke
nothyng of
Peter.

Ambrose.
Paul was
not sent of
Ananias.

Paul was
more worthy
apostle.

Howe and af-
ter what ma-
ner, Peter
was supery-
or to the o-
ther apostles.

in Peter to the apostleship: wrought in also in Paul/and this was chryst/ergo
he toke not or receyued this maner offyce of Peter:and lyke wyse no more dyd the
other apostles/where also the glose after the mynde of saynt Augustyne expres-
synge this more largely/sayth thus. They whiche seemed to be somewhat, that is
to wyte Peter and the other whiche were with our lord: gaue nothyng, that is
to saye added nothyng to me/wherein it is euident, that I am not inferiour to
them/seynge that I am made so perspyte of the lord and of god/that there was no
thyng, whiche in & cōferryng of my preachynge with theyr owne/they myght
adde to my perfeccion. So here that Paul was not inferiour to Peter, nor to the
other apostles/consequently, to this purpose/it foloweth thus in the glose/when
they had sene or perceyued, that the preachynge of the gospell to the vncircumcy-
sed gentyles, was betaken to me/as saythfull and trusty, so pryncypally, as the
gospell of circumcysion was betaken to Peter. So that Paul was sent as pryn-
cypallye, as Peter was/and not of Peter or of any other of the apostles/but of
chryste imedyatlye/whiche thyng the apostle more largelye expressynge in the
first chapytre of the same epystle, sayth thus. Paul the apostle, not of men or by
man:but by Ihesus chryste, & god & father/where the glose sayth after the mynde
of Ambrose. Paul the apostle, not electe or sent by men, that is to wyte, by Ana-
nias as certayne men sayd/or by other men, as certayne were elected and sent by
the apostles/and a lytle after it foloweth in the same glose, after the mynde of
Augustyne. For the other apostles seemed to be greater, because they were afore.
And this apostle seemed to be leaste/because he was laste/ but hereof he appereth
more worshipfull/because the first apostles were made and ordayned by chryste
beyng yet partlye a man, that is to saye mortall/ but the last apostle (that is to
wyte Paul) was constituted and made by chryste nowe beyng whole god/that
is to saye vterly mortall/and by god the father / whiche dyd or wrought this by
the same/and that he myght open and declare wherefore he sayd neyther by man/
he sayth after ward, which hath raysed hym vp from deathe. And so he hath more
worthelye or worshipfullye made me by chryste beyng immortal: than he dyd the
other by chryst beyng mortal. Agayne the apostle cōfyrmyng this afterwarde
in & same chapytre, sayth thus. I gyue you knowlege or do you to wyte brethern:
that the gospell, whiche hath ben preached of me: is not after man/for I haue not
receyued it, or learned it of man:but by the reuelacyon of Ihesu chryste/where the
glose after the mynde of Augustyne sayth. I do you to wytte bretherne, that the
gospell whiche hath ben preached of me: is not after the mynde of any man, tea-
chyng me/& verely it is not of man:for I haue not receyued it, neyther learned
it of man, so that man dyd electe me to preache it, or inioyne me to preache it. Ney-
ther I learned it of man teachynge me:but by the reuelacyon of Iesu chryste. So
here, that neyther Peter, neyther any other of & apostles, or any man hath chosen
Paul, or sent hym or inioyned to hym the mynistry of preachynge the gospell.
The same is to be iudged also of & other apostles. Peter therefore had no powre (&
moche lesse than he had coactyue iurysdyccion) of god imedyatlye, vpon & other a-
postles/neyther of istrytutige them in & offyce of priesthode/neyther to segregate
and departe them in sondre, or to sende them to the offyce of preachynge/sayng
onely that this maye safelye be graunted, that Peter was afore or aboue other in
age or auncyntnes/or perauenture afore them in offyce as touchynge tyme or the
chosynge of the apostles, that is to saye fyrste elected apostle/for whiche cause the
other apostles had hym in reuerence, not vnworthely/albeit & no man can proue
this eleccion of Peter afore the other apostles:by the holy scripture. And that this
is trewe which we haue sayd/it is an euident token, seynge that we do not fynde
any

any where in the scripture, that Peter toke vpon hym any auctorite synghulerly about & other apostles / but rather that he kepte and vsed equalytie with them / for he toke not to hym selfe auctorite, to determyne suche thyngs which were doubtfull concernynge the preachynge of the gospell, which pertaineth to doctryne & teachynge / but suche thyngs, as were doubtfull, concernynge this busynes: were determyned by the comune delibetacion or councyle of the apostles, and of other chrysten men most learned / and not by the determynacyn of Peter alone: or of any other apostle severally by hym selfe / wherfore in the .xv. chaptyre of the actes, when a dyssencion was risen amonge & preachers of the gospell, whether it was necessarye to circumcise the chrysten men that were uncircumcised, for the gettynge or obtaynyng of euerlastynge saluacyon: and certayne sayd, that it was necessarye, but Paule and Barnabas sayd playnly agaynst it: the apostles and the senyors assembled togyther to take consultacyon of this mater / vpon which Peter and James sayd, that it was not necessarye / to whose sentence and iudgement the senyors and the other apostles consented / wherfore it foloweth after wordes in the text. Then it pleased the apostles, and senyors, with the whole congregacyon, to chose men, and to sende them to Antioche / with Paule & Barnabas. .cc. sendynge letters by theyr handes / & the maner of theyr wytyngge, was lyke to the maner of a delibetacion or consultacyon in this fourme and facyon. The apostles, and senyors, and brethern, to the brethern of the gentyles, which are in Antioche, in Siria, and Cilicia: sendeth greetynge. .cc. A lyke thyng is also had afterwarde in the same chaptyre, when it is sayd / it pleased vs therfore beyng assembled togyther in one, to chose men, and to sende them vnto you / as gayne the same thyng is had in the same chaptyre a lytle after / it hath pleased the holy ghoost and vs, to laye no more burthayne vpon you. Thus than it is euident, that Peter dyd not determyne the aforesayd doubtles concernynge the sayth / of the fulnes of powre / which fulnes of powre certayne maysters and teachers in Istraell, dreamynge, dothe saye / that the bysshop of Rome hath / which also hath pronounced and gyuen sentence in theyr decrees wyten, that the bysshop of Rome by hym selfe alone (which thyng Peter durst neuer be bolde to do) may determyne the doubtles, which are concernynge the sayth / which is openly and euidently false / and playnely contrary to the scripture / wherof also we shall speake largely in the nexte chaptyre hereafter folowynge, & in the .xx. chaptyre of this dyccion. It was the congregacion than of the learned chrysten men / which toke councyll / which determyned the doute / which chose messengers / and which wrote. And by this auctorite of the whole congregacyon: the thyng which was so determyned and comaunded, was of strength / for the congregacyon of the apostles was of more or greater auctorite, than Peter alone / or any other apostle by hym selfe / wherfore we do rede, that Peter was sent by the congregacion in to Samarie / as it is euident in the .viii. chaptyre of the actes, by these wordes / when the apostles had herde which were at Iherusalem, that the Samaritanes had receyued the worde of god / they sent to them Peter & Iohn. Why then or wherof dothe certayne cursed flaterers take vpon them, to saye, that any bysshop hath the fulnes of powre gyuen to hym by chryste, not onely vpon laye men, but also vpon clarkes / saynge that saynt Peter, or any other apostle, neuer presumed to ascribe such maner powre vnto hym selfe, neyther by worde or deade / wherfore they which aspyrne and say this, are to be laughthe to scorne, and nothyng to be beleaued, and lesse to be feared / saynge that the scriptures crye playnly the contrarye in the lytterall and manifest sence of them. For saynt Peter had neuer suche powre vpon the apostles or other: but he kepte rather equalyte with them, accordynge to the

THE DEFENCE

Saynt Pet
 had no more
 auctorite than
 the other a-
 postles had.

precepte of chryste, as we haue sayd before / wherfore it is red in the .xxiii. of Ma-
 thewe. Be not you wyslynges to be called Rabbi, & is to say in englysshe mayster
 for your mayster is but one chryst / & all you at breithen / & is to say equall one of
 you with an other / & he sayd al you: exceptyng no man. This sentence also is co-
 fyrmed by the apostle in the seconde chapytre to the Galatians, where he sayth.
 And I went vp to Iherusalem accordyng to the reuelacyon / and I conferred
 with them, the gospel, which I do preache amonge the Gentyles / where & glase
 after the mynde of Augustyne sayth. And I dyd not learne of them as of supery-
 ours / that is to wyte of Peter, nor of the other more pryncypall apostles, of whom
 it shall be spoken hereafter. But I conferred with them: as with my frendes, and
 peers, or felowes. The same is shewed agayne afterwarde in the same chapytre
 whan the apostle sayd / but whan Peter was com to Antioche: I withstode hym
 openly to his face. Because he was reprobable. &c. where the glase after the mynde
 of saynt Iherome sayth. they gaue nothyng to me, but I gaue to Peter / and it
 foloweth there consequentye. I resysted or withstode hym, as his peer or matche /
 for he wolde not haue ben bolde to do this: excepte he had knowen hym selfe not
 to be inferiour. Beholde here therfore, that Paule was egall to Peter in offyce &
 dygnyte, & not inferiour / albeit that Peter was senior to hym in age, and also pa-
 stor afore hym in tyme. Lykewyse it appereth that neyther saynt Peter, nor any
 other apostle, had premyence or powre & auctorite aboue other, in the dystribu-
 tyng of the tēporall goodes, which were offered to the pryncypall church / wher
 of it is red in the .liii. of the actes / for as many as were possessyoners of landes &
 houses / solde them, and broughte the pryces of them, and layde them afore the fete
 of the apostles / and they were deuyned to eche man: after as eche one had neede.
 So here, that the dysposicion & orderpge of the tēporall thynges, whiche were
 offred vnto the church: was done by the apostles in comune togyther / and not by
 Peter alone / for it is not sayde they layde afore the fete of Peter: but afore & fete
 of the apostles / neyther is it sayd and Peter deuyned: but they were deuyned. &c.
 ¶ Tel me therfore, wherby, or from whence, or howe, cometh the auctorite to the
 Bysshop of Rome, for to dystribute suche thynges accordyng to his owne plea-
 sure or elles to clayme as deue to hym selfe alone, the thynges bequest in mennes
 testament; for charitable causes, & to good and godly vses / but yet comytted to
 other men for to be kepte or dystributed / seynge that it is neyther lafulfull to hym
 alone. neyther yet with an other, neyther by the lawe of god, nor yet of man, to de-
 maunde or clayme suche maner thynges, whiche hath ben comytted and betaken
 to the faythfull custody of other men by reasonable lawes / as by the wyll of the
 testatours, or of them & so ordayned / for let the testatour say or wyll any thyng
 concernyng that whiche is his owne, & it shall be a lawe. as it is wyrtē in other
 plac. For there can be no cause or reason taken of the holy scrypture, whiche maye
 make vs to beleaue. that this powre belongeth to the Bysshop of Rome, or elles to
 any other Bysshop / but rather the contrarie / but yf these legacies or bequest were
 comytted (by the kynge) to the church of a certayne and a determinate dyocese,
 for to be dystributed: than shall it appertayne to those Bysshoppes whiche are ru-
 lers of & sayd dyocese / but in no wyse to the pope of Rome. And the cause of this
 is, for that the Bysshop of Rome neyther hath, neyther had, of chryste any powre
 or auctorite aboue the other, that be Bysshops or preeftes as well as he. And this
 was one of the thyngs purposed of vs syns & begynnynge of this chapytre. For
 as Peter had not any suche prerogatyue or powre aboue the other apostles / euen
 so neyther the successours of Peter in the epyscopall see of Rome, hath any pre-
 rogatyue aboue the successours of the other apostles. For Peter had no powre or
 auctorite

auctorite to gyue vnto them preeftode, apostleship, or the dygnyte of a bysshop for all they toke this powre or auctoritie imedyatlye of chryste / & not by the mynysterie of Peter, more than Peter toke it by the mynysterie of them / as we haue proued heretofore euidentlie of the scripture. And saynt Augustyne also sayth the same expressely in his booke of the questions of the newe & of the olde testamēt in the .lxxxiii. questyon: where he sayth thus. The same daye (that is to wote the fyrstie daye) the lawe was gyuen: vpon whiche daye also the holy ghost lyghsted & cam downe vpon the dyscyples / that they shulde take auctorite / & also haue cunynge and knowlege, to preache the lawe of the gospel. ¶ Moreover as Peter is red to haue ben elected and chosen bysshop by the multitude of chrysten people, & neded not the cōfirmacyon of the other apostles: so also & other apostles were bysshoppes & gouernours in other prouynces, without any knowlege of Peter, or any instytucyon or consecracyon taken of hym / for they were consecrated suffyciently by chryste / wherfore it is to be thought & supposed lyke wyse, that the successours of the other apostles: neded not any cōfirmacyon of the successours of Peter / but rather moreouer many successours of the other apostles, were elected and instytuted bysshops in dede fowtme and maner, and also dyd gouerne and rule theyr prouynces holye and vertuouslie: without any other instytucyon or cōfirmacyon of them, done by the successours of Peter. And this was so lausfully obserued euen vnto the tyme of Constanstyn the emperour / which gaue (as it is tryed) a certayne preheminence & powre to the bysshops & to the churche of Rome: vpon the other churches, or all other preeftes of the worlde. And this equalyte of Peter and the other apostles: the apostle Paule dyd sygnifye in & seconde of the epystle to the Galatians, whan he sayde. They gaue theyr ryght handes of societye & felowshipp, to me & to Barnabas / that we shulde be apostles & preachers amonge the gentyles: & they them selues amonge the Jewes. They gaue then the ryght handes of societie & equalyte, as it was sayde before of the glose after Augustyne / albeit & the sayenge of the apostle in this poynte is so open & playne & it nedeth no glose / whiche thyng also we haue proued here before by the epystle of saynt Iherome to Euander the preeft / where he sayth & all bysshoppes, whether it were of Rome, or of any other place: are all of one & the same preeftode, & meetyte or of one powre and auctoritie gyuen by chryste. But yet yf any where it be founde in the wrytyngs of certayne holy fathers, that Peter is called Princeps apostolorum, & is to say, the cheyfe or principall of the apostles: it is sayd takynge this word princeps largely & vnproperly / albeit that it is openly agaynst the sentence & sayenge of chryste in the .xx. of Matthewe, & the .xxii. of Luke, where he sayth. The prynces of the gentyles haue domynion of them / but you not so. And therefore it is to be sayd & the holy fathers spake not so meanyng & Peter had any powre or auctorite gyuen to hym by chryste ouer or vpon the other apostles / but peraduenture because he was elder in age / or because he fyrste of all the apostles, dyd confesse, that chryste was the very consubstancial sone of god / or els because peraduenture he was more feruent cōstante, or bolde in the fayth / or els because he was more often tymes cōuersant with chryst, & more often called i secrete busynesse & counseyles / wherfore the apostle in the seconde chapytre to & Galatians, sayth thus. James Peter & Iohn whiche seemed to be & pylers. &c. where & glose after & mynde of Ambrose sayth / because they were more worshipful: for that they were alwayes with our lord in secrete busynesses. A cōuenyēt example of the whiche thyng, may be taken of the worldly prynces. For one of them is not aboue an other / or of them by haunynge any powre one ouer an other / as the erles of one realme of whom one is not vnder an other of them in iurysdyccion or auctorite / but they

Augustine.

That & apostles were egal in dygnyte.

Why Peter was called & price or cheyfe of & apostles.

THE DEFENCE

Be all immediatly vnder the kynge / & yet for all that one, or mo then one of them is otherwhyles accepted more honorable then the other: because they be elder or more auncient / or els because they be more excellent in one or mo vertues / or because they be more obsequyouse & obedyēt, or do more pleasure or seruyce to the kynge, or to the realme. For whiche cause they be more loued of the kynge or the people: & had in more reuerēce then the other / & after this same maner we ought to iudge of the apostles, in cōparyson of them one to an other, & vnto chryst / for all they were vnder the powre & auctorite of chryste immediatly & receyued of hym theyr instytuciō in the offyce of preeftode, & of apostleship, not one of them of an other (as the scripture wytnesseth openly euery where, & the saynt folowynge the scripture) albeit yet & amonge them saynt Petre was the most worshipfull: for the causes aforesayde / but not for any powre or auctorite gyuen to hym by chryste, ouer or vpon the other apostles / for this powre or auctorite, chryste forbade them to haue one ouer an other, as we shewed afore by the .xxiii. of Mathewe, when he sayde dyrectly to the present purpose, vnto them these wordes. Be you not in wyll to be called Rabbi (which is to say mayster) for you haue but one mayster chryste / & all you be brethren / & lyke wyse neyther had he any coactyue iurysdyccion vpon the other apostles / more then they had ouer hym / & so consequently neyther his successours vpon the successours of the other apostles / for this chryste vtterly forbade them in the .xx. of Mathewe, & the .xxii. of Luke: when he sayd dyrectly, for this present purpose vnto them (when there was a cōtēcion made amonge them whiche of them shuld be the greatest) these wordes folowynge. The kynge & prynces of the gentylles: are lordes ouer them / & they whiche are greater don exerceyse powre & auctorite vpon them / but do not you so. Chryst coulde nomore openly & playnly haue denyed it them / why then shall any man beleue the tradycion of man concernynge this mater, whether he be saynt or no saynt: more then & most playne & open speche or sayenge of chryste: for agaynst suche maner persone or persones chryste speketh in the .vii. of Marke: when he sayd dyrectly to our present purpose. But they honouren me in vayne, teachynge the doctrynes & preceptes of men / for you leaue the cōmaundement of god: & do holde or kepe the tradyciōs of men / & a lytle after it foloweth / you do wel refuse or make the cōmaundemēt of god voyde, or of none effecte: & you may kepe your owne tradyciōs. And this thyng do all they: which teachen the Decretalles made by men / which sayen, that to the bysshop of Rome belōgeith powre & domynyon of the tēporal goodes, not onely of men of this church that is to say ecclesiastical persons: but also of the tēporalles belōgynge to kynge & emperours / makinge the precepte of god voyde and of none effecte (as it was shewed in the .xiiii. chapytre, & as it appereth euidently of this present chapytre) that they may kepe theyr owne tradycion or constytucion cōcernynge the tēporal goodes: for theyr owne profyte & aduāitage. But yet yf the apostles had elected & chosen saynt Peter, as ouerseer to them, or more pryncypall, because of his age: & more excellent holynes (as it is had of a certayne decre of Anacletus pope which is cōtayned in the Code or booke of Isydore, & tēpte of which decre is in this forme folowynge. But the other apostles with the same Pet receyued honour & powre by egall felowship / & they wyllid hym to be cheyfe & pryncypall of them (yet for all & it shuld not folowe hereof, that his successours in the see of Rome, or in any other see, yf he were bysshop any where els: hath the same priorite or preheminēce aboue the successours of the other apostles / except his successours were chosen ther vnto by the successours of the other apostles / for some successours of the other apostles: were of more vertue, then certayne of the successours of Peter. Howbeit properly euery bysshop is indyfferently the successour of euery one of the apostles as touchynge

The decretalles made by men.

touchynge to offyce though he not as touchynge to place. Agayne why shuld this superiorite or prerogatyue belonge more to the successours of Peter in the see of Rome: then to his successours in the see of Antioche, or of Jerusalem, or in any other see yf he had ben bysshop in many sees. &c. Moreouer every bysshoppe as touchynge to the intrynseall dygnyte, is to say, the inseperable dygnyte, is indyferently the successour of eche one of the apostles / & of the same meryte or perfectyon, as touchynge to the dygnyte aforesayd or offyce / for all they haue this powre all one, of one & the same cause effpetyt or gyuer imedyatly, is to wyte of chryste & not of hym that put on his handes vpon them. Neyther it maketh any skyll or force, whiche of 3 apostles layde on his handes / wherfore it is wyrtten in the thyrde chapytre of the fyrst epystle to the Corynthianes. Let no man glorie or reioyse in men / whether it be Paul or Apollos or Cephas (that is to wyte Peter. &c.) & hath baptysed you, or other wyse layde handes: it maketh no force. Furthermore the bysshop of Rome is not or ought not to be called syngulerly the successour of saynt Peter: for cause of the puttyng or layenge on handes / for one may be couenyently bysshop of Rome / vpon whom saynt Peter neuer layde hande, neyther medyately ne yet imedyatly. Neyther agayne he ought to be called 3 successour of Peter, for 3 see or determynacion or appoyntment of 3 place. Fyrst because none of 3 apostles was determyned or appoynted at all by 3 lawe of god to any people or place / for it was sayd in the last chapytre of Mathewe. to them all. So you therefore & teache you all nacyōs / agayne because it is red that Peter was at Antioche: before that he was at Rome. Moreouer because though Rome were made inhabitable & destroyed / yet the successyon of Peter shulde not therefore perysshe / but Peter shulde haue a successour. Furthermore because it can not be proued neyther by the lawe of god, neyther by the scripture (althoughe it doth call men to the belefe of it selfe of the necessitye of saluacyon) that it was ordayned or appoynted by chryste, or by any of the apostles, that the bysshop of any determynat prouynce or dyocesse is, or ought to be called spirituallly the successour of Peter or of any other apostle, & superiour to other / the case put that the apostles had ben neuer so vnegall in auctorite / but that persone or those persones be rather some maner way more the successours of Peter, & of the other apostles / whiche be more cōformable to the lyfe, and holy maners & cōuersacyon of Peter, & the other apostles / for such maner men the blyssed apostles wolde answer (yf they were asked the questyon) to be theyr successour / moche lyke to the answer of chryste theyr mayster in 3. xii. of Mathewe where when one sayd to hym. Why mother & thy brethren stonde without & dores sekynge the or wyllige to speke with the, he answered & sayd who is my mother? or who be my brethren? who soeuer shall fulfill the wyll of my father which is in heuen, he is my brother & suster & mother / whiche of the bysshops then or preests, is more worthy to be called the successour of the apostles? doubtles, he whiche foloweth them more in theyr cōuersacion & works. But yf any man shall say, & any bysshop is therefore pryncypally made the successour of saynt Peter, because he is elected by the clargy of Rome, or by the clargy with the resydue of the people, to the bysshoprliche, & therefore to be made bysshop & ouerseer of the vniuersal church althoughe more spirituallly he belonge to the cytie of Rome, as longe as it shall remayne vndestroyed, it is to be answered & sayd that albeit this sayēge may be many wayes repleued, yet it may suffpetytly be disproued & put by, by this one waye / seynge that it can not be proued by the holy scripture / but rather the cōtrary of it / as it hath ben shewed here before, & shall be shewed more largely in 3 chapytre nexte hereaft folowinge / wherfore as lyghtly as it is sayd: so lyghtly it may be denyed. But wherby or how, & for what cause, the pryncipalite or superiorite hath

Every one of the bysshops is the successour of saynt Peter.

who is 3 successour of the apostles.

THE DEFENCE

The Bysshop
pes of Rome
are rather the
successours of
Paule then
of saynt Pet

com to the Bysshop and church of Rome (yf suche superpouite be deu to them) a
bone other Bysshops & churches: it shall be sayde serpously & earnestly in the. xxi.
chappytre of this dyccyon. But though these thyngs aforesayde be metuaylouse,
& vnwonte to be harde: yet this that foloweth is more metuaylouse, bycause it is
more vnwonte & straunge, & it shal peraduenture seme at & least wyse inopinable
yf it do not seme false. That by & certayne & vndoubted testimony of & scripture
it may be proued, & the Bysshops of Rome as touchynge the prouynce & nacyon:
ben rather the successours of the apostle Paule, then of Peter: namely in the epis-
copall see of Rome. And moreouer (whiche shall seme exceedynghly more metuay-
louse then this before rehersed) that it can not be proued by the holy scripture that
the Bysshoppes of Rome ben the especyal successours of saynt Peter, by reason of
the determinacyon of the prouynce or see but rather, that they, for that cause: are
the successours of Peter: whiche haue ben Bysshops, and haue set or don set in the
epyscopall see of Antioche, more then the Bysshoppes of Rome. And the former of
these two sayengs may be proued, by this: that albeit saynt Paule was general-
ly sent to all nacjons, lyke wyse as every one of the other apostles was (wherof
it is red in the. iij. of the actes, he is a chosen vessel vnto me, for to bere my name
afore the gentyles and kynges and sones of Israel, but yet specyallye & pryn-
cypally he was the apostle of the gentyles: lyke wyse as Peter was the apostle &
teacher of the Jewes: as well by reuelacyon as by the ordynacion of the apostles
amonge them selues: wherfore it is red in the seconde to the Galatians / whan
James, Peter & Iohn had perceyued and sene, that the gospel of vncircumcysion
(that is to saye of the Gentyles) was betaken to me, as the gospel of circumcysion
(that is to saye of the Jewes) was betaken to Peter. &c. and the apostle mea-
neth in both places the preachynge of the gospel to the gentyles, & to the Jewes:
to haue ben comytted to hym & to Peter pryncypally: for both Peter myght pre-
ache to the Gentyles, and Paule to the Jewes: yf cause or necessity had so requy-
red. Albeit that the pryncypalite amonge the Gentyles by mynystryng of the
gospel dyd belöge to Paule: & the pryncipalite of mynystryng the same to the
Jewes dyd belöge to saynt Peter: as the glose expoundeth the same place after
the mynde of Augustyne. Agayne in the. xxi. of the act. it was sayde to Paule
beyng in a traunce, by reuelacyon. Go thy way, for I shall sende the in to farre
nacjons. Agayne in the. xxi. & the last of the actes it is sayde: & so we came to
Rome. And a lytle afterwarde the apostle speaketh to & Jewes in some sayenge.
Be it therfore knowen to you, that this holsome gospel of god, is sent to the gen-
tyles: & they shal here it: & he remainned or dwelled hore two yeres: in a house that
he hyred: & receyued al men that cam in to hym: preachynge to them the kyngdom
of god. Agayne he hym selfe wytnesseth this, more specyally in the. xi. to the Ro-
mayns wher he sayth. For I say to you gētyles: & as löge as I am & apostle of
the gentyles, I shall do honoure to my mynysterye: yf I may by any meane pro-
uoke my nacyon to emulacyon & folowynge: & is to say, though otherwhyles I
do exhorte the Jewes also to this, yet pryncypally I am sent apostle to the gen-
tyles. Agayne it is wryten of hym to the Galatians, in the seconde chappytre. Ja-
mes, Peter, & Iohn whiche semed to be the pyllers, gaue to me & to Barnabas &
ryght handes of societie & felowshyp that we vnto the gētyles: & they vnto circū-
cysion (that is to say to the Jewes) shuld go to preache the gospel: and last of all the
same is red in the secōde of the fyrst epystle to Timothe & in the fyrst of the secōde
epystle to the same: but the text, I haue lefte out here because of shortenes.
¶ For as moche than, as it is open euidentlye by the scripture, that Paule was
two yeres abydynge in Rome, & that there he dyd receyue al the Gentiles, which
were

were wyllynge to be conuicted / & that he dyd preache the gospel there: it is playne
 and open, that he was specially bysshop of Rome / because he dyd exerceyse there
 the offyce of a pastore or bysshop / haupynge & auctorite therof of chryst & comaunde
 ment, by reuelacion / & the consent of other apostles by eleccion. But as touchynge
 to saynt Peter, in whome the seconde of the purposes sayde shall be proued, & ap-
 pere euidently. I do saye / that it can not be proued of the holy scripture that he
 was bysshop of Rome, neyther yet (whiche is a greater thyng) that he was euer
 at Rome. For it semeth a very wonderful thyng yf it shuld be so as it is red in a
 certayne comune ecclesiasticall legende of saynts, that Peter dyd come to Rome a
 fore saynt Paule / & there dyd preache the worde of god, & afterwarde was taken.
 Moreover that afterwarde saynt Paule at his comynge to Rome, & Peter togy-
 ther had so many confyctes or dysputacyons with Symon the inchaüter / & that
 they both togyther stroue so greatly for the fayth, agaynst the emperours & theyr
 mynysters, & that at the last accordynge to the same bystorie: they bothe beyng
 headed togyther for the cofessyon of chryste, dyed in our lorde, & so dyd cōsecrate &
 church of Rome to chryste. I say it is a wonderful thyng & neyther saynt Luke
 whiche wrote the actes of the apostles / neyther saynt Paule made any mencyon
 at all of saynt Peter. Agayne that saynt Peter came not to Rome afore them
 it is of great lykelyhode to be beleuyd by that, that is wyrtten in the last chapytre
 of the actes. For whan Paule spake vnto & Jewes, at his fyrste comynge / amonge
 other thynges wyllynge to shewe the cause of his comynge to Rome: he saythe.
 But when the Jewes cryed cōtrary I was constrayned to appele vnto Ceaser.
 But they sayd vnto hym / we neyther receyued letters cōcernynge the from iewry
 neyther cam there any of & brethren, that shewed or spake any harme of the. But
 we desyre to here of the what thy mynde or oppnyon is / for as touchynge to this
 secte: we do knowe that it is euery where sayd agaynst. Let therefore the searcher of
 the trouthe, not sechynge to cōtende & stryue onely: tell me, whether it be probable
 or lykely to any man, that saynt Peter came to Rome afore Paule, & dyd shewe
 them nothyng of the fayth of chryste / whiche the Jewes spekyng to Paule cal-
 led a secte. Furthermore Paule, in rebukynge them of theyr icredulyte & hardnes
 to beleue, yf he had knowen that Peter had ben there, & had preached: how coulde
 it be but & he wolde haue sayd, & brought in hym to be wytnes of this busynes,
 whiche was wytnes of the resurreccyon of chryst: as it is open in the thyrd of the
 actes / & agayne (where of we haue spoken alreedy) who wyll suppose or thynke &
 Paule beyng abydynge in Rome two yeres / had neuer cōuersacion cōmunicas-
 cyon, or cōpanye & felowshyp with Peter? And yf he had, that Luke wolde haue
 made no mencion therof at all, whiche wrote the bystorie of the actes: for in other
 lesse famous places, whan Paule founde Peter he made mencyon of hym / and
 was cōuersant with hym, as in Corynthe (as we rede in the fyrste epystle and
 thyrd to & Corynthyas) & in Antioche (as it is had in the secōde to & Galatiās)
 & so of very many other places / yf he had therefore founde hym in Rome: how coulde
 it be, but he wolde haue named hym, Rome beyng & most famous cytie of all o-
 ther. & in which after & foresayd bystorie, saynt Pet was ruler as bysshop therof /
 for these thynges be in a maner vnbeleueable / wherfore it semeth that, that bysto-
 ry or legende can not prouable be sustayned or holden in this poynt / and that it
 ought to be counted amonge the scriptures whiche be called apocriphe / and of no
 canonycall veryte. But by the holy scripture it is to be holden vndoubtedly that
 saynt Paule was bysshop of Rome / and yf any other were with hym in Rome,
 yet for all that Paule was syngulerly and pryncypally bysshop of Rome for the
 causes foresayd / and that saynt Peter was bysshop of Antioche: as it appereth
 in the

Saynt Peter
 was not one;
 nye not bys-
 shop of Ro-
 me / but also
 he neuer cam
 there.

Legenda Ec-
 clesiastica.

THE DEFENCE

In the seconde chapytre to the Galatians. But that he was bysshop of Rome I do not say agaynst it / but of lykelyhode I do holde that in this Peter dyd not preuent or com before Paule / but rather contrary wyse Paule preuented Peter. But the thyngge whiche of all is most to be taken hede of, & marked for our pryncypall purpose is this: & albeit there are some congruences, by reason of which it myght appere, that they whiche are called (whiche waye soeuer it be) specyally the successours of saynt Peter, & namely, the epyscopall see of Rome, are more worshypful & reuerēde, than the successours of the other apostles / yet for all that of no necessity holy scripture causeth vs to beleue, that the successours of the apostles are subiectes to & same successours of Peter, after any of the powers or auctorities afore sayd. For all thowghe it were graunted, that the apostles were vnegall in auctorite: yet had not Peter therfore, nor any other apostle by the vertue of the wordes of scripture, any powre vpon & other, to instytute or depose them, neyther as touchyng to the dygnyte of preefthode / which we haue called the essencyall dygnyte neyther as touchyng the sendyng or determynynge, and appoyntyng of them to any certayne place or people / neyther to the interpretynge of scripture: or of the catholical fayth, neyther as touchyng to coactyue iurysdyccyon of any man in this world / wherfore of necessity it semeth to folowe, that neyther any successour of any of them syngularly or specyallye (after what soeuer maner he be so called) hath any of the abouesayde maners of powre, vpon the successours of the other. And this may be euidently consermed by the auctorite of saynt Iherome which we brought in, of his epystle to Euādre aboute the ende of the chapytre last afore gone.

Of the auctorite of instytutynge bysshoppes, to whome it dothe appertayne and belonge, and also of instytutynge other curates / & the other mynysters of the church, as touchyng to both dignyties or offycs, seperable & vnseperable.

The. xviij. chapytre.



Thus than we haue shewed, who is the effectyue cause (that is to say the instituter & ordayner) of & fyrst auctorite belongynge to preefth, which we haue called the essencyall auctorite / & now we it resteth and remaineth vnto vs for to determyne & speake of the other auctorite by which some of the preefth are preferred before other some, to be rulers outther to certayne preefth, or to certayne people, or to bothe / in a certayne prouynce or place. Moreover howe or wherby it belongeth to the same, to dyspence & ordie or dystribute certayne tēporall thyngs, called the benefices of the church. Agayne also, howe & by which meane coactyue iurysdyccions hath come to them or to certayne of them. To what persone also or psones & after what maner most cōueniently: it belōgeth to determyne & doubtfull sences of the holy scripture / namely & cheyfly in those thyngs which are appertaynyng to the necessity of soule helthe / for whan these thyngs shall be ones suffyciently opened and declared: that thyngge shall euidently appere whiche was pryncypally intended and purposed of vs euer syns the begynnynge of this worke.

But yet afore that we do prosecute the thynges here purposed partyculerlye, it is expedyent and necessarye, to shewe fyrst the maner of the instytucion, determynynge, or assygnynge of bysshops or preefthes, vsed aboute the state & begynnynge of the prymatyue church / from whiche all other thynges aboue ben afterwarde derpyued

dermyed. And the begynnynge of all these thyngs are to be taken of chryste, which is the heed and stone, wherupon the catholyke church is grounded/accordynge to the sayenge of saynt Paule in the.iii.and.v.to the Ephesians, and in the. p. of the fyrste to the Coryntheanes, & a certayne glose also sayth the same, in the.xvi. of Mathewe vpon this tecte. Vpon this stone I wyll buylde my church / this sted I saye, and the stone, & the foundacyon of the church, that is to wyt chryste gaue preefthode to the apostles, and episcopall auctorite, ouer & vpon all nacys, ons and peoples, not determynynge or appoyntyng any of them seuerallye, so vnto any certayne place or people, but & it myght be lauffull to euery one of them to preache where soeuer it were / albeit that some of them were more deputed and assygned to preache amonge the Gentyles, & some to preache amonge the Jewes by the ordynacyon of them amonge them selues: or elles of the holy ghost / whiche thyng also semeth to be the mynde of the glose, the seconde to the Galathians / vpon this tecte. And whan they had knowen the grace which was gyuen to me amonge the Gentyles. &c. For there sayth the glose, Chryst gaue to Paule, that he shulde mynystre to the gentyles, and to Peter that he shulde mynystre to the Jewes. But yet this dyspensacyon or mynystre of the gospell, was so dystributed & departed betwene them two: that bothe Peter myght preache to the Gentyles, yf cause had ben, and Paule also to the Jewes. And this same also Paule semeth to haue meened lyke wyse in the.xi.to the Romaynes, whan he sayde. I shall put my mynystre to honoure yf I maye by any meane prouoke my nacyon to emulacyon or folowynge. His nacyon he calleth the Jewes of whome he came by carnall generacyon / as the glose sayth in the same place / of whiche wordes of the apostle, it semeth to be thought & iudged, & by the same powre by which one is instytuted and made preef: he hath powre, to mynystre euery where indyfferentlye, and vpon euery people / albeit that by a certayne ordynacyon of man: some are determyned and assygned more to one certayne place or people, than to an other, namely now we adayes. And these thynges semeth consonant & agreeable to the scripture, and also to reason / for chryste gyuyng to euery one of the apostles, generall admynystracyon in the.xviii. of Mathewe: sayde to them indyfferently. So you therfore & teache all nacys / assygnynge or appoyntyng none of them to any determinate place or people. But they seme other whyles to haue ben determyned and assygned to some specyall nacyon or people: by the reuelacyon of god / for as moch as the apostle sayth of hym selfe in the.xvii.of the actes. It chaunced me whan I was retourned in to Iherusalem, and as I was prayenge in the temple: to be rauysshed in mynde, and to se hym, that is to wyt chryste, sayenge vnto me. Make haste and go out quykely from Iherusalem / for they shall not receyue thy testymonye, that thou shalte bere of me. And a lytle after it foloweth, that chryste sayd vnto hym / go thy way: for I shall sende the in to nacions farre hence. So here, semeth it that Paule somtyme by reuelacyon was assygned to some determinate & certayne place & people. And besyde this he also with the other apostles, receyued the same assygnement by a certayne ordynacyon of man / wherfore he sayde in the seconde to the Galathians, thus. James / Peter & Iohn, gaue to me & to Barnabas: the ryght handes of societie & felowshyp / that we shuld preache amonge the Gentyles, & they amonge the Jewes. So here a determynacyon or assygnement of the apostles, vnto certayne people & determinat prouynces: made imedyatlye by the ordynacyon of man. But this is vndoubted that of suche determynacyon or assygnement made, other imedyatlye by the reuelacyon of god, or by the ordynacyon of them amonge them selues / they dyd not receyue any perfeccyon by the holy ghost whiche they had not before.

Chryst is the stone, where vpon & church is grounded & buylde.

THE DEFENCE

The same also as I sayde is agreeable to reason. For the case put, that any Bysshop or other curate, beyng assigned and appoynted to a certayne prouynce or people / were gone forth of & prouynce comytted to hym (as we se it chaunce now adayes more ofte than is nedefull or conuenient) & dyd mete other by some chaunce, or elles of purpose, with some infydel and not baptysed, but yet desyringe other by hym selfe, or by some other persone, of the sayde curate to be baptysed and made chrystened / yf the sayde curate dothe baptise hym keepynge the forme of the sacrament, this is vndoubted, that this man is verely and truly baptysed, albeit peraduenture, that he dothe synne deedly, whiche doth so baptise any man in the prouynce not subiected or comytted to hym / wherfore we maye conclude, that no man is determyned or assigned, by the episcopall or sacerdotale powre which we haue called the essencial powre: vnto any certayne place or people, but this powre indyfferentely concerneth all nacjons and people. But yet suche determinacyons and assignementes haue ben made somtyme by dyuine reuelacyon / as in the prymatyue church / but more often by the ordynacyon of man, namely now adayes / and that for cause of auoydynge sclaunder, & occasyon of offence amonge the Bysshoppes and preestes, one of them with an other, and for other euident commodityes and profytes whiche I shall assigne hereafter.

These thynges than thus premysed and put before / nowe comynge pertycularely and specyally to the thynges purposed in the begynnynge of this chapytre. First we shall shewe, that of suche determinat instytucion of the apostles to certayne peoples and prouynces, the moste conuenient cause effectyue immediat, was the reuelacion of chryst / or els & able ordynacion of them amonge them selues, & afterwards we shall shewe, that the immediat cause effectyue of the determinate instytucion of theyr first successours, afore the conuersion of the people was the expresse wyll of all the apostles, or els of many of them / yf other all, or els many of them, were present togyther in one place or prouynce, in whiche it was necessarye to ordayne and instytute a preeft or Bysshop / or elles onely one of the apostles: accordynge to the dysposycion of the place and people and tyme. Laste of all we shall shewe / that after the dethe of the apostles, or in theyr absence, the secondarye instytucion of Bysshops / and of other spirytuall mynysters / or mynystres of the church, after the most conuenient manere possyble to the conuersion of man / was done by the vniuersyte, or hole congregacion and multytude of the chrysten people, in the place or prouynce, ouer whiche the sayde Bysshoppes or mynystres ought to be instytuted and ordayned / rather than by any other pertyculare copanye or persone / and so afterwarde the other thynges shall be shewed cōsequēty.

The fyrste therfore of these maye appere, that is to wytte, that there can be no more conuenient cause assigned, of the aforesayd determinacion of the apostles to a certayne place. &c. than the deuine reuelacyon, or & conuenient deliberation of them amonge them selues, for as moche as in neyther of these two: there semeth any erroure or malyce to haue chaunced or come betwene / for of the deuine reuelacyon no man doubteth. And as for the eleccyon made by the apostles: it semeth probable, and to be belened, that they were inspyred with the holye ghost / as we haue alledged here tofore of the .xx. chapytre of Iohn. Furthermore I say that of the secondarye instytucion or determinacyon or assignement of theyr first successours, namely afore the conuersion of peoples / the immediat cause effectyue or doer, was and ought to be, all or many of the apostles, or some one alone of them after the maner aforesayd / as yf all togyther, or many, or elles but one alone of them: were founde in that place. And this is proued fyrst by the scripture / for we rede in the .vi. of the actes that the apostles dyd after this maner, in the instytucion of

on of the deacons, yea and that touchynge the fyrste and effencyall (as we do call it) instytucion of them. For it is sayde in the same chapytre. They sette these men (vnderstande thou whiche were to be made deacons) afore the syght of the apostles, and they (that is to wote the apostles) makynge theyr prayers layde theyr handes vpon them. They dyd not than bryng them to Peter alone, but they brought them afore the syght of the apostles. Neyther Peter alone toke vpon hym auctorite seuerally to put his handes vpon them: but the apostles dyd put handes on them. And this is also agreable to reason. For it is lyke to be trewe, that all or many of the apostles togyther, toke more sure counsell, and dyd lesse erre aboute the persone to be promoted outther to preefshode, or to any other holy ordre than any one of them taken seuerally by hym selfe/as we alledged afore in the last chapytre, that for this cause, they assembled with the other senyors or preefstes, to determine the doubte aboute the lawe of the gospel in the facte or worke of cyrculysyon. A gayne by this comune assente, was taken awaye the mater and occasion of offence and contencion/whiche of lykelyhode shulde haue risen amonge them: yf any one of them in the presence of the other wold haue taken vnto hym any powre or superioryte aboue other/whiche contencion risen amonges them euen by chrystes tyme, whiche determyned and ended by this, shewynge and expressing equalte of them, as we haue here tofore alledged of the. xxi. of Actes, the. xxi. of Luke/and also haue shewed it more largely by. 2. apostle also, and the expositiouns of the sayntes in the chapytre last afore gone. Moreover it was most resonable so to do/that thereby they myght take awaye the presumpcion of suche synngulartyte, from all theyr successours, and also gyue them example of doyng lyke wyse as it shall be shewed hereafter in the. ix. parte hereof by the glose vpon the. vi. chapytre of the actes.

The apostles
& not Peter
onelye: layde
handes vpon
them & shulde
be made dea-
cons.

But yf they were not all togyther, or elles many of them, in the place, where it was nedefull to make a bysshop or ouerseer, and gouernour to some multytude of chrysten men, for the keepynge of them in the sayth: it is to be sayde verely, that one of them alone myght lawfully do this thynge, namely where was but a small multytude of chrysten people, and the same rude and vnskylled to dyscerne, what persone was moste conuenient for the offyce of a bysshop or ouerseer, and cheyfe: yf where was not many suffycient or able persons for this sayde offyce, whiche thynge chaunced often tymes to Paule, and to his fyrste successours, as it appeareth suffyciently of the actes of the apostles, and of his owne epystles vnto Timothy and Titus. And that suche maner instytucion myght lawfully, and ought to be made by one of them alone, it maye be proued by this, that thereby was chosen the beste, and most conuenient pastor. For outther it was lawfull for eche one of them at his owne pleasure to make hym selfe ouerseer vnto other in the mynistrye of the gospel, or els this thynge ought to be done by the eleccion of the multytude beyng subiecte, or elles by some of the apostles beyng there presente. Of the fyrst waye, flaundre and erreure myght haue chaunced/flaundre or offence I saye, yf two persons or mo wolde haue taken this auctorite vnto them. Erreure also or insufficiencie and vnableness of the pastor lykwyse. For most comunely fooles or ambitious persons desyreth and goeth aboute to take vpon them dygnyties and prelacies/more than vertuose or wyse men. And of the seconde way (that is to wote, yf the prelate shulde haue ben made by the eleccion of the multytude) erreure & insufficiencie of the persone promoted, myght of lykelyhode haue chaunced/by the reason that the sayd multytude was weke both in nombre and also in knowlege/for they were rude and ignorant at the begynnynge: in mayne prynces/namely out of Jewrye/and easye to be begyled/as it appereth of the holy

Fooles desire
promocyon &
dygnyte.

Albeit & in &
prymatyue
churche some
tyme it hap-
pened & bys-
shop to be cho-
sen of & mul-
titude becau-
se ther lacked
chrysten pryn-
ces to rule the
matter yet &
was a daūge-
rous maner
as our author
sayth ful wel
& then moche
more it were
daungerous
nowe adapes

THE DEFENCE

It were a way
se way now
also, one bys-
shop to be elec-
te by an other
yf men might
be sure that y
bysshops we-
re all of the a-
postles com-
plexion, but
because there
is a great
doubte in y,
thanked be god
a more wyse
& sure way is
founde, y the
eleccon & all
together belo-
geth to the
kyngs mozte
gracious
hyghenes.

As it is graū-
ted to o' most
gracious so-
rayne forde y
kyng by acte
of plyament.

It were to
moche & tedy-
ous for the
kyngs grace
to be trouble-
d his owne
persone with
the eleccon of
euery symple
preefe (as me-
cal them) and
therefore his
grace may cō-
myt y offyce
to them y ben
vnder the
hym, whiche
yf they wolde

epystle to the Galatians and of many other epystles / wherfore the apostle in the
thyde of the fyrste epystle to the Coryntheas, sayth thus. And I biethren myghte
not speke to you, as to spyrytuall persones: but as to carnall persones as to chy-
dren or babes in chryste: I gaue you mylke to drynke / for you were not yet able
or stronge / neyther yet you be able or stronge / for you are yet carnall. wherfore to
conclude, it was a more sure and more wyse way, that this instytucion shulde be
done by y eleccon or determynacion or assygnemēt of one of the apostles, whose
lyfe and wysdom was more wayghtye and greater (by the reason that they had
the holy ghozt) than the lyfe or wysdome of all that were in such a multytude, al-
beit that it is not to be denyed, but that it was expedyent, for the apostle to haue
asked counsaile of the multytude, as touchynge to the maners and conuersacion
of the persone, whiche was to be preferred and elected to the sayd offyce.

¶ Nowe consequentye after the premysse I wyll shewe, that after the tyme of
the apostles, and of the holy fathers, succedynge nexte after the apostles in office
and namely the cōmunytes and congregacions of chrysten men beyng ones per-
fytte, the imedyat factyue cause or doer of this instytucion and assygnacion of the
gouernour and ouerseer, whether he were greater, whom they do nowe call a bys-
shop, or whether he were smaller whom they do nowe call a curate or a preefe ha-
uynge cure, & also of the other inferiour mynystres: is & ought to be hym to whom
the sayd multytude hath graunted auctoryte to make suche instytucyons, or elec-
cyons. And to the same auctoryte it belongeth lausfullye to put out and depyue
euery one of the sayd offycers, of suche maner offyces / and to compell eche one of
them to exerce & execute his offyce, yf it be thought expedyēt & necessary. But
yet we ought to marke & take hede, y although it is in the powre of any preefe
who euer he be, so to exhybite and do his mynysterie, that he maye put his hādes
vpon all men indyfferently and to promote hym to preefthode, hym selfe beyng
as mynyste preparynge, and god absolutlye and imedyatlye gyuynge the powre
of preefthode / yet I do say for al that, y it is not lausfull for hym to gyue it to eue-
ry maner of man at his pleasure / neyther by goddes lawe nor mannes lawe, in
y cōmunytes of chrysten men beyng nowe perfytte, as we sayde before / But more
ouer yf he do exhybite his sayde mynysterie to any crymynous or scannderous
psone, or other wyse insuffycient and vnable, he trespasseth worthy of punyshe-
ment, agaynst the lawe of god, and of man also / that he doth synne punysheable
agaynst y lawe of god: it appereth by the apostle, in the thyde of the fyrst epystle
to Timothe / and in the fyrste chapytre to Tite / for a bysshop ought to be faulte-
les / with other mete qualytyes and properties there rekened vp. And the same or
elles moche lyke: is to be thought and supposed of the deacons / wherfore in the
place afore alledgyd vnto Timothe, he sayth / deacons lyke wyse oughte to be
chaste. &c. And that he dothe also synne and trespasse worthy of payne, agaynst
the lawe of man in promotynge any insuffycient, or an vnable persone to the ec-
clesiasticall ordie, it appereth by these thynges whiche haue ben shewed in the. viii.
chapytre of this dyccion. For he cōmytteth an outwarde acte tournynge to the
nopaūce and hurte of an other man, for the state of this present worlde, and also
of the worlde to come (whiche maye be proued to hym in very dede although he
wolde saye naye) in promotynge vnto a cōmune offyce, suche a persone whiche
maye corrupte the lyfe and maners of other. bothe men, and women / or els whiche
can not (so moche as is expedyent and necessary bothe for the state of this presēt
worlde, and also of the worlde to come) fascion the maners of men / for suche one,
is euer leude and euyl dysposed, or other wyse insuffycient and vnable.

¶ Of these premysse I wyll furthermore inferre and conclude of necessitye, that
in the

In the cōmunitie of chryſten men beyng no we perſpice: it belongeth onely to the kynge or his deputies to haue ouerſyght: to electe, to determyne, or aſſygne, and to preſente the perſones, whiche are to be promoted to the eccleſiaſtical ordres. The perſones therfore whiche are to be promoted vnto eccleſiaſtical ordres: are to be approued or to be dyſallowed by the ſentence or iudgement of hym, whiche is cheyfe hygheſt gouernour. And by the ſame auctoryte: the ſayd perſones are alſo to be inſtytuted, or remoued from the cure or offyce of a byſſhop or preeſte: and to be prohibited from the exercyſynge therof. And alſo, yf of malycyouse purpoſe they dyd ceaſe from the exercyſe of theyr offyce: to be cōpelled to the exercyſynge and doyng of theyr dūtye: leſte throughe theyr lewdnes any man myght fall in to leopardy of eternall death, as for lacke of baptiſme, or of any other ſacrament: and this verely is to be vnderſtanded, in the cōmunitie of chryſten men, whiche are alſedy perſpice. For in ſuch a place, where the pryncce or gouernour an hethen pryncce, as the moſte parte of cōmunytes, and well nere all cōmunytes were a: boute the ſtate and tyme of the prymatyue churche, there the approbacyon or reprobacyon of perſones to be promoted to the eccleſiaſtical ordres, with the aforeſayd inſtytutions, and the auctoryte to proſpibyte them from the exercyſe of theyr offyces, or to compell them to the ſame: ſhulde appertayne & belonge to the preeſt or byſſhoppe, with the more wyſe parte of the chryſten multytude, beyng in the ſayd place: or to hym alone (yf he were there alone) without the conſent or knowledge of the gouernour or cheyfe ruler: that of, or by ſuche maner promotynge & inſtytucyon of prelates or curates: the ſaythe and hoſome doctryne of chryſte myght be publiſſhed whiche thynges ſhulde not be done by the auctoryte, fauour, ſtudye, or cōmaundemēt of the gouernour: but rather ſhulde be proſpibyed. And after this maner dyd the apoſtles this thyng aboute the begynnynge of chryſtes churche: & were bounde to do, by the cōmaundement of god. And the ſuccellours of them ſhuld be bounde alſo to the ſame: in the defaulte of ſuche a pryncce or in defaulte of the hethens pryncce conſent: wherefore the apoſtle ſaythe in the .ix. of the fyrſt to the Corinthyas. For yf I ſhal preache the goſpell: it is no glory or prayſe to me: for neceſſyte of ſo doyng lyeth vpon me, for woo is to me yf I ſhall not preache: but yet where the payment and the pryncce are wyllynge and content, that ſuche thynges be done: I ſaye that the auctoryte belongeth to the pryncce.

¶ But as concernynge the diſtribucyon of the temporallies, whiche are wonte to be called the benefices of the churche: you ought to knowe that ſuche thynges can not here ſo well be dyſputed as they maye be ordred by kynge and theyr moſt honourable and dyſcrete counſayles. ¶ Prouyded alway that the mynyſters of the goſpell haue ſufficyent ſyndynge and ſuſtentacion in meate, drynke, and clothes, ſemelie and ſufficyent for them: and herewith the ſayde mynyſters ought to be contented, as it was ſhewed by the laſt chapytre of the fyrſte epyſtle to Timothe. But as concernynge temporalties ordayned & appoynted to workes of pytie and charyte, by the gyfte or bequeſte of any ſyngulare perſone or perſones departed, I do ſay, that ſuche tēporalties or landes, rentes, or reuenewes, it were well done yf they were conſerued, kepte, and diſtributed, accordynge to the intente, wyll, and mynde of the gyuer, or bequether in caſe the deades mynde ben good & reſonable, but yf it be otherwyſe, or yf erroure or faulte do appere to be in the diſtributers of the ſayd temporalties, and redreſſe therin is nedefull to be had, accordynge to the wyll and mynde of hym whiche was the gyuer, or bequether of them: this errour or faulte ought to be redreſſed or amended by hym that is cheyfe gouernour: ye moreouer, yf he do knowe it, & be of powere to amende it, and dothe not redreſſe it, he offendeth god. For this appertayneth not, nor ought to be done

be neglegēt & vncircūſpecte in the leccyon of them, yet ought not the byſſhop haſte ly to put his handes vpon them, but to ſhew & kyng therof, in whom is the onely remedy. Chaſt, in matrimony he meaneth.

Of whom & myniſter of & churche, is to be choſen.

As is & turke

This is to be vnderſtanded where the conſent of & heathen pryncce can not be obtained, for yf it may, his election is of good force before god.

As in turkye with ſuche lyke places.

The myniſter of the goſpell ought to haue his ſyndynge.

THE DEFENCE

Of the gyfte
of the ecclesi-
astical benefi-
ces.

By any other synnguler company or persone, of what estate soener he be: this onely excepted that the correccyon or redressyng of suche faultes be comytted by the gyuer or bequether vnto any persone or companye / in whome also yf any faulte shuld chaunce to be: at the laste it ought to be corrected and redressed, by the gouernoure & cheyfe ruler / albeit, yet no synnguler persone or companye may buylde a churche and there in ordayne any euangelicall mynystre: without the graunte or lycence of the prynce. ¶ Moreover I wyll shewe or proue the premysse concernynge the instytucion of ecclesiasticall mynystres, and the dystribucion or gyfte of the tēporalles or benefices: by the auctorite of the catholyke chrysten frenche kynge whiche is not to be dyspyssed / but rather to be regarded and taken hede of / for they saye, that of ryght (whiche thyng also in very dede they do well, and cause to be obserued and kepte euen vnto this daye without any chaunge) the auctorite concernynge the instytucion and dystribucion of ecclesiasticall offyces, and of the tēporalles or benefices, dothe so appertayne and belonge vnto them selues: that the sayd auctorite is not deriued in to them, from any other synngulare man, or partyculare companye of men, of what soener estate he or they be. For the prynce or cheyfe gouernour (say they, and well) is not prohybited by the lawe of god: from the instytucion, gyfte. and dystribucion of them, but rather contrary, & they say that this auctorite, hath ben deriued in the partye cōmunytees of chrysten men, in to the persons, collages, or companyes of preestes, by the graunte of the prynce or parlyament / wherfore in the lawes of the prynces, & emperours of Rome there is a certayne maner & forme set and appoynted, of chosynge or instytutynge bysshoppes, curates, deacons, and of ordaynyng other mynystres of the temples or churches / and the nombre also of them is determyned and certaynely appoynted. For this thyng appertayneth to the prynce and heed gouernoure as it was shewed in the. viii. of this dyccion, & in the. xv. of the fyrst dyccion. So also there are lawes ordayne & made concernynge the forme and maner of handelyng & orderyng the temporalles, or benefices of the churche / and of the contēcions actes of preestes amonge them selues, one of them with an other, or elles with any other persones, who euer they be / agaynst the whiche lawes, they which were fyrst bysshops of Rome, beinge holy men, & not ignorant of it but knowinge it wel ynough neuer grudged or spake agaynst them / but of theyr owne mynde were, & wolde be (as they ought of ryght to be) subiectes vnto them. But howe and wherof, this so great chaunge hath come to passe, that the company of preestes not onely dothe say, that them selues are exempte from the lawes & customes of the seculare prynces, but also maketh them selues lawmakers ouer them, and doth styflye mayntayne and defende the same, we shall shewe hereafter.

An inuynce:
ble reason.

¶ Agayne also of the premysse we ought to vnderstande & know, & the heed gouernour or prynce may lawfully of the tēporalles of the churche, namely the puetes & rentes of vniuersities (yf any shal be lefte more than is necessary to the suffycient sustentacion of the mynysters of the gospel) tallies, taxes, subside, bothe accordynge to goddes lawe and mans lawe, for the defence of the countree or redempcion & ransomyng of prysoners, in to the obsequye and seruyce of the fayth / or for the supportacion of & cōmune charges, & other resonable causes. For who soeuer ordayne & appoynted suche tēporalles, outhur by gyfte or els by bequeste, vnto suche charytable uses, & dyd comyt the dystribucion of them to any persone or persones, he coulde not gyue them to any companye or synnguler persone, with more imynite, libertie, or freedom, than he had hym selfe, whyles they were in his powere and possessyon. But for that tyme they were neuer free from the cōmune charges / wherfore it foloweth, that they ar not free, no not after they haue ben

Ben translated by the gyuer or ordeyner, in to the powre or gouernaunce of any o
ther man. And here vnto bereth wytnes saynt Ambrose, in his epystle De tradē
dis basilicis, whan he sayd / we pay to Cesar: suche thyngs, as belögeth to Cesar /
& to god, such thyngs as appertayneth to god. Tribute belögeth to Cesar / we
do not denye it hym. And agayne in þe same epystle / yf the emperour demaündeth
trybute: we do not say hym naye of it. The loondes of the church payeth trybute.
But doubtles he wolde haue denyed þe emperour trybute, yf he had beleued or sup
posed, that trybute had not ben due to hym of ryght. Hugo de scđo victore, also
sayth the same, in his treatyse made of the sacraments. The church (sayth he) all
thoughe it doth take þe frute of the erthly possessyon to her vse: yet for all that can
not the church by ecclesiasticall persons exerceyse þe powre of executynge iustyce,
or seculer iudgement; but yet the church maye haue mynystres lay persones: by
whom the lawes & iudgementes belongynge to cyuyle powre, maye accordynge
to the tenoure of the lawes, & the dutye of cyuyle auctorite, be exercysed or execu
ted / but yet so that the church do knowe / & she hath all such powre: of the worlde
pryncce / & that she do vnderstāde & knowe: that she may neuer so exempte or with
draue those possessyons from the kyngs powre: but that yf reason, and necessyte
shall requyre: bothe that powre of theyr oughte of dutye to ayde & defende hym;
and also the possessyons of them ought of dutye, to do obsequye & seruyce to hym
in tyme of nede. For as the regale powre must nedes gyue the defence, whiche it
oweth of dutye to other men: so lykewyse the possessyon of the ecclesiasticall. &c.

Hugo de scđo
victore.

Of the begynnynge, & fyrst state of the chrystiane church / & howe
and by what meane, the bysshop of Rome, and the church of
Rome, hath taken the aforesayd auctorite & a certayne
prymacye or superioryte vnto them selues, aboue
and vpon other bysshoppes and churches.

The. xviij. chapytre.

We this testeth or remayneth of the intentes purposed: to shewe &
declare the rysynge & begynnynge, wherof the coactyue iurysdyccy
on, & the powre & auctorite of al the secōdarie instytuciōs of preefts
called afore of vs the accedentall or not essencyall instytuciōs, and
also the powre to dystribute all the ecclesiasticall tēporallies or bene
fices, hath come vnto certayne bysshops or preefts; & wherof it cometh, þe bys
shop of Rome doth ascrybe to hym selfe, the hyghest of all suche auctorite. And cō
sequently after these premysses, we wyll shewe & declare to what persone or per
sones, the ryghtfull auctorite & powre belögeth, to interpret the doubtfull sen
ces of the scrypture and those so interpreted: to gyue and cōmaunde it to be bele
ued and obserued of the chrysten people.

Supposynge therefore fyrste of all, of the determynacions made by vs in þe .p. v.
& .p. vii. of the fyrste dyccion, and in the .iiii. v. viii. ix. & .x. of this present dyccion, &
vnto no bysshop, or preefte, or ecclesiasticall mynystre in þe & he is but a mynystre
belögeth any iurysdyccion coactyue of any man in this worlde. And agayne þe
no bysshop or preefte by the imedyate ordynacion of chryst, ought to be vnder any
other bysshop or preefte, as touchynge to any of the powres belögyng to preefts
outther essencyall or not essencyall aforesayde. Begynnynge therefore at the holy Canon or
Canon or scrypture, as at the fountayne of the verite & trouth whiche we do seeke scrypture.

THE DEFENCE

S. Paule
was a chosen
vessell.

We shall take the oracle or sayenge of chryst in the .xx. of Iohā, by which he gave the auctorite of preefthode, or the powere of the keyes, or bothe, indyfferently to all his apostles, whan he brethed vpon them, & sayd. Take you & holy ghost / whose synnes you shall forgyue: they are forgyuen them / and we shal also ioyne to this, the comaūdemēt of & sayd chryste, wherby he dyd intoyne them also indyfferently, to preache the gospell throughe out the whole world, whan he sayd to them in the last of matthe .xxv. So you therefore & teache all nacjons. &c. To whiche apostles, he dyd afterwarde by his owne immediate vocation, ioyne Paule as a chosen vessell (that is to wyte of the holy ghost) as it appereth euidently in the .ix. of & actes. And this Paule, & the other apostles togyther, executynge the aforesayd comaūdemēt of chryste. But afterwardes by the reuelacyon of god, and theyr owne ordynaunces amonge them selues: certayne of them remayned styll in Iurpe, and the resydwē of them departynge them selues asondre, went from thense in to diuers countres, and to soundre peoples, amonge whome they boldly and constantly preachynge the gospell: prosyted and dyd as moche good, eche one of them as he was able, and as it pleased god, in the conuertynge of men and women, vnto the faythe / as it is recyted and reherfed in theyr legendes, or in the approued hystories of them / albeit, that amonge other, two of them dyd moche notable good with theyr preachynge / that is to wyte, saynt Peter, and saynt Paule / whiche Paule, althoughe he was none of the .xii. yet neuerthelesse he was called, and sente as imedyatly and pryncypallye of chryste as any other, whosoener it was, of the apostles / as it appereth of the .ix. of the actes.

¶ From these two apostles Peter and Paule, the vsage & custome of the chrysten churche was fyrst deriued / albeit, yet more manifestly from Paule: after & tepte or processe of the canon or scrypture / and namely to the Gentyles / as saynt Augustyne sayth in the .ix. chapytre of .x. .liii. boke De ciuitate dei. For Paule hym selfe was pryncypall & the fyrst apostle vnto the Gentyles or vncircūcysed people, lyke wyse as Peter was the pryncypall apostle sente vnto the Jewes or circūcysed people / as it appereth in the seconde chapytre to the Galatians, & in the .v. to the Romaynes / and of & glose also of holy men in the same place, & in many other places of the scrypture. And these two apostles, with all the resydwē of them, folowynge theyr mayster / that is to wyte chryste, lyued vnder the coactyue intyrdyccyon of the seculare prynces / & taught other to lyue lyke wyse / as it hath ben euidently shewed in the .liii. & the .v. of this dyccion. And so dyd theyr successours, preefstes & bysshoppes, with theyr deacons, & other mynystres of the gospell, from tyme to tyme cōtynually euyn vnto the tyme of Constantyne the fyrst emperour of Rome (as it appereth euidently of the aforesayd boke of Isodory) so that none of all the bysshops, in all that space: dyd exerce any coactyue intyrdyccyon vpon the other bysshoppes / albeit yet that many bysshops of other prouynces, in suche thyngs wherin they doubted, as well of the holy scrypture, as of the custome, vsage, & ceremonies of the churche / beyng not bolde to gather them selues togyther openly, asked counsaile of the bysshop / & the cōgregation of chrysten men beyng at Rome / because peraduenture there was & great multitude of chrysten people, & better learned / for as moche as at that tyme the studies of all maner scyences flourished than at Rome, wherupon the bysshops & preefstes there, were more learned, & the churche there, had more abundaunce & plentie in nombre, of suche learned persons, than had the cōgregacyōs or churches in other places / & the bysshops of the same place also were had in more reuerence / partly because saynt Peter the most auncyent of the apostles, & most sage & reuerende, is red to haue sate there as bysshop, and saynt Paule also, of whome it is more euident & vndoubted, as it appereth

The chrysten
fayth was
fre vntyll Co
stantynes
tyme.

Why Allyn
Bysshoppe
sought counsel
before the
reynge of Co
stantyne the
emperour of
& at the bys
shoppes of Rome

pereth in the .xvi. of this dyccyon. Partly also for the principallite of the cytie of Rome, & his greater fame in coparison to other prouynces of the worlde / wherfore also the chrysten people of other prouynces lackynge then able & suffycient persons to gouerne theyr churches, desyred of the bysshop & the chrysten congregacion of Rome, able & suffycient persons to be made bysshops & ouerscers vnto them selues, because the chrysten church of Rome had more plentie of suche maner persons / as we sayd not longe afore. The bysshops than of Rome, & the congregacion of chrysten people there so beyng then requyred & desyred to gyue theyr helpe and counsaile, as well aboute the fayth, as aboute the custome & ceremonies of the church, & the purgynge of able persones, charitably & brotherly dyd succour and helpe them & had nede, & requyred it of them / in these aforesayd thyngs that is to wyte insendynge bysshops vnto them (whiche coulde scantly be founde any & were wyllynge to take that offyce vpon them) & also in makynge the other prouynces whiche so sent vnto them partakers of such ordynacions whiche they had made for them selues, cōcernynge the customes & ceremonies to be used in & church of Rome, & somtyme also chertyably puttynge away the cōtencion or scisme of the chrysten people amonge them selues, in other prouynces. These thyngs the churches of other prouynces toke & receyued thankfully, from the tyme of pope Element, whiche is wryten to haue ben fyrst bysshop there beyng the successour of Peter, or Paule, or of bothe: vntyll the tyme of the aforesayde Constantyne. And after this maner also or moche lyke: the people of Rome receyued of the Grekes, frely & without cōpulcion, certayne lawes, called the lawes of the .x. tables / out of whiche, as from the orygynall: all other lawes of the people of Rome proceeded & came forth. And yet this is vndoubted, that the people of Rome was not subiecte to the grekes in any maner iurysdyccion or auctoryte.

¶ But of this sayde superyorite cōpynge in a maner of custome, by the fre and wylfull consente of other churches, the bysshops of Rome (as touchynge to theyr further goynge forth from the begynnynge) haue taken vnto them selues, a certayne more large auctoryte, to make decrees, or ordynacions, vpon and ouer the vniuersall church / concernynge the custome and ceremonies of the church, and the actes of all preestes / & to cōmaunde the obseruacyon of the same decrees, euen vntyll the aforesayde constantynes tyme. But whether the bysshoppes of Rome myght do this, by the auctoryte of them selues alone, or elles there was necessary ly requyred the consent of other bysshoppes vnto the same, we shall shewe here after. And the aforesayd Constantyne (as Isodore sheweth in the foresayd boke, in the chapytre of the prymatye church, in the Nicene councyle / & the same is also contayned in wrytynge in the pryncple of lorde Constantyne the emperour) was the fyrst emperour, whiche by the mynysterie of Syluester than pope of Rome, dyd openly receyue and take vpon hym the saythe of chryste. And the sayde Constantyne semeth to haue exēpte preesthod from the coactyue iurysdyccion of prynces / whiche also by the aforesayd pryncple semeth to haue gyuen to the church of Rome, and lykewyse to the bysshop therof: the auctoryties and powres vpon all other churches and bysshops, whiche they do saye nowde to belonge vnto them selues by an other tytyle, as we haue shewed afore, in the .viii. & .ix. parte, of & .xix. chapytre of & fyrst dyccion / besyde this also he semeth to haue gyuen to them coactyue iurysdyccions vpon the same feldes, londes, lordshyps, & many possessyons, with the secular domynyon also of certayne prynces, as it appereth euidently in the same decree pryncple: to them, that lyfte to loke vpon it. This Constantyne also (as it is red afore) was the fyrst emperour, whiche graunted to chrysten men lycēce, to gather the selues togyther to assēble opely: to buylde temples or churches.

Howe bys:
shoppes came
fyrste from
Rome whiche
I beseeche the
good reder to
marke with
all dyslygence
for it is
worth moche
worldly trea:
sure.

Howe lawes
& ordynailes
were fyrst re:
ceyued from
Rome, & aft
what maner:
and wolde to
god it had nei
uer ben worse
Isodore.

The church
of Rome re:
ceyued ordy:
nailes of the
church of
Grece.

Se how ver:
tue is peruer:
ted to mysche
se, by to moch
sufferaunce.

Constantyne
& emperour.
If thou wylt
se & truthe of
this gyfte re:
de the boke en
tytled, & gyft
of Constantyne
the emperour
& thou shalt
there se many
festly that it
was but for:
ged of the bys
shoppes of
Rome.

THE DEFENCE

who gather
red & first cou
sell called E
cclium Nece
num.

And by his precepte and commaundement, the fyrste counsell called the counsell of
Necce was gathered or assembled / of which couysayle, with other, which haue ben
made in the processe or goynge forwarde of the church, from the tyme of & apost
les, euen vnto these presēt tymes: we shal hereafter touche, & bynne in, or alledge
the hystories, in mete & couenyent places / concernynge so moche, as shal belonge
to our purpose takynge out of them, these thynges which shal be consonaunte
and agreeable to the scripture and ryghte reason, and refusynge those thynges,
which shal be dissonaunte or dysagreynge from the same.

Of a certayne preamble, necessary to be had, that is to wyt & fayth
and credence is to be gyuen onely to the scriptures of god, &
not to the pure doctryne of any auncyent doctoure.

The .xix. chapytre.

To what
scripture sure
credence is to
be gyuen.



Augustyne.

Saynt Au
gustyne ind
gement of bo
kes.

Augustyne.

But aforesaid that we do procede any further we confesse, that we ar
not bounde, of the necessitye of eternall saluacyon, to beleue or to
confesse any scripture, to be vndoubtedly true: but onely these
scriptures, which are called the canonycall scriptures, contain
ned in the Byble / or elles those: which necessarye folowe of the
sayd canonycall scriptures. And & no man is holden or bounde
to gyue sure credence, vnto the other scriptures, & is to wyt which haue ben shew
wed, gyuen, or taught by & spiryte of any doctour spirytual: it is euident / for no
man is bounde stedfastly to gyue credence to any scripture, which may synnys
or gyue knowlege of false thyngs / nor to confesse or knowlege it as vterly true.
But such are all the scriptures of men grounded vpon theyr owne inuencion for
they may swaue from the truth, as it is euident by experyment, & is had also in
the .c. psalme: I sayd in myne excesse, euery man is a lyer. But the canonycal
scriptures are not so / for they are not of mans inuencion, but rather taught or
gyuen by the imediate inspyracyon of god, which neyther can be deceyued ney
ther is wyllynge to deceyue. And this sentence which we haue sayd, and the dyf
ference of the deuyne & of the humayne scriptures, saynt Augustyne openly con
fyrmeth in the .xiii. of the epyistle to saynt Iherome, whan he sayd. For I know
lege to thy charytie that I haue learned to gyue this honoure, & feare onely to the
bookes of the scriptures, which at now called canonycall, that I do beleue sure
ly & stedfastly none of & authours or makers of them to haue erred any whyt in
theyr wyrtynge. And yf any thyng be offered to me in those scriptures, which
semethe contrary to the truth. I do not doubt, but that outther the boke is corrupte
or els that the interpretour dyd not vnderstande that which was sayd, or els that
I my selfe haue not vnderstande it. But other bookes I do so rede: that were the
authours of them neuer so excellent holy or well lerned, yet I do not thynke a
ny thyng therefore true, because they haue thought or iudged so: but because they
haue ben able to perswade vnto me by these forsayd canonycall authours, or els
by probable reason, & it doth not dysagre from & truth. The same thyng also he re
herfeth in & plouge of & .iii. boke De trinitate whan he sayd: do not o reder folow &
obeye my bookes, as thou woldest the canonycall scriptures, but in them & is to
wyt in the canonycall scriptures, euen that also which thou doste not yet beleue
whan thou shalte haue founde it there, beleue it forthwith, without any taryauce
or delaye, but in these bookes of myne, & which thou arte not sure of, excepte thou
shalte

shall perceyue & vnderstande it to be vndoubted, do not fiedfastly & saetly holde or sustayne. The same thyng also he sayde in his epylle to Fortunacianus, and in many other booke / the textes wherof I haue leste out here because of speede and shortnes. wherfore also it is founde to haue ben prohibited by the thyrde counsaile holden at Carthage, & were reasonably that none other maner scriptures shalde be red vnder the name of these, that is to wyte of the canonycall scriptures / wherfore there is red in the sayd counsaile, & also in the foresayd booke of Isodore is contayned / this tecte folowynge. Also it hath pleased vs that besyde the canonycall scriptures, nothyng be red in the churche vnder the name of the deuynne scriptures. And the canonycall scriptures be Geneses, & the other in the volume of the Byble whiche are rekened vpon there, neyther that whiche Augustyne sayth agaynst the Manicheis, in the epylle of the foundacyon: is any whyt agaynst these thynges afore sayd: for there saynt Augustyne sayth / but I wolde not beleue the gospel excepte the auctorite of the catholyke churche dyd moue or styre me, in whiche sayenge, he seemeth to preferre the auctorite of man, before the auctorite of the scripture. For alwayes that wherfore an other thyng is regarded: is more regarded it owne selfe. But let vs answere & it is not all one thyng to beleue a worke, booke or treatyse to be made & wyrtten by some doctor or man, & to beleue that that same worke, that it is true, profytable, or hurtfull, to be obserued, or to be refused. For a man may receyue or take the one of these two thyngs, by the testymony of men without the secōde, & cōtrary wyse, the secōde without the fyrst, & he may receyue bothe of them lyke wyse other whyles, by the testymony of men / as for example / some man shall beleue that same scripture which is offered & layde afore hym, to be the lawe of the cōūtrey, by the cōmune testymony of the inhabytants or dwellers there / whiche sayd lawe for all, to be true, or to be obserued, & not transgressed or broken: he may lerne by some sensible sygne, as by the payne or punysshment whiche he hath seen to be done to the trasgressours therof / by ryght reason of his owne mynde, without any perswasyon or sayenge of any men. So also backwarde agayne / he whiche sette any man make a booke or buylde a house, or to do any other thyng, shall beleue of his owne selfe, without the testymony of men, & the booke was made, or the house was buylde of the same man / but that the content in that booke be true or false, profytable or noysome, to be folowed or exchued he may beleue this, by the testymony of men, namely of credable persons. Agayne a man may take or receyue bothe other whyles of or by the testymony of men / as he whiche neuer sawe Hyppocrates, shall beleue & this is the booke & doctryne of Hyppocrates, by the testymony of men, and that the contents & thyngs wyrtten in it be true, or false, to be obserued, or to be refused for the cōseruacyon of helthe, & the auoydynge of sykenes, this the same man shall receyue or beleue, of the testymony of lerned men. And after the same or very lyke maner, to beleue & any scripture contayned in the Byble is the tradycion of god / this thyng a man may take of the cōmune testymony of chrysten men, or of the catholyke churche, whiche yet for al that neuer sawe, nor herde chryste, neyther hath had any perceyvinge of chryste, by any other exteryor sence. But yet that this scripture is true, he shall beleue by fayth, as for exāple, by myracle, without the testymony of any man / euen lyke wyse as Paule beleued before his cōuersyon & the lawe whiche he dyd then perceyue was the doctryne of chryste: by the testymony of the preachers whom he persecuted / and yet for all that he dyd not therfore beleue, the sayde lawe to contayne the truthe. But after wardes he beleued it to be true: fyrst by a sencyble myracle, and cōsequētly by the sayth whiche he had / lyke wyse also both these thyngs is taken of other whyles by the testymony of man / as & the scripture is a law made and gyuen by chryste

The counsell
of Carthage.

Non credet
euāgelio, nisi
me catholice
ecclesie cōmo
ueret auctho
ritas.

THE DEFENCE

Howe saynt
Augustynes
sayenge is to
be vnderstan-
ded. Non cre-
derem euāge-
lio, nisi me ca-
tholice ecclesie
auctoritas
cōmoueret.

Why & iudge-
ment of the
churche is
trewe.

By chryste, and that the contentes in it are true and to be obserued, and to get eter-
nall lyfe, saluacyon, and to auoyde eternall myserye: is beleued and hath ben be-
leued of many men, which neuer sawe chryste, nor haue knowen hym, by any ex-
terior sence: neyther euer hath perceyued any myracle or sencyble sygne therof.

Therfore this sayenge of saynt Augustyne, I wolde not beleue the gospel yf
the auctorite of the churche dyd not moue me: maye accordynge to the thynges a-
foresayd, be vnderstanded, two maner wayes, and haue two sences. The one is
this, that he beleued the scripiture to be the gospel, that is to saye the topfull mes-
sage of chryste / by the testymonye of the churche / albeit & he dyd beleue, this scrip-
ture or gospel to contayne truthe, more pryncypally peraduenture by some myra-
cle, or by some reuelacion, or elles by the saythe, by whiche he dyd beleue & chryste
was very god, and so consequentely that al his tradycion & doctryne was trewe
and to be obserued and kepte. The other sence whiche the sayde wordes of Augu-
styn may haue: is this / that he dyd fyrste, and at the begynnynge receyue and be-
leue bothe these aforesayde thynges, by the testymonye of the churche / albeit the
fyrste sence of these two semeth to agree more vnto the sayenge of the apostle, in
the fyrst chapytre to the Galathians. For the wordes and sayenges of chryste or
of god, ar not therfore trewe: because the churche doth so wytnesse to them by true
testymonye / but therfore is the wytnes or testymonye of the churche true, when
she alledgeth for her the true sayenge of chryste, whiche make her sayengs true,
because they are true / wherfore the apostle to the Galathians afore alledged sayth
thus. But though we, or an angel from heuen do preache vnto you any thyng
otherwyse, than we haue preached vnto you: cursed be he. And lyke wyse it is to
be vnderstanded, that although the holy churche had preached any other gospel
that is to say a contrary gospel, it shulde not haue ben true. And the cause why
Paul thus sayd, was for that that was sure and out of doubte, that the sayde
gospel was the sayenge or reuelacyon of chryste, in whiche coulde be no falsyte.
And therfore after what soeuer sence, the aforesayd wordes of saynt Augustyne
be expounded: they ar not contrarie or agaynst the sentēce, whiche we haue sayd.
And saynt Augustyne dothe for so moche saye, that he beleueth the gospel, for
the auctorite of the churche, because he toke the begynnynge of his beleue, of the
churche. For sayth otherwhyles begynneth of hearynge. And agayne because he
was moued with the good luyng and holy conuersacyon of the churche, and
with the pacient sufferance of trybulacyon whiche he perceyued in the churche
in tyme of persecucion.

The .xxi. and .xxii. chapytres be lefte out, as not of moche value, and
to auoyde the offence of some spyrytuall persons, that beate peper
in theyr noses, & & iudge euery truthe to be spoken of malice.

Of the dyuerse maners or sygnifycaciōs, after which, ful-
nes of powre maye be taken / and after what maner and
orde / the byshop of Rome hath taken these vnto
hym / and bryefly, & generallye / after what
maner and falcyn he hath vled &
dothe vse them.

The .xxiiij. chapytre.

The

Howe many
manerwayes
fulnes of
powre maye
be taken.



The fulnes of powre is and maye one waye trulye be vnderstanded & taken for that powre whiche is able to do any maner acte possyble & vpon any maner thyng, voluntarye / powre I saye hauinge not excesse / whiche maner powre seemeth to be agreynge and belögyng onely vnto chryste / wherfore it is sayde in the laste of Mathewe / All powre is gyuen to me, bothe in heuen and in erthe.

The seconde waye, fulnes of powre may be vnderstanded more to the purpose for that powre, by the whiche, it maye be lawfull for any man for to exerce any maner acte any maner man, or any maner outwarde thyng beyng in the powre of men, ordynable to the vse of men. Or elles agayne that powre, accordyng to whiche, a man maye exerce any maner acte, albeit, not vpon euery maner man, or vpon all maner thyng beyng subiecte to the powre of man. Or elles agayne that powre accordyng vnto the whiche it may be lawfull to exerce not all maner actes: but onely an acte or operacyon determyned in kynde or maner, but yet accordyng to all maner inclynacyon or appetyte of the wyll, vpon any maner man, & euery thyng beyng subiecte vnder the powre of man.

The .iiii. way, fulnes of powre may be vnderstanded the last aforesayd powre or the powre accordyng to the maner aforesayd, vpon all clarkes onely / and the powre instytutyng all them to the ecclesiasticall offyces, & of depriuyng them or deposyng them from the sayd offyces / and of dystributyng the ecclesiasticall temporalles or benefyces, or accordyng to the maner laste afore reherfed. The v. waye fulnes of powre may be vnderstanded, that powre, whiche belongeth to preestes, all maner wayes to bynde and lose men from synnes, and the paynes done for them / and to excomuncate, to interdycte, and to reconcytle / of whiche powre we haue spoken before. The .vi. waye, the fulnes of powre maye be vnderstanded, that powre, by whiche it maye be lawfull to put on handes vpon all men, to the receyuyng of the ecclesiasticall ordres, and to gyue or proshypte and with holde the sacramentes of the churche / of whiche powre it hath ben spoken before. The .vii. waye, by fulnes of powre, maye be vnderstanded the powre of interpretynge the scrypture. The .viii. & the last way, as touchyng to our purpose, by fulnes of powre maye be vnderstanded the powre of the pastorall cure of soules, generall in comparyson to all peoples & prouynces of the world / of whiche it hath ben spoken before. Agayne fulnes of powre, maye be vnderstanded accordyng to eche one of the aforesayd dyuysyons, that powre, whiche is not determyned by any lawe / & that powre may be vnderstanded to be not full powre: whiche is determyned by the lawes of man, or of god / vnder whiche ryght reason may cōueniently be comprehended. There be peraduenture certayne other maners, and combinacions of the fulnes of powre: but I thynke that we haue reherfed and rekened vp all, whiche appertayneth to the purpose intended of vs.

These dyuysyons of the fulnes of powre than thus premysed and declared: I do saye, that fulnes of powre accordyng to the two fyrste maners, or sygnifycacyons aforesayd, doth in no wyse agre or appertayne to the bysshop of Rome, or to any other bysshop or preeft, saue onely chryst or god / of the whiche two I passe ouer because the thyng is euident / and because it hath ben certyfied by the wyddome of god, and man, and by all morall scyence, and also because of spede and breyfnnes. And as touchyng to the thyrde & .iiii. way or maner of fulnes of powre it hath ben proued by demonstracyon and stronge reason, in the .xv. chapytre of the fyrste dyccyon: & moreouer cōfirmed by the holy scrypture, in .i. .iiii. .v. & .viii. of this dyccyon. Agayne moste stablysshed & coroborated in the .xv. .xvi. .xvii. & .xviii. of this dyccyon: that suche maner powre, not onely not with any fulnes: but also dothe

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dothe not at all, by the lawe of god, agree or appertayne to any preeſte or byſſhop in þe he is ſuche one, vpon any man beyng other clarke or no clarke. But an cernynge the other two, that is to wyte þe .v. and .vi. maners of fulnes of powre: it hath ben ſhewed in the .vi. and .vii. chapytours of this dyccion / that the powre of byndynge and loosynge from synnes, and from the paynes dewe for them, & lyke wyſe the powre of curſynge or excomunicatyng any man openly is not graunted to the preeſte abſoluteſy or with fulnes: but is determyned by the lawe of god ſo that he can neyther cōdemne thoſe that be innocentes afore god: neyther looſe them, that are gylty afore god. Moreouer that the ſame powre to inſtute the eccleſiaſtical mynys ters, by the puttyng on of handes / to teache and preache, and to mynys tre the ſacramentes of the churche in the cōmunitie of chryſten men, dothe not ſo fully agree or belonge to byſſhoppes or preeſtes: but that there is determyned, and appoynted vnto them by the lawe of god and of man / a conuenient maner of workynge accordynge to it. And as touchynge to the other two maners of fulnes of powre remainynge, that is to wyte the .vii. and the .viii. it hath ben ſhewed before, that they do not agree or appertayne to any preeſte or byſſhop with fulnes / but accordynge to the determynacyon bothe of the lawe of god, and of the lawe of man.

Therfore to conclude fulnes of powre doth agree or appertayne, neyther to the byſſhop of Rome / neyther to any other byſſhop or preeſte in that he is ſuch a one.

Nowe conſequentſy it is to be ſhewed, whence and of whiche ſygnifycacion the byſſhop of Rome toke his fyrſt begynnynge of aſcribynge this tytyle of fulnes of powre vnto hym ſelfe / albeit that in very dede it doth not agree or belonge vnto hym after any at all of the foresayd ſygnifycacions / and it appereth that the byſſhop of Rome toke fyrſt his tytyle of fulnes of powre vnto hym ſelfe, after the .viii. ſygnifycacion. And that the begynnynge of the apparente appertaynyng therof vnto hym / was that ſayenge of chryſte, whiche is had in the .xxi. of Joſhil where he ſpeakynge vnto ſaynt Peter ſaythe. Feede my ſhepe. Agayne becauſe he ſayd ſyngulerſy to the ſame Peter in the .xvi. of Mathewe. To the I ſhall gyue the keyes of the kyngdom of heuens. &c. Agayne for that it was ſayd to Peter in the .xviii. of Joſhil. Turne thy ſworde in to thy ſcaberde. Moreouer of þe anſwere whiche the dyſcyples made to chryſte ſayenge. Se here two ſwerdes / of the which teptes, after theyr owne interpretacyons / certayne men wyll this to be vnderſtāded, that the vniuerſyte or the hole flocke of ſhepe of al the worlde, that is to wyte of chryſten men / was cōmytted to Peter onely, and ſo lyke wyſe to euery biſſhop of Rome, as to the ſpecyall vycar of ſaynt Peter / but to the other apoſtles and to the byſſhops ſuccellours of them, not the vniuerſyte or whole flocke of ſhepe of the whole worlde / but to eche one of them, one determynate and pertycūlar flocke, and prouynce hath ben cōmytted to be gouerned.

After that the byſſhop of Rome, had taken vnto hym ſelfe the tytyle of fulnes of powre, albeit not accordynge to the trewe ſence of the ſcrypture, as it ſhall be ſufficyentſy ſhewed in the .xxviii. chapytre of this dyccion. Of preſumpcion he went further in to an other ſygnifycacion (peraduenture becauſe of lucre and auauntage, or elles to vſurpe ſome other cōmodityte profyte or excellencie aboute other men) that is to wyte takynge vpon hym ſelfe and preachynge openly, that he alone ſeueralſy maye after what maner ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe hym: by his worde vtterſy exempte or deſpyer and aſſoyle ſynners from the paynes of purgatorie ſo he calleth them.

And after theſe ſygnifycacions ſo taken vnder a certayne colour and apperance of pytie and mercye, to the ende that fyrſte they myght ſeme of charitye to take

take thought and care, for all men. And secondarily, that they myght be suppo-
 sed to haue powre, and to be wyslyng to haue mercy and pytie vpon al men, the
 bysshops of Rome beyng strenghted with the prynces and grauntes of the em-
 perours (as they so wedely lye) cheyfly the emperyal seate beyng vacante: dyd ex-
 tende and stretch forth this tytle further. First to the ordeynynge and makynge
 certayne lawes vpon the clarkes or preestes, concernynge the ecclesiasticall custo-
 mes and ceremonies, whiche at the begynnynge were called decrees. And after-
 wardes by the waye and maner of requestes and exhortacyons, they perswaded
 certayne ordynacyons to the laye men / as of fastes and of abstynence from cer-
 tayne meat, at certayne tymes, for the obtaynynge of the helpe & mercy of god to take
 away certayne pestylences & infesciones of the ayre from men, whiche raygned at
 tyme / as it appereth euidently of the legende of saynt Gregory, and of other cer-
 tayne sayntes. But after that the laye men had of theyr owne free wyll taken
 and receyued suche abstynences, and because of deuocyon had by longe custome
 obserued suche free ordynaunces, whiche we sayd to haue ben requestes or exhor-
 tacyons, than the tyrantes of Rome began to comaunde openly the same thyng
 by the maner of a precepte or law / so that they were holde without the lycence of the
 worldly prynces to stryke the trangressours therof, with the terroure or drede of
 theyr curse or excomunicacyon / but yet vnder the coloure and apperaunce of re-
 lygyon or of the honoryng of god. Afterwardes theyr appetytes of hauynge do-
 mynyon increasynge more and more, and when they perceyued also that deuout
 chrysten men were greatly put in feare with suche maner of wordes, throughte
 fearefulness and ignoraunce of the lawe of god, whiche beleued them selues to be
 bounde vnto those thynges, whiche were comaunded by the preestes for feare of
 eternall dethe, than the bysshoppes of Rome with theyr companye of clarkes, pre-
 samed further to statute or make certayne oblygatory decrees or ordynacyons
 concernynge cyuile actes, by whiche they pronounced them selues, and euery one
 that dyd take theyr ordre, or the offyce of clarkeship vpon them, yea beyng pure
 laye men, to be exempted from all publyke and comune charges / promotynge
 vnto this offyce euen secular men, and maryed, whiche were soone assured ther-
 unto, that they myght enioye immunitie and freedom from the comune and publyke
 charges / by the reason wherof they made no lytle parte of the cyuile multitude
 subiect vnto them selues: withdrauynge them from the powre and gouernaunce
 of the secular prynces & gouernours. And agayne purposynge to goynge aboute
 to withdraue a greater multitude: they pronounced by other decrees, that all those
 were stryken with the payne of cursynge, who soeuer shall haue done any perso-
 nall iniuries / what soeuer they be: vnto any of them, whiche haue ben taken vnto
 the companye of clarkes, and defamynge also openly in the churches, those
 that dothe any iniurye to clarkes: by excomunicacyon / and no lesse persynge
 the same men therfore, they requyre to haue them punysshed by the penalties of the
 temporall lawes. But this that foloweth, is a more detestable thyng and verye
 expectable to the offyce of preestes / that the bysshoppes of Rome and certayne o-
 ther bysshoppes, to the intent that they maye ampliate and enlarge theyr owne
 iurysdyccyon, and after that theyr moste fylthy lucre, vnto the contempt of god,
 and the manifest preiudice of the secular prynces, dothe excomunicate & shyt
 out from the sacramentes of the churche, as well laye men as clarkes beyng per-
 aduenture a lytle neglygent, and not regardynge, or elles beyng all vtterly vn-
 able to paye certayne dettes of money / to the payment wherof they were forma-
 ly bounde vntyll a certayne terme of tyme appoynted / whiche laye men and clar-
 kes, chryste, with mayne exhortacyons, paynes and labours, and laste of all by

howe and
 wherfore fa-
 stynges from
 certayne kyn-
 des of meates
 at certayne
 dayes cam
 fyrste vp and
 was fyrst re-
 ceuyed.

Vnder the co-
 lour of religy-
 on hath sprō-
 ge moch mys-
 chiefe.

After igno-
 raunce folow-
 eth folysh-
 feare, & after
 that fonde ob-
 ieccyons, as
 is this / were
 there not as
 wyse men be-
 fore our days
 as there ben
 now?

Exemption
 of clarkes.

The deuyl
 is latten lose
 to blowe his
 trompettes.

Cursynge
 for money.

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S. Paule.

**The cause of
the vndoynge
Italye.**

Treason.

**A shameles
chylde.**

**The comēda-
cion of Henry
the. viii. empe-
rour of Rome
& the cause, of
his most cruel
deposycion.**

**The tytyle of
Iure iurādo.**

Why the spy:

tytual lawes

his owne martyrdom and precyous blode, hath put or set within the church. So dyd not Paule whiche was made of all facyons vnto all men: to the intente that he myght wyne all men to chryste / but he wolde that synners shulde be cut as way, from the company of other chrysten men, onely for great and greuouse offences / as it hath ben shewed of vs before, of the fyrste epystle to the Corinthians. And yet they beyng not contente herewith, but desyringe the domynyon and hyghest gouernaunce of secular men, contrarie to the precepte of chryste and the apostles: hath braste forth in to the makynge of lawes severally from the lawes of the whole comunalties / decreynge that all the clargye is exempted from the cypule lawes, byngynge in and causynge, a cypule scysme or dyuysyon and a pluralyte of cheyfe gouernours, whiche we haue shewed in the .xviii. chapytre of the fyrste dyccion, to be impossyble to the quyetnes & tranquylite of men, alledgyng sure and vndoubted experyence therof / for this sayd pluralyte of heedes or hyghest gouernours, is the rote and the begynnynge of the pestylence or dystruccyon of the empyre of Italy, out of whiche rote all hurtes and occasyons of euyls hath spronge and dothe come forth / and durynge the same: there shall neuer cease cypule dyscordes in the same empyre / for the bysshop of Rome hath of longe tyme holden this powre, wherunto he crope in, by tytle and tytle, and by pryncy pryncy of custome, or rather abuse. And he furthermore fearynge least the same powre shulde be reuoked from hym by the emperour (and not without a cause) for the excesses comytted by hym, with all wycked dyslygence, forbyddeth and letteth the creacyon and promotynge of the emperour of Rome / and at the laste one of them hath braste forth in to so great boldnes, that he hath in his decrees expressed, the emperour of Rome to be bounde to hym by othe of fydelyte, as beyng subiecte to hym by coactyue iurysdyccyon / as it appereth euidently to them that lyfte to loke vpon it, by the folyshe and vtterly despyse worthy. vii. booke of theyr narracyons whiche they do call decretalles, in the tytyle De sententia et re indicata. To the whiche rassyhe and mysaduyfed presumpcyon, that moste chrysten emperour, a man of all vertues, syngulerly amōge other prynces approuyd at all tyme, place and state, of happye and worshipfull memoire Henry the. viii. refusynge to agree as saynyng hym selfe to haue forgotten the othe made, is dyscrybed a transgressour of it / by a certayne no lesse false than presumptuouse narracyon, called a decretall: whose tytyle is De iure iurando / whiche neuertheles myght worthely be intytled De iniusta iniuria, et illata, dino imperatori, suisqz successoribz et affinis omnibus contumelia / that is to saye, of the wrongfull iniurye, and contumelye or dysworshyp done to the moste honorable and godly emperour and to all his successours and alyaunce / for of the makers of the Canon lawe / he is pronounced a person defamed or of euyl name: because he is (as they counte it) perjured / whiche also haue gone aboute to spotte & defyle the famous memoire of hym: yf it myght haue ben spotted or blemysshed, by the wordes or wyrtynge of such false & wrongfull accusers and dyspraisers. But yet the bysshop of Rome with theyr cardynals durste not call these oblygatory ordynacions, appertaynyng to the powre of theyr owne selues, beyng a fewe in nōbre, by the name of lawes but they called them decretalles / albeit that by the same they do intende to bynde men vnto payne, for the state of this present world, by powre coactyue: lyke wyse as the prynces of the worlde entende in theyr lawes. But the cause why they durst not expresse that, at the begynnynge by the name of lawes: was this / for that that they feared the resystence / & correccyon of the aforesayd prynces, for the treason which in so doyng they comytted agaynst the prynces or gouernours. Agayn at the tytual lawes begynnynge they called suche maner ordynacions Jura canonica, to the ende by the

By the colour of the worde, though wyckedly applyed: they shuld be accompted & taken for more ententpke/and that they myght imprynte the bylese, reuerence, & obedyence, of the sayd ordynacyons the more largely in chrysten mens hertes. So than to conclude all togyther: the bysshops of Rome conuayenge them selues further by lytle and lytle pryncyples: preched openly the syde latter signyfycacions of fulnes of powre also of them selues/ by them comyttynge very many mostuous thynges in the cyuyle ordie, agaynst the lawe of god and man, and agaynst the ryght iudgement of any man that hath reason.

were named
Iura canoni
ca, that is to
saye, the can
non lawes &
heresby note
the crafte of
the deuyll.

Howe and after what maner the bysshop of Rome hath vbled the pryncyples taken vpon hym, and the fulnes of powre, in spe-
cyall within the ecclesiastycall lymytes, or
the orderynge of preestes.

The .xxiii. chapytre.



After the aforesayd determynacyons, it foloweth consequentye to shewe, after what fashyon, the bysshops of Rome hath taken the sayd full powre vnto them selues: and hath vsed, and doth vse it hether to, and of lykelyhode wyl vse it hereafter, yf they be not stopped or letted. And fyrst of all howe, how they haue vsed it in the instytucion of the ecclesiastycall offycers, & dystributyng of the ecclesiastycall temporallies or benefices, as well vnto the ecclesiastical mynystres, as vnto other miserable persones, for whose cause also the ecclesiastycal temporallies hath ben gyuen and ordayned so to be dystributed or dysposed by the mynystres of the church. And afterwarde, it is to be shewed how they haue vsed hether to, & doth vse, and hereafter wyl vse these powres, in coparyson vnto them which do lyue cyuyle, as well prynces as theyr subiectes. The bysshops of Rome beyng permytted and suffered hether to, and now adayes, to worke accordyng to his fulnes of powre, hath infected, and corrupted all the mystycall bodye of chryste, for they haue dymynysshed, corrupted, and fynally in a maner haue vterly destroyed and taken awaye eleccyon, whiche is the beste waye, yf moreouer in whiche way onely is securitye of well instytutyng any maner offycer/ notwith standynge that by eleccion the apostles with the other multitude of chrysten men made the instytucion of the deacons: as it is had in the .vi. chapytre of the actes. They haue dymynysshed it fyrste, by tournynge the eleccyon in to the clargye alone, whiche was ought to be done by the chrysten prynces. They haue corrupted it also by dymynysshynge it: as by translatynge & auctoryte of electynge the bysshop, vnto certayne ponge men, vnlearned, & vnskylled in the lawe of god, whom they do call Canons. And they haue also in a maner vterly destroyed it. For the bysshops of Rome reserue imedyatlye to theyr owne powre, the instytucion of all the ecclesiastical prelacies or dygnities and not onely of these: but also of the meane & smaller offyces, whiche maye agree and belonge to pure laye men, as the custody of the temples & churches, the colleccyon, and the dystribucion of the temporallies or benefices ordayned & appoynted for the sayd offycers. By whiche reseruatyon, they do decree and determyne all maner eleccions of suffycyent & approued persones, to be voyde & of no strength (though they be neuer so dewely made) instytutyng in the stede of these suffycyent persones, by the fulnes of theyr powre (as they call it) beyng ignorant, or corrupted with money, or prayer, hatred,

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The church
that can not
erre.

or loue, feare, or for pleasure & seruyce done to them, or for to obtayne fauoure, or
throughe some other crooked affectyon, persons ignoraunte and vnskylled in the
scripture of god / fooles & boyes without seruyng / & for the moste parte men cor-
rupte of mynde, & openly knowen for vycious & leude dysposed persons / whiche
can not also speake the language & tonge of the people: to whom they are made
ouerseers & gouernours, as beyng of an other straunge nacion / wherfore let the
pope make answer to chryste in the .p. of Iohil, whiche pope agaynst the true &
leccyon that ought to be made, amonge other monstrous thynges whiche he hath
done & dothe: hath instytuted two bysshops of his owne nacion & language / the
one bysshop of Wynchestre in Englande, and the other bysshop of Londe in Den-
marke / whiche can neyther of them speake any language, whiche the people of
theyr dyocesys can vnderstande / but what maner of persones the same are in lear-
nyng and maners, it appertayneth not to me nor nedeth not me to reherce / albe-
it that the bysshop of Londe (as it is openly knowen in Denmarke) his church &
dyocese beyng spoyled and robbed of all the dioues of great beastes necessarye to
husbandrye and tyllage of the grounde, accordyng as the countree requyeth: ga-
therynge great treasures vnto hym selfe by the sale of them, and forsakynge his
church, is fled from thense, and is retourned in to his owne regyon or countree.
I saye let the bysshop of Rome make answer, howe this pastor or bysshop shall
call his owne shepe by name, knowynge the maners and conuersacion of them,
or howe shall his shepe folowe hym by vnderstandynge and knowynge the voyce
of his preachynge & doctryne? Neyther it is nedefull now to begge or despie bys-
shops or curates of other pynnes, because of necessitye or lacke of men, as it was
in the olde tymes. For there were in Englande men more excellent of good lyfe,
and more conynge in holy doctryne, than he / whiche beyng vnskylled of the lan-
guage, and also beyng no doctoure of dynynge, but onely beyng a lawyer &
pleader of causes was made gouernour & ouerseer vnto them. And so lyke wyse
in Denmarke and in other prouynces, of whiche many open testymonyes myght
be brought in, in lyke errour / but I passe ouer them because of spede & shortnes.
For who wyll not meruaile or wondre to se yonge men, ignoraunte of the scrip-
tures of god, lackynge also conuenient graunte of maners, men without expe-
rience and learnynge, and other whyles openly dyffamed persons, to be made
bysshops, and to be promoted to the hyghest dygnyties & offyces in the church,
throughe Symonye, or the request and prayer of great men, I do not saye other-
whyles throughe feare of great men, or for seruyce done, or for cause of consanguy-
nyte, or affynyte, & doctours of dynynge & teachers of the holy scripture, & men
approued for honestye of theyr lyfe & conuersacion beyng put bye or not regar-
ded / whether these be fayned or false thynges that I do speake / he shall easely per-
ceyue, whiche wyll rekeuyn vp the bysshoppes or archebysshops of prouynces, the
patriarches, and other inferiour prelates / for he shall not fynde one amonge .p. of
them / whiche is a doctoure of dynynge, or is suffyciently learned in the holye
scripture / and whiche thyng I am ashamed to speake, althoughe it dothe not
greue me to speake it, because it is true. The bysshops of these dayes neyther haue
conynge to preache to the people the worde of god, neyther to saye agaynst the er-
ronyous doctrynes of heretykes, yf any shall happen to ryse / but in the aforesayd
chaunces / they do shamefully begge and craue the doctryne of other men / not with-
standynge that the doctoure of the gentyles Paule doth saye in the thynde chapp-
tre of the fyrste epyistle to Timothe, that a bysshop ought to be a teacher, embra-
syng that faythfull worde, whiche is accordyng to doctryne, that he maye be ab-
le to teache. ble to exhort in holysome doctryne, and to reprove them whiche speake agaynst it

As the same Paule wrote in the fyrste chappre to Tite. And as touchynge the other inferiour prelates, abbottes, and priores, and other persones, and curates of churches, I take god whiche is immortal truth, to recorde: that a great multitude & noble of them are without bothe suffycient vertue of lyfe & also learnynge/ yea in so moche, that many of them can not speake one sentence congruently accordynge to the rules of grammer. But they to whom of the fulnes of powre (for of it I wyll now speake agayne) the greater dygnyties of the churche are graunted for the moste parte, and they whiche are supposed to be suffycient and able to gouerne them: are lawyers and pleders of causes. These the pope of Rome promoteth to dygnyties, as beyng profitable persones and defenders of the churche, whiche can contende and stryue for the conseruacyon & large vsurpacyon of temporal thynge/ and the doctours of holy dyuynyte he doth reiecte: as beyng vnprofitable persones. For they are symple men, as he with his colledge of cardynalles doth saye: & wolde suffre the churche to decaye, and go to waste. Notwithstandynge that in very dede the churche is not the temporall: but the faythfull people of chryste/ for whiche the bysshop ought to contende and stryue/ and not for the temporall/ accordynge to the counceyle of chryste & of the apostles/ as it appereth in the .p. of Iohn, and by the apostles wordes in the place afore alledged/ and by very many other places of the scrypture, whiche I leaue out here, because it is euident ynoughe, and also for the abbrenacion of our proces for the temporall are not inherytaunce of the apostles, whiche they lefte to the bysshops theyr successors, for to be saued and kepte. Neyther are emperyal dygnyties, & secular domynions, the ryght or lybertyes of the spouses of chryste whiche ryghte. &c. the bysshop of Rome that now is, to defende or rather to offende toke a doubtfull intricate sentence and after a crafty sophysticall fascyon, moste vniustlye hath auailed hym selfe agaynst noble Ludouyke comynge of 2 dukes of Bavarie, kynge of the Romaines/ wherfore Barnarde, in the .iiii. chappre of 2 secōde boke writen to Eugenius, De consideratione, whan he had spoken of the dyligent cure & charge of soules or churches, whiche the apostles lefte to theyr successors: sayth in this wyse/ what other thynge hath the apostles lefte? he sayde, that I haue: I do gyue to the/ what thynge is that? one thynge I knowe: it is not golde nor syluer. And within a lytle after the same Bernarde sayth/ Be it so that thou mayste challenge these thynge (that is to wyte the temporall) vnto thy selfe, by what soeuer other waye or tytyle, one thynge I am assured of, that not by the ryght or tytyle of an apostle. And agayne afterwarde/ that whiche he had, saythe Bernarde, he gaue/ that is to wyte the dyligent cure & charge (as I haue sayde) vpon the churches. But concernynge domynyon or lordshyppe: here what the sayde Barnarde sayth afterwarde/ hath he gyuen domynyon or lordshyppe: here what he sayde hym selfe. Not beyng lordes or hauynge domynyon of the clargye: but beyng made the example of the flocke. And because thou shalte not thynke this to haue ben spoken onely of humylyte and not also of truth, these are the wordes of chryst hym selfe in the gospel. The rulers of the Gentyles hath domynyon vpon them: and they whiche haue powre ouer them are called benefycyall/ and it foloweth afterwarde. But it shall not be so with you/ it is playne here and euident that domynyon and lordshyp is vterly forbydden the apostles. And 2 thynge whiche is worthy of moste meruaylsynge, and moste to be marked and regardyd of all men, and to be redressed and broughte agayne to a bettre forme and maner, by the prynces as beyng the mynistres of god is the instytucion of the bysshoppe of Rome, with other bysshoppes, for seldome is a dyuine chosen to be bysshoppe of Rome. But for the moste parte one is taken of the companye of lawyers and ple

Lawyers,
lawyers & al
lawyers.

Nota.

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ders of causes / whiche thynge is utterlye contrarie to the scriptures of god, and
 dysagreynge from ryght reason, and most shamefull of all thynges in the face of
 all churches. So also conueniently, and no lesse in a maner it is to be marked/
 concernynge the company of cardynalles / that vnto this dygnyte are taken wanton
 yonge men / and very many of them not learned or skylled in the holy scrip-
 tures, notwithstanding that this bysshop of Rome and his church or colledge
 ought to be an exampyle vnto all other. But of these thynges thus farforth be it
 spoken / and now retournynge to our purpose, wherof we spake before: let vs say
 of the bysshop of Rome, of the fulnes of powre: doth gyue the greater multytude
 of the greatest, the meane, and the smalest dygnytes & ecclesiastycal promocy-
 ons, to vnlarned men / or to them that be ignoraunte of the holy scriptures and
 wolde god that he gaue them not, to crymynous persones, aswell those that be
 knowen of hym selfe, as those that be not knowen / to chyliden and infantes also
 throughe symony outher of theyr owne partye, or of intreaters / or throughe some
 other corrupte affectyon, for the moste partye. So than the greatest & moste pryn-
 cypall seates beyng thus infected, by the promotynge, yea and also by the intru-
 syon of suche maner persones: al the other smaller cures or offyces belongynge to
 the gyfte of them, are also throughe the contagiousnes of them made corrupte and
 are poysoned. For they beyng glad of lyke persons vnto them selues, as euer lyke
 is glad of lyke, as man of man, horse of horse (as the gentyle phylosopher sayde)
 they set vpon the gate of symonye, or of some other vnlawfull waye, by whiche
 them selues entred or came in to the ecclesiastical offyces: vnto other vnlarned per-
 sons and letwode of maners. For they wyllynge to do accordynge to theyr owne
 maners, whiche maners dygnyte hath not chaunged, but often tymes hath shew-
 wed & brought to lyght: do hate, and reiecte, eschewe, and oppresse, holye, ryghti-
 tous, and learned men / whiche go not aboute to entre in to the house of god, by
 suche maner pathes: as beyng enemies vnto them selues / for as chryste whiche
 is the immortal trouthe saythe, he that euyl doth: hateth the lyght. And I can not
 ouerhypppe this also / that the aforesayde bysshop, for to purchase and get the loue
 and fauoure or thākes of great men, and peraduenture also for money receyued
 besyde that, hath promoted certayne yonge men vnto bysshoppes in famouse cy-
 ties, notwithstanding that they haue ben ignoraunte and vnskyllled of the law
 of god, and of other dyscyplines and sciences, and moreouer not promoted to a-
 ny holye ordie. And yet for all that saynt Iherome sayth to Euandrie, that priest
 hode is contayned in the offyce of a bysshop or ouerseer. The ecclesiastycall go-
 uernours than beyng thus infected, doubtles all the whole mystycall bodye of
 chryste is sycke and dyscased / for whan the prelates of the churches omitteth and
 leaueth out exhortacyons, obsecracyons, and increpacyons, to the other curates,
 accordynge to holsome doctryne. And dothe comytte detestable and abhomy-
 nable thynges openly, the people is offended, and taketh occasyon of synnyng
 throughe the exampyle of them, for as a marke is set vp to shoters, so are they set
 to be an exampyle to the people / whiche thynge Chryste consyderynge sayd in the.
 v. of Mathewe. Lette your lyght so shyne in the syghte of men, that they maye se
 your good workes. And hereof, cometh the rote and fyrste peruersyte of the ma-
 ners vsed now adayes, vnto whiche inconclusyon foloweth eternall dampnacy-
 on / for as Chryste saythe in the. v. of Mathewe / yf a blynde man be guyde to a
 blynde man, bothe do fall in the dyche. But what shall we saye of the dystribu-
 cyon and bestowynge of the temporalles / where the resydue of the sayd temporal-
 les that is superfluous to suffyce the necessitye of the ecclesiastycall mynystres,
 ought to be dystributed vnto poore impotent beggers, and other miserable per-
 sons

sons (as every man in a maner doth knowe) now they are turned in to shameful uses, or to speake more truly in to shameful abuses: unto which this newe kynd of almose is one, that the moste parte of the sayde temporallies are spent and bestowed upon men of warre, both horsemen and footmen: to raise up & to noyssh the continuall warres amonge chrysten people: that at the laste they maye subdew them and make them subiectes to theyr owne tyrannycall powre. Thus than of the aforesayde thynges it appereth, and is euident, that by reason of the fulnes of powre, the mystycall body of the churche/as touchynge to the matter or pynncypall members of it specyallye as (for cause of example) the prelates, is on every syde infected and nere to corrupcyon.

¶ Nowe to speake of the forme or fashyon of this body, whiche forme ought to cōsyte in the ordie & dewe sytuacyon of his members: this same body, to hym & luste dylygently to beholde it, & to aduise & marke it well: shall seme as an euyl fauored and mysshapen monstre/for what man wolde not iudge the bodye of & beast to be mysshapen & unprofytable to cōuenient operacions: in whiche body every one of the members therof is imedyatly ioyned & knytte vnto the heed: for & fynger or hande, yf it be ioyned & knytte imedyatly vnto the heed: because it wanteth his due place, it shall want also his vertue & conuenient mouynge and operacyon. But it shall not be so yf the fynger be ioyned to the hande, and the hande to the arme, and the arme to the sholder, & the sholder to the necke, & the necke be knytte to the heed by conuenient ioyntes. For so the body is made comly in his shap/and so the heed maye sende cōuenient vertue in to the other members, in to one of them by an other, accordynge to the nature & ordie of them. And the sayd members by & reason herof: may do the operacions cōuenient & belongynge vnto them selues/whiche forme and maner we ought to regarde in euerye/bothe ecclesiasticall and also cyuyle regyment or gouernauce/for the bysshop of Rome can not imedyatly beholde & loke vpon the syngulare & pertyculare actes of euery pertyculare persone, in all prouynces, & imedyatlye dyrecte them/ but yf these thynges shulde be done suffyciently & accordyngly, they ought to be holpen by specyall mynystres accordynge to a due ordie/for the body of the churche beyng so ordied: may contynue & also encrease/whiche thyng Paul the doctor of the gentyles perceyuyng sayde in this wyse in the. iiii. chapytre to the Ephesians. Let vs growe in hym whiche in all poyntes is the heed chryste/in whome all the whole body beyng cōpacted and knytte togyther, by euery ioynte of submynystacyon, accordynge to the operacyon of euery parte in his measure, maketh increase of the bodye/ but by the fulnes of powre permytted vnto the bysshop of Rome: all this ordie or dewe forme is taken awaye. For he alfolueth all prelates archebysshops, bysshoppes, chaptours, collegyes, abbottes, freers, monkes, and priours of relygyous houses from theyr allegiās due vnto theyr pryncce. And hath subdued al these to his owne cure and imedyate correccyon, for no euident profyte or vtyltye, but rather (as it is openly knowen) for greedynes and desyre to hepe sutes or stryues in the lawe vnto hym selfe, to the gatherynge of money, and to the spoylynge and robbynge of the prelates, & also intendynge the greater subduynge of them. But yet howe great insolencie and pryde hath folowed therof in a maner euery man knoweth/ for these aforesayd persons lackynge the cure and obedyence dewe to theyr pryncce are made stubburne dysobedyent, and without the reuerence or drede of them, to whome they ought of ryghte worthelye to be subiectes and obedyent/ and taketh also hereof vnto them selues, & to other, occasyon & lybertie to syn more at large/ To this adde a newe sprynge or brynche of the sayd rote: & the bysshop of Rome of his fulnes of powre, hath forbydden them whiche haue any ecclesiasticall bene

A similitude.

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fyce where euer it be, without his lycence to make any testamentes / & hath decreed that the goodes of them that dyeth intestate are to be conayned & brought imedy attye vnto his see. And adde this also which is a greater thyng and more of the deuyll, for it is most large symonye although it be fulfilled after the deade, that by the same powre, he reseruethe the rentes and profytes or frutes of all the benefices, in what soeuer places they be, the fyrste yere that they are vacante / gathering after this maner vnto hym selfe all the treasures of the worlde, and robbing all kyngdoms and prouynces of the same, in whiche prouynces they ought to be distributed to the mynystres of the gospell, and to myserable persons, or elles to be turned in to the subsidye & succour of the comune wealtie, wherof they are taken yf nede shall requyre / for herfore they haue ben ordayned and assygnd. This agayne is a more itollerable thyng, that he sayth, that the legacies or bequestes in the testamentes of chrysten laye men, for the passage beyonde the see, or for other causes, accordynge to the dysposicion of certayne determinate persons, whome they call commissaries, dothe appertayne to his ordynge, by the same fulnes of powre. And no meruayle hereof, seynge & a certayne bysshop amonge them hath sayd, that he hym selfe hath domynyon of all kynges, prynces, realmes, & commonities, notwithstandinge & in very dede / none of all the aforesayd thynges dothe appertayne vnto his powre / and of the same rote, mo & greuouser thynges than these shall chaunce to sprynge vp, whiche can not all be tolde for the so dyuers nature of them. For one inconuenient graunted, namely suche one in whiche all or ther inconueniences that may be thought or ymagyned aboute cyuyle actes, are contained, it is no harde thyng for any other inconueniences what soeuer they be, to chaunce accordynge to the gentyle phylosopher Aristotle / for this full powre beynge due vnto hym: it foloweth, that he may do what soeuer he lyst / wherfore he dothe suspende, dysanulle, & reuoke, all & ordynacids & lawes of men at his owne pleasure / which thyng, as beyng the extreme & uttermoste inconuenient, & may be in the worldy regyment & gouernaunce: as well saynt as phylosophers hath hated & refused / as it was proued by demostacyon in the .vi. chapytre of the fyrst dyccion, & also was more largely confyrmed in the .v. of this dyccion / by the authoritye of saynt Augustyne, in .i. .vi. chapytre of the fyrst epystle to Timothe. So than by the fulnes of powre permytted vnto hym: & whole body of & churche is infected / & the ordre of all the ecclesiastycall economie is broken / & cyuyle regyment & gouernaunce is letted utterly, or troubled in parte. Upon the whiche bysshop yf chrysten men wyll caste theyr eyes (as I beseeche them to do) whiche hath ben dyfkyled & bled many adaye to the most parte of them, by a certayne couer or cloke & coloure of sophistycall honesty: they shall se clerely them selues, who soeuer hath visyted the courte of Rome, or to saye more truely, the house of marchaundyse, or the horryble denne of theues (to vse chrystes wordes) or who soeuer hath not visyted it, shall learne by the reporte of a great many of credyble persons: & it is made in a maner the receptacle & sanctuarie of all myscheuous men, and of marchauntes bothe spyrytuall and temporall / for what other thyng is there, than the course of symonyacall persons, from all countrees: what other thyng than the bablynge noyse of proctours & pleaders of causes, & the assaulte of quarelers and false accusers, & the depacion of iuste men? Where the iustyce of innocēt persons is in ioperdy, or at the least wyse it is so greatly dyfferred & put of, yf they be not able to bye it with money, that at the laste they beynge clene beggarde, theyr money all consumed / and them selues weryed with innumerable labours, are compelled to gyue ouer theyr ryghtful and myserable causes. Where the lawes of men thundre and sounde lowde / but the lawe and doctryne of god: outhere kepeth

syllence

scylence or elles soundeth very seldome / there are treatyses, tolles, and rentalles a
 prieny castles deuysed, how to inuade the prouynces of chrysten men, & by violence
 & powre of armes to get & to take away the sayd prouynces from them to whose
 custody they haue ben lawfully comytted. But howe to get or wyne soules: there
 is no thought nor care / no counsayles at all. Moreover there is none ordie: but co
 tynnall horroure inhabyteth and dwelleth there. And I whiche haue ben present
 there and seen the maner, do thynke in my mynde, that I do se that terryble and
 dredefull Image, whiche Nabugodonozor dyd se in his dreame (as it is recyted in
 the seconde chapytre of Danyell) hauinge his heed of golde / his armes & breste of
 syluer, his bely and his thyghes of brasse / and his legges of yerne / and the one
 parte of his fete yerne / & the other of erthe / for what other thyng betokeneth this
 great Image, than the state of the courte of Rome, or of the pope, whiche in olde
 tyme was terrible to lewde & euyl men: & nowe is horryble to beholde vnto good
 and vertuous men. For the superyoure members of this Image, the heed, & breste,
 and the armes / what other thyng are they in syght, in affectyon, and loue, than
 golde and syluer and the workes of mans handes? And the bely and the thyghes
 of it, what other thyng are they: than the great noyse and sounde of seculare stry
 fes or causes, or of false accusacyons and quarells, and of symonyacall byenges
 and sellynge: for I wyll not nowe speake of the thunders & lyghtnynges of cur
 ses & excomunicacions, both wyten, & gyuen forth by mouth agaynst chrysten
 men / whiche do refuse (thoughe rygthuouslye) to be secularlye subiected vnto the
 bysshop of Rome, and to his church, & to gyue temporal goodes vnto them. And
 I beseeche the tell me, what other thyng is at the thyghes of brasse: than the pom
 pouse & proude ordynails of pleasures, ryote, & wel nere of al vanyties, yea such
 as are vnsemye for laye men: which pompons ordynaunce they do imprynte in
 the senses of men: whiche ought to be the exampyle of chastyte and honestye vnto
 all other. And the legges of yerne, & the fete and the toes, whetupon the Image
 standeth and is made fast, beyng partye of erthe: towarde what other thyng
 go they, than the vsurpacyon, inuasyon, and occupation of seculare domynyons
 kyngdoms, and prouynces, by the vyolent powre of armed men, or men hatnay
 sed with yerne / byngynge with them for this purpose the superyoure members,
 that is to wyte the geuyng of golde and syluer, whiche prouoketh the armed men
 here vnto / and also byngynge with them the brasse bely and thyghes, by theyr
 lewde promyse of suche thynges, and by vocale absolucyon (thoughe dyscreetful)
 of synnes and paynes: and by the iniuste condemnacyon & cursynge (thoughe
 throughe godes defence it doth no hurte) of them, whiche defendeth theyr owne ly
 bertye, and are wyllynge to obserue theyr saythe and allegyaunce dewe to theyr
 prynces and gouernours? But the soles of the fete, & the toes beyng of molde or
 erthe, and by reason therof brytle and easy to breke: what other thyng do they re
 presente, than the vnconstancye and vnstabilenes of the courte of Rome / what o
 ther thyng do they sygnifye or betoken, than the feblenes of & occasyons (because
 I wyll not saye the falsytie and iniquyte of them, euidently knowen of all men
 vpon which occasyons the pope of Rome groundeth hym selfe, and wherunto he
 leaneth agaynst the faythfull people of chryste for to oppresse them? But as the
 same prophet doth wytnesse and recorde vpon this Image shall fall a stone cut
 out of an hyll without handes, that is to say a kyng, whome god shall rayse vp
 elected by his grace of the vnyuersyte of men, that is to wyte by gyuyng to hym
 powre, and whose kyngdom shall not be gyuen to an other. This kyng I saye
 more by the vertue or grace of the trynyte, than by the worke or powre of & handes
 of men: shal fyrst of all, crusshe & breke & earthy part of this terryble, and horryble
 and

The interpre
 tacyon of the
 Image whi
 che Danyell
 describeth.

THE DEFENCE

a monstrous Image, that is to wote his fete, where vpon he standeth vncou-
ueniently / that is to wote causynge the false and vniuste causes and baulde occa-
syons (as I may call them more truly with the poetet) to be knowen vnto all
prynces and peoples, the sopheme and dyscepte of them beyng opened and dys-
closed, and impugned by humayne demonstracions, and dystroyed and anul-
led by the veryties of holy scripture / and afterwarde shall breake the yerne part
of the same, by puttynge awaye his cruell and wycked powre / and consequently
shall cause the brasse partes, that is to wote the auctorite of cursynge, whiche he
hath presumptuously taken vpon hym. vpon peoples and prynces, and the trou-
blous noyse and stryfe of secular intrespycions vsurped, and consequentye of
causes, and depacions, to kepe sylvence and to be dombe. And the excesses and su-
perstyties of voluptuous pleasures, and the pompes and vanyties to cease / last
of all he shall subdue and dystroye the golde and syluer of the same Image, that
is to wote, the couptousnes & the robberye of the bysshop of Rome. And so accordyng
to the mynde of the aforesayd profyte, the yerne, the earth, the brasse, the
golde, and the syluer of the sayd Image: shall be broken al togyther / that is to say,
all the vyces and excesses of the abovesayde court. shall be quenched and dystroyed,
as it were strawes brente vnto ashes and carped awaye with the wynde / for
that thyng whiche is bothe agaynst nature, and agaynst the lawe bothe of god
and man, & contrary to al reason: that thyng can not longe abyde or cōtynue.

Howe and after what maner the bysshop of Rome hath vbled the
aforesayd maners of fulnes of powre, inespereall without
the ecclesiastical lymtes / towarde lape men and to
warde cyple or temporall thynges.

The. xxv. chapytre.

Whe it remayneth vnto vs to seatche out, after what maner and
facyon, and in what thynges, the bysshops of Rome haue vsed hy-
therto, and do vse the fulnes of powre (whiche they haue taken vnto
to them selues) without the ecclesiastical lymtes / but yet we wyl
first make referall and call to remembraunce the vsage and custo-
mes of the prymatyne church, and the procedynge of the same, euen from the be-
gynner and heed therof, whiche is chryste / and from the fyrste promoters and set-
ters forwarde therof the holy apostles. For he, that is to wote chryste, cam in to
the worlde to teache, and also to exercyse the offyce of a preste. or of a pastor and
feder of soules. For he beyng the interpretoure and expounder of the lawe of e-
ternall helth: declared bryefly the same law, wherin was comprehended the forme
and exercyse of the sacramentes / the preceptes also and counsailes of the thyngs
to be beleued / of the thynges to be done / & of the thynges whiche are to be despyed
and eschewed / to the inherytyng or deservynge of eternall felycyte or beatitude,
whiche we call eternall lyfe. But as for the iudgement of cyple or temporall ac-
tes, & the offyce of a secular pryncce or gouernour: he refused it, & exprestly renoun-
ced it and cōmaunded or counseyled all the apostles and the successours of hym, &
them in the offyce aforesayde, to renounce the same lyke wyse / and exprestly, hym
selfe, by the ordynacion of god, to be subiecte to the iudgemēt or coactyue powre of
prynces of this world, with al his apostles / & they also exprestly the selues to be sub-
iects to the sayd secular prynces, both by theyr dedes, & also by theyr wordes & doctryne /
as it

What chryste
taught.

doctryne/as it hath ben euidently shewed by the scripture, & the expositiōs & auctorities of sayntes & doctours, in the. liii. & v. chapptres of this dyccion/and hath also ben somewhat declared by polytyke reasons, in the. viii. & ix. chapptres of the same. And he exerceysed also those powres/and graunted the same to be exerceysed of the apostles, and to theyr successours in the persone of them / and obserued also moste hygge and perfyte pouertie hym selfe, and taught, comaunded, or councelled, them and the successours of them to obserue and kepe the same, accordynge to the maner before rehearsed and declared.

¶ This fowne and maner of lyuynge, and of exerceysynge the sayd offyce accordynge to the aforesayd powre: the apostles dyd obserue and kepe: as beyng & chylde of obedyence. The same also the bysshops of Rome, and other successours of the apostles hath obserued many of them, though not all: well neare vntyll the tyme of Constantyne the fyrst emperoure of the Romaynes. For certayne of them dyd possesse landes or lordshippes/amonge whome Diuane the fyrste bysshop of Rome, is red to haue ben the fyrst/for vntyll his tyme, the churche and colledge of preestis lyued after the maner of chrystes lyfe, and of his apostles/that is to wyt, obseruynge meretoryous & most hygge or perfyte pouertie. And albeit peradventure that the aforesayd Diuane dyd this thyng principally (that we may iudge his intent as cherytably as we maye to the beste) for pytie, & for the succurreynge and releuynge of poore people, & for mercye: yet for all that, yf he toke vnto hym selfe the powre, to chalenge suche maner landes or the prouentis or rentes therof, as for a coactiue iudge: or yf he had powre and auctorite to sell the sayde landes, and to dystribute the pryce of them vnto poore folke and dyd not sell and dystribute them: whether he dyd it wyllingly or through ignoraunce: doubtles he declyned & swarued from the most hygge pouertie aforesayd, or from the state of perfeccion whiche maner also very many bysshops of Rome dyd folowe in this thyng: vntyll the tyme of Constantyne. In whiche space of tyme the bysshoppes of Rome with theyr colledge made vnto them selues certayne ordynacions concernynge the ceremonies and customes ecclesiastical, as aboute the deuyne seruyce, and the honest state of the colledge and company of preestes/and the same ordynacions as beyng profitable: they dyd comunycate vnto other churches, namely to suche as requyred them and they dyd also take vpon them selues of pytie & charytie: the cure and dyligence of other churches of the worlde, accordynge to theyr possybyltye/because that very often tymes they wanted suffycient gouernours, postours, or prelates/and therfore they dyd exhorte, monyshe, and counsaile the persons of other churches in those thynges: whiche appertayned to honestye, to fayth, or beleue. And the other churches thankfully, kyndly, and wyllingly, receyued & exhortacions and monycions of them. In whiche churches also, whan otherwhyles some of the preestis or bysshops, or some of the deacōs, or of other persons were from warde, and dyd not cease from trobyng of the other, as touchynge maners or fayth, at the brotherly monycion of them that were presente: than peradventure those persones, whiche were moste dyscrete amonge them, and wyllynge to lyue godly and vertuously in chryste, procured excomunycacions or curses to be gyuen by the bysshoppe of Rome and his churche (whose monycions chrystened people moste feared, for the causes aforesayde) agaynst rebellious persones, & to the dystroublers of other men, or otherwyse crymynouse persones / or elles the bysshops of Rome dyd it of theyr owne accorde vnderpyed: for the zeale and loue that they had to the fayth. Therfore the chrysten people whiche were in other places, for the most parte of them: agreed to obeye the bysshop of Rome, & his churche, for the conseruacyon of the vnytie of the faythe, and of quyetnes amonge them selues

Diuane was the fyrste bysshop of Rome that possessed landes.

Note this agayne.

Howe excomunycacions cam fyrste from Rome.

THE DEFENCE

Howe coun-
cellles were
fyrst congre-
gated and ga-
thered.

Offices sepa-
ble and inse-
perable.

The canony
call lawes
were fyrst ma-
de agaynst
preeftes and
not agaynst
laye men.

As it is false
by fayned.

The pryuyte
ges of preeftes.

And now
they be many
& vndeuous.

securis one of them with an other, because these sayde thynges coulde not be kepte by powre coactyue, or by any other more conuenient way, for as moch as tyme & humayne lawemakers in a maner or prynces euery where was heithen and not chrystened. But when the tyme of Constantyne the fyrste Emperour of Rome was come, whiche fyrste of all emperours permytted and graunted, that chrysten people myght assemble and come togyther openly, than was fyrste made general counsellles of preeftes or bysshopes, by the comaundement or auctorite of the forsayd emperour / by whiche counsellles, the doubtfull sences, of the holy scripture, were desyned and determyned and the true sences of the same sequestred, and dysceuered from the false and erronious sences / whiche false, corrupte, and madde sences some of the preeftes, other whyles throughte ignorance, and moste comune eye throughte superstyciousnes & malice, had sowen and spatpied abroad amonge chrystes faythfull people / in whiche counsellles also, ordynacyons and statutes were made aboute the ecclesiasticall vsage and customes, as concernynge the deuynne seruyce, and the honestye and good ordie of deacons and preeftes / and as touchynge the promotynge of them vnto the ecclesiasticall offyces, as well in seperable whiche they call ordies: as seperable whiche they call prelacies or cures of soules / and to such other offyces incertayne places and prouynces / and also concernynge the dystribucion of the temporallies or benefyces, as the oblacions and other thynges which were gyuen vnto them, both moueables and vnmoueables for the mynysterynge of the gospel: the forme and maner was determyned, sette, and appoynted in the sayde counsellles / of the whiche forme and maner to be obserued and kepte: the prynce and gouernour gaue or made a coactyue precepte, or lawe, byndynge euery maner man, bothe preeftes and laye men, by a payne or punysshement outther reall or personall to be done vnto the transgressours of it, accordynge as euery one dyd require, for tyme & in tyme of this present world. And such maner lawes were made agaynst preeftes & bysshops, more than agaynst other men / because comunely, at that tyme, they were preeftes whiche gaue the cause of makynge suche coactyue preceptes or lawes. And neyther the bysshops of Rome, neyther any other bysshoppes who euer they were, dyd resyste or speke agaynst the humayne lawe maker or prynce, as beyng not subiects to tyme lawes and statutes of prynces: but alwayes made supplicacyons to prynces, that they wolde make such lawes / as it appereth by the aforesayd booke of Isodore, and by other approued hystories.

Moreover by the same prynces or emperours lawes were made and hath ben made, concernynge the certayne nombre that shuld be of preeftes, accordynge to the prouynces / and concernynge temporall goodes belongynge to them both moueables and vnmoueables, whiche hath ben gyuen to them (as it is sayd) by the sayd constantyne and by the other emperours of Rome, or other prynces or gouernours / and successfully also by some other synguler persones. And agayne concernynge the cypyle or contentious actes of them, albeit the sayd lawes hath ben moderated, with specyall fauours of the grace and goodnes of the humayne law makers or prynces consyderynge and regardynge the dygnyte and reuerence of the ordie of preefthode, because by it accordynge to the tyme the offyce of chryste is represented / regardynge also the graunte of theyr maners, and the symplycite and innocencye of the parsones, whiche at that tyme were mynysters of the gospel, and bare the sayd offyce: euen lyke actes they ordayned, and made lesse rigorous lawes for them than for laye men, grauntynge vnto them also many pryuyleges. For at that tyme they were in nombre but fewe, and deuoute, & throught humylyte and humblenes, easely geuyng place, and makynge no resystence to the

the assaultes of lawyers and pleaders of causes / nor strengthened and compassed aboute (as they ben now) on every syde with dyolent or armed powere for the defence of them selves, & the offendynge or hurtynge of other. For in the olde tyme it was a great abhominacyon, and shulde have semed a cyuple monstre, yf clarkes, namely, preestes, or bysshops, had taken harnes or weaponed them selves: or had comaunded other men to take on harnes to fyght / wherfore saynt Ambrose of the place afore alledged in the .ix. chapptre of this dyccion: sayth thus. I shall be able, or maye be sory / I maye wepe / I maye wayle and syghe / my teares are my armoure or weapons, agaynst warres / soldyers / and also agaynst the Gothes / for suche thynges are the munymentes strength and aydes of a preeste / but otherwyse than thus, I neyther ought, neyther maye resyste. And for this cause they neded at that tyme specyall fauours and pryvylegies: that they myght fyue quyetlye and safelye, and myght escape the depacyons of quarells and false accusations / howbeit now adayes: there is a conuersion and chaunge made in this thyng, of them, in respecte and comparyson to laye men / in to the contrarie qualitye. So that in the olde tymes, they lyued vnder the lawes and cyuple ordynacions of secular prynces / and a longe season the whole colledge or compaigne of preestes, toke of the same prynces and of the people: the gyftes / the confirmacions / and the inuestytures of theyr offyces / as of the prelacies, cures / and of other lyke or elles of smaller offyces / and also powere to dystribute and bestowe the temporalles or benefyces. Neyther dyd the bysshops of Rome in the olde tyme, stryue agaynst the emperours of Rome, for cause of suche maner subieccyons, neyther agaynst the people, or ptyculer persons, beyng patrons of the churches. For they knewe that they were bounde to this subieccyon: by the lawe of god, and also by the lawe of man / as we haue shewed suffycientlye by scrypture and polityke reasons, in the .iiii. v. viii. and .xvii. of this dyccion. For so we reade of Symachus beyng a man of Sarde by byrthe and nacion / that he beyng collected with one Lawrence, through dyscorde, was confirmed pope of Rome by the iudgement whiche Theodorichus kynge, made or dyd gyue. So also wyrteth Martyne, of saynt Gregoie. This Gregoie (saynt Martyne) is chosen pope, and Mauricius & emperour confirmeth hym by his letters emperyal. So also the bysshops of Rome, were wonte to desyre the confirmacyon of theyr pryvylegies, humbly, of the emperours / as it is red of Vitelliane whiche was a Syguen borne / and of Constantyne whiche was a Syryane borne / and of very many other bysshops of Rome / yea moreouer they were wonte to go personallye vnto the emperours by places farre dystaunte, for these and other supplicacyons, and theyr confirmacions to be obtayned / as it is red of very many of them in Cronycles and approved hystories. And also (whiche is a greater thyng) John the .xii. was deposed from the popeshyp, his demerites so requyryng: by Otto, the fyrste, beyng emperor, all the people consentynge therunto, both the clargy, & also the laye men. So also in the cronycle of Martyne, where he speaketh of Benedicte the .ix. it is red of two, that were elected contenciouslye, and deposed by the emperyal censure and iudgement of Henry, whiche than was emperour of Rome. For to the same pryncypall or cheyfe auctorite it appertayneth, to depose, & destitute any thyng yf it shall be expedyent, to whiche it belongeth to instytute it. For asmoche than, as every bysshop ought to be elected by the pryncce, by the auctorite of the same he may be destituted or deposed / as it hath ben certysped in the .xvii. of this dyccion. ¶ The bysshops of Rome therefore, and of other prouynces, and the preestes, and all the colledge or compaigne of clarkes, lyued after the example of chryste and of his apostles, vnder the coactyue iurysdyccyon, and gouernauce of them: whiche

Ambrose of the armure of preestes.

But now we & contrary ne: deth.

Marke this ye prynces, & lese not your hono' regall.

Vitellianus papa. Constantyne pope.

To this poynt they wold be broughte agayne. John the xii. pope is deposed by Otto & I pray god that I maye see such thyngs agayne, both in this lade & otherwhere.

THE DEFENCE

**Simplicius
Tibertinus**
was one of the
firste tray-
tours bisshop-
pes of Rome.

Inuestiture.

**This good
honest man
gane the empe-
rour a pygge
of his owne
sowe.**

**Adriane the .iii.
pope was a
worshypfull
plate I war-
raunt you.**

**Here ye maye
see the no writer
of histories is
to be trusted
at all tymes,
and that a man
may soone be
deceyued in
them, excepte
he haue a
right iudge-
ment first in
scripture.
Martin was
a freer begger**

were princes and rulers. But through the entysement and pryckynge on of the prince of this worlde, the firste father of pryde and ambycyon, and the suggesture, and putter in mynde of all other vyces, the deuyll: certayne of the bysshoppes of Rome were deduced, nay rather seduced and brought out from the way of chryste and of the apostles: in to an other cleene contrary way. For auarice and couetousnes inuadyng and comynge in to the myndes of them: dyd thruste out from thense the hygheste merytoryouse or ppyte pouertie, which chryste had plated and set in the churche. And agayne pryde, and ambycyon or desyre of honoure, and of seculare domynyon, inuadyng and comynge vpon the same: hath dryuen out from thense mooste hyghe and peryte humylyte which chryste had comaunded and charged to be obserued, and kepte of the same clergy or vniuersall companye of preests. Amonge which bysshoppes one Simplicius Tibertinus bysshoppe of Rome is red to haue ben, the firste that suffered this thyng: for this Simplicius takynge to hym auctorite, I wotte neuer from whense, albeit that I knowe certaynely, excepte he be excused by ignoraunce, wherof he toke this rasshe and mysauysed presumpcyon, ordayned and decreed, that no clarke ought to take his inuestiture of a lay man, vnderstandynge and meanyng the inuestiture of benefices and offyces, of which we haue spoken here tofore: albeit, yet that by his statute and decree it is euidently spynnyed: that his predecessours wyllynge to gyue due humylyte and reuerence to the princes and emperours, were wonte to receyue the aforesayd inuestitures of laye men. Agayne an other successoure of his thoughte not nexte after hym, Delagius the firste of that name: ordayned and decreed, that heretikes shuld be punysshed by the seculer powres or offycers: of which statute or decree it is also to be marueyled, for asmoche as he knewe well ynough, that suche a lawe was made agaynst heretikes, in the tyme of Justiniane emperoure of Rome. And because it belongeth not to his auctorite to make suche maner of lawes, in that he was a bysshop: vnlesse peraduenture this thyng had ben graunted to hym by the auctorite of the temporall prince. Therefore lyke wyse as Simplicius aforesayd dyd: so also dyd Delagius put in his syeth in an other mannes corne, by vsurpyng the auctorite vnto hym selfe: which appertayned vnto an other man. To whome agayne Adriane the thyrde succeeded, though not imedyatly: in the sayd vsurpacyon: for he ordayned and decreed, that none emperoure shulde intromytte, or medle concernynge the eleccyon of the Pope (that we maye vse the wordes of the sayde Martyne) which statute or decree beyng vnto of no strengthe, for asmoche as it was made by hym that lacked auctorite to make suche maner lawes: dyd contayne also an open inconuenyence / as it hath ben shewed in the .xliii. chapitre of this dyccyon besyde that that the contrarye of it had ben roborated and establysshed by longe and laudable custome. For albeit that Martyne doth say, wher he maketh mencion of Leo the .x. the Romayne of a lewde and wronge custome desyred a bysshop to be gyuen vnto them by the emperour: in that he confesseth it to haue ben a custome: we graunte that the sayd truthe: but in that of his owne auctorite he calleth it a lewde or croked custome, intendynge thereby to iustifye the aforesayd vsurpacyon of the bysshops of Rome and to deface the auctorite and lawes of the emperours, in this he goynge aboute to please man, rather than to please god and the truth: sayth falsely and vnturly: but he sheweth playnely the begynnynge and mysterie of this thyng to haue ben shyt vp and closed from hym selfe. Neyther credence is to be gyuen vnto Martyne in this behalfe: for he with his ordie were partakers of suche maner vsurpacyon. For the ordies which they do call beggynge freers, haue optayned or beleue that they haue optayned of the bysshops of Rome, an exempcyon: that is to wyte,

Wyt, that they are in no poynte subiectes vnder the iurysdyccyon of theyr owne
pastores the bysshops/or other superioure prelates. But nowe to retourne to
that wherof we spake before, it was no lewde nor vnlaunderable custome, that the
bysshops of the church of Rome were instytuted by the emperours, as we haue
sayd. For we do rede, and they also whiche laboure with the sayd Marttine, to co
trarye and to be agaynst this truthe, do confesse or graunte, that this auctorite,
and after a larger maner than is aforesayde: hathe afterwarde ben graunted to
Charlemayne/and to Otto the fyrst kynge of Almayne, & emperour of Rome,
by all & people of Rome/as by the bysshop, the clargye, and other secular persons
wherfore it is red in approued hystories, and it is true also that this decree folow
ynge came forth by the comune consente of the people of Rome. Leo pope in the
synodye whiche was congregated at Rome, in the church of saynt sauoure, accor
dyng to the exampyle of blyssed Adryane, bysshop of the apostolyke see, whiche
graunted vnto lorde Charles the most vctorious kynge of Fraunce & Lombardy
the dygnyte of a senatour, and the ordynacyon and the inuestytur of the aposto
lyke see. I also Leo the seruaunte of the seruauntes of god, bysshop, with all the
clargye & the people of Rome, do constytute, confyrme, and roborate, & by our a
postolyke auctorite do graunte & gyue to Otto the fyrste kynge of Almayne, &
to his successours of this realme or empyre of Italye for euer, as well powre to
chose a successour vnto them selfe, as also to ordayne and assygne the bysshop of
the apostolyke see/ & by this also to ordayne archebysshops or bysshoppes/so that
they shall take theyr inuestiture of hym, and theyr consecracion of them of whom
they ought to take it. Onely these excepted whome the emperour hathe graunted
to the pope and to archebysshops. And that no man from hensforth, of what so
euer dygnytie, relyggyon, or holynes he be: shall haue powre to electe outhen sena
toure, or bysshop of the hyghest apostolyke see, or to ordayne any other bysshop,
who soener he be, without the consente of the sayd emperoure/ whiche for all that
shall be made without any money/and that he shall be senatour, and also kynge.
And yf it so chaunce that any bysshop be elected by the clargye, excepte he be lan
ded & allowed of the aforesayde kynge, & haue his inuestytur of hym: let hym not
be consecrated/ yf any man do enterpryse or go aboute any thyng agaynst this auc
torite, we haue decreed hym to be vnder excomuncacion/ & accursed/ and except
he shall repent, to be punysshed with perpetuall exyle or banysshment/ or els to
be punysshed with the extreme punysshment/ or death. This decree also Steuen
the pope successour vnto the aforesayd Leo hath confyrmed/ & also one Nicholas
the successour of Steuen/ comaundyng it to be obserued & kepte vnder the payne
of the terryble curse/ that is to wyt that the transgressours & brekers of it oughte
to be accompted amonge the wycked men, whiche shall not ryse agayne in iudge
ment/as the profyte sayth in the fyrste psalme. And of this decree it is specyallye
to be noted, & this auctorite concernynge the inuestytures, whiche the bysshop of
Rome with the whole people dyd translate vnto the emperour: as touchynge on
the popes partye: was a certayne renūcyacion. For the fyrst and pryncypall auc
torite hereof was and is appertaynyng to the emperour, whiche had than graū
ted to the pope this auctorite of gyuyng & inuestytur vnto bysshops and arche
bysshops. For because all tēporall thynges, by whome soener they shall haue ben
translated in to any maner church: as touchynge to this thyng, were & are sub
iecte to the prync of the prouynce in whiche the sayde temporalles are sytuate or
lyenge. And this is sygnifyed by the aforesayde decree, where it is sayde, excepte
those, whome the emperoure hathe graunted to the pope and archebysshoppe. So
also to instytute the bysshop of the apostolyke see, appertayneth to the powre and

This he mea
neth of bys
shops within
& emperours
dominion for
els the empe
rour hathe
nought to do
in the leccyon
of bissshops in
Englande.
This punys
met wolde be
put in v.e.
Steuen.
Nicholas.

THE DEFENCE

The bysshops
of rome haue
caused moche
stryfe debate
and blode
shedynge.

Pope Pascal
a good man
but small

Ealypte pope

He durst non
other do then,
but I thynke
I freer Mar-
tyne lyeth.
Otto the .iiii.
emperoure.

Frederyke &
seconde.

auctoryte of the emperour. This notwithstandinge certayne bysshops of Rome vsurpyng the iurysdyccyon of the peoples and prynces, aswell in the makynge or geyng, as in the lawes gyuen, haue enterprysed to make, promulgate, or publyshe these lawes, though they vnderstande and wrongfully/and by lytelle and lytelle haue proceeded and gone forwarde in them/namely the emperour all see beyng vancante/wherupon comenly and for the most part, & for the occupation of certayne tēporalles (so far as may be perceyued by the Cronycles, or approued hystories) stryfes haue ben raysed vp betwene the emperours and the popes of Rome. Now be it the sayd bysshops in this haue done agaynst the counsell or precepte of chryst and of the apostles/whiche in that they ought to succede the apostles in the offyce of preefthode or apostleshipp: they ought also to obserue and kepe moste hyghlye povertie and humylytie/ but they turnynge out in to a certayne other waye, & contrarye to it, through ignorance, or malice, or through the bothe, as we haue shewed here tofore: haue begon this imortall and perpetuall contencion or stryfe agaynst the sayd emperours whiche same contencion most of all amonge all other, a certayne bysshop of Rome called Paschalis, began agaynst Henry the .iiii. kynge of Almanayne. For as the hystories do recorde the sayde bysshop dyd proshybyte the sayd Henry to come vp vnto the emperour dygnyte/ reysynge vp agaynst hym the people of Rome, vntyll such tyme as the aforesayd Henry beyng in Tusky, by embassadours and letters, dyd graunte in a maner by compulsion, vnto the same bysshop, the inuestitures and instytucions of all bysshops, abbottes, and all other clarkes. Of whiche Henry agayne, the aforesayd pope requyrynge an othe, after he was entred in to the cytie, concernynge the thynges, whiche he had extorted & gotten of hym by compulsion: was taken, and at his colledge of Cardynalles/and in conclusyon beyng deliuered: had peace with the aforesayd emperour. Agaynst whom he raydynge agayne the olde stryfe: had moche to do to ende it at the laste, with great laboures and paynes.

¶ But (as Martine telleth) the aforesayde emperour repentynge (to vse the wordes of the same Martine) & wayynge wyse agayne: freely resygned by the staffe and the rynge, to one Ealypte the successoure of Paskall, the inuestytur of bysshoppes and of other prelates/ and graunted that canonycall eleccyon shulde be made in all churches throughout the whole empyre/and all the possessiones and regalles of saynt Peter, whiche through his discorde, or any other stryfe or debate with the churche had ben alienated: he restored to the churche of Rome/and dysposed and ordred, that all other possessiones aswell of clarkes as of laye men, whiche by the occasyon of warre had ben taken a waye: shulde be saythfullye and trulye restored agayne/whiche sayd grauntes or pryuyleges, Otto the .iiii. and Frederyke the seconde emperours of Rome, afterwarde wyllynge (for a lausfull cause peraduenture) to reuoke, or reuokynge utterlye, or els in parte: suffered very many dysceytes, persecucyons, and impedymentes or depacyons of the bysshoppes and of the clargye of Rome. And some of theyr predecessours haue not ben holpen by the people, subiectes vnto them, by the reason that the rule and regyment of the bysshoppes of Rome, or of theyr offycers and mynystrs, hath otherwhyles tasted peraduenture of tyrannye. This than (as we haue sayde) is and hath ben the fyrste and pryncypall occasyon, and noysshether of the present stryfe & dyscorde betwene the emperours and the popes of Rome/whiche enemyties and dyscordes, on the behalfe of the emperours and other prynces haue many tymes ben cessed, vpon a blynde zeale towarde the lawe of god, and for feare that elles they myght be taken of other as heretykes and rebellyons agaynst the holy churche, as men call the clargye. But the bysshops of Rome wyll for all that vnderstande and exces-
syuelye

cessynely possesse temporall thynges, and not be vnder the lawes, statutes, or decrees of the emperours cleue agaynst the example and doctryne of chryst and his apostles / as it hath ben shewed here tofore. Not withstandinge that they oughte not onely in these thynges which are not theyr owne, but also in thyngs beyng theyr owne, rather to gyue place: than to contende and stryue / accordyng to the counsell whiche Paule gyueth to all chrysten men in the .vi. chapptre to the Corinthians wher he sayth thus. Is there not one man amonge you, whiche may iudge betwene brother and brother: but doth one brother stryue with an other brother in iudgement, and that afore infydels? Truly in so doyng ye declare synne to repgne in you / why haue you iudgemēt betwene you? why do you not rather take wronge? why do you not rather suffre hurte or losse? and it foloweth after: wardes in the same place, whiche maye conueniently be sayd, well nere vnto all the bysshops of Rome, and to all other clarkes. But you do wronge and worke dysceyte, and that to your chrysten brethren. Do you not knowe: that vniuste persones, shall not possesse the kyngdome of god? Be not beggled or do you not mystake or erre. Neyther fornicatours, neyther worshyppers of Imagies, neyther adulterers / neyther bouggardes, vsynge the synne of the sodomites / neyther theues / neyther couetous men / neyther dronkerdes / neyther euill sayers / neyther extorcyoners and robbers, shall possesse the kyngdome of god. Whiche sayenge or counsaile of saynt Paule, the bysshops of Rome with the resydue of bysshops & clarkes, lytle markyng or regardyng, yf at any tyme they thynke them selues to be greued by the emperours of Rome, by reason of takyng of tythes or of such temporall trybutes, to the sustentacyon and mayntaynyng of theyr soldyers, the necessity of warre beyng towarde and nere at hande: for the fauoure and benefyte of temporall thynges, whiche they haue receyued and taken, graciouslye gyuen vnto them by the emperours of Rome, they beyng lysted vp in to pryde, ignoraunte of theyr owne condycion & estate, and most vnkynde of all vnkynde men, of a certayne vnbryded presumption, haue blasfemyd forth in to horribble blasphemies and cursynges, as well agaynst the emperours: as agaynst the chrysten people subiectes vnto them. Albeit the sayde curses haue returned agayne vnto theyr owne wretched soules and bodyes, rather than haue hurted the emperours & the innocent flocke of chrysten people.

Be not
angry.

¶ And they not beyng contented with the temporallies graunted vnto them by the emperours / throughe the vnsayable desyre whiche they haue vnto suche thynges, haue vpolently entred vpon many of the temporall prouynces appertaynyng to the ryght of the emperoure / as the temporallies of the cyties of Roman: diole / and of Fattarie and Bononie / also of the landes and other iurysdyccions: specyallye whan the emperour seate hath ben vacante. And (whiche thyng is the vttermoste inconuenient of all cruyle inconuenientes) they haue made them selues prynces and lawmakers, to the ende that they myght brynge kynges and peoples in to theyr bondage, most intollerable / and shamefull. For the most parte of them descendyng and borne of a lowe and vyle stocke or lynage, whyles they are taken to the state and dygnyte of the pope, not knowyng or skylled in secular gouernaunce, and as ignoraunte in the orderyng of ryches, beyng also vndyscrete persones, and lately made ryche, are now made or become importable & intollerable vnto all chrysten people.

The bysshops
of Rome ben
theses and
robbers.

Tyranny &
vsurpacyon

¶ Moreover belcuyng that it was lawfull for them to do what soeuer they luste by reason of the fulnes of powre, whiche they do chalenge as dewe vnto them selues: they haue made, and do make certayne Oligarchicall ordynacions, called decretalles / by whiche they do decree suche thynges to be obserued and kepte / as

THE DEFENCE

Of shame of
all shames.

they suppose to be agreynge vnto the temporall profyte of them selues. & of theyr clarkes. & other laye men, of the exemption wherof we haue spoken though they be to the great preiudyce, of all prynces. and other chrysten men. And who soeuer are dysobedient vnto these decretalles: they do stryke them, as we haue sayde before. with theyr sentence of curse, outther by mouth or els by wyrtynge. Yea more ouer some of them haue blast forth at the laste in to so great madnes that by these theyr decretalles, they haue pronounced all the prynces and peoples of the worlde to be subiectes vnto them by coactiue iurysdyccyon / and that euery maner man is bounde of the necessyte of eternall saluacyon, to beleue that this is true / whiche thynge for all that, how greatly it is worthy to be mocked and laughed to skorne I haue shewed here tofore.

Obstynacye.

As agaynst
Englande.

These excesses and trespasses than, whiche we haue referred to haue ben done by the bysshops of Rome, with the colledge or company of theyr clarkes, agaynst all prynces and peoples, though the most largely, and manifestly agaynst the people of Italye, and the prynces and emperours of Rome: they are wyrtynge to cossetue / and as obstynate persons forwardly to defende / & not onely these: but also they are wyrtynge and gothe aboute with all care and dyligence to seche or get vnto them selues the same excesses, or els greater excesses preconceyued, and desired agaynst other kyngdomes / and doth gyue also herunto all the outwarde laboure and dyligence, that they dare. And they verely cospyderynge and knowynge well ynough (though they do dyssemble it and with certayne rethorycall colours and clokes of wordes do go aboute bothe to obscure and denye it) that it belongeth to the auctorite of the prynces and theyr parlyamentes, to gyue and to take a waye what soeuer pryuylegges or grauntes hathe ben made vnto them / yet when soeuer it shall seme expedient to the emperoure and his counsaile to receyue at Rome his crowne emperyall, then as traytours vntrewe with all malycyous dyligence and enforcement they do prophyete and set the creacion and promocyon of the emperoure of Rome: because they knowe the unkyndnes and demerites of them selues or elles of theyr predecessours, for whiche they do feare lest the pryuylegges and grauntes shall be reuoked, and taken from them by the emperoure / and that they shall suffre punysshementes suche as they haue desired. And agayne, by the reason of the sayd feare and dreade, and bycause that by the aforesayd pryuylegges there was no waye open vnto them, to get or entre vpon the domynions, iurysdyccions, and possessyons of other kyngdomes with out cauellacyon / for that that the emperours pryuylegges dothe not bynde other prynces, as beyng of as great powre as he, within theyr owne domynions they haue therfore I saye soughte and gone aboute to entre vnto these thynges by a certayne other crafte & subtel medytacion and deuyse. For they haue taken vpon them the tytyle, whiche they preache openly of them selues / and whiche they go aboute, to make the instrument of this wyckednes and myschefe, that is to wyrt, the fulnes of powre, whiche they do saye to be graunted synghulerly vnto them selues by chryste in the persone of saynt Peter the apostle. whose successours they saye them selues to be. By whiche cursed tytyle. and sophysticall oracyon, because it may be taken dyuerse wayes, & as beyng false. in al sences & alwayes & at al tymes to be denyed of all chrysten men: they haue herterto disceyued, & dothe nowe dysceyue & gothe aboute more & more to beggie and dysceyue, & to bryng vnder theyr seruytude and bondage, all the prynces. and peoples collegyes, and synghulare persones of the worlde. For after the bysshops of Rome had taken this sayde tytyle of full powre vnto them selues, fyrste of all in that sence, after whiche, ful-

Fulnes of
powre is an
expectable
tytle.

nes of

nes of powre semeth to betoken for the vniuersall care of all soules, or the offyce of generall pastor or herdes man, and agayne in the sence after whiche it betokeneth powre to absolue all men seuerallye from all synnes and paynes, vnder the coloure and apperaunce of pytie, charyte, and mercye: from these, by tytle and tytle, and secretlye, as we haue declared in the. xxiij. chapytre of this dyccyon they haue gone further / and at the last haue taken vnto them selues this tytle in and after that sygnifycacyon, by whiche they do vnderstande by fulnes of powre, vniuersall auctorite, and hyghest iurysdyccion or coactyue gouernaunce and domynyon of all prynces and peoples, and all temporall thynges / takynge the begynnynge and grounde of suche fulnes, by the metaphoricall and allegorycall exposycyons, wherof we haue spoken in the. v. parte of the. xxiij. chapytre of this dyccyon. And this is an euydent and manifest sygne to all men, that the bysshops of Rome dorthe accordynge to this sence, ascrybe vnto them selues, and bragge them selues to haue fulnes of powre, that is to wytte that they wyll haue the auctorite of hyghest iurysdyccion, or coactyue domynacyon, ouer all prynces, peoples & partyculer persons, to be agreynge and appertaynyng vnto them selues by this fulnes of powre. For in the. vii. booke of theyr narracyons, whiche they do call Decretalles / in the tytle De sententia et re iudicata, Element the. v. pope of Rome, whiche is intytled the maker therof, and he whiche afterwarde published the same, beyng called the successoure of the same Element as moche as in them was, reuokynge a certayne sentence of the moste honourable Henry the. vii. emperoure of the Romaynes, amonge other thynges, after very many wordes of contumelye, rebuke, and irreuerence there promysed, after theyr wonte and accustomed maner, bothe by worde of mouth and also in wytyng agaynst the sayd Henry: at the last (I saye) they bryng for this sentence folowynge. We as well by the superyorite, whiche it is vndoubted that we haue in comparyson to the empyre, as by the powre and auctorite in which we do succede the emperoure, the empyre beyng vacante, and also by the fulnes of that powre, whiche chryste the kynge of kynges and lord of lordes hathe graunted to vs though vniworthye in the persone of saynt Peter: do declare by the counsell of our brethren, the sentence and processe aforesayde, and what soeuer hathe followed of them or by the occasyon of them, to haue ben, and also to be utterly voyde and of no strengthe. And because the dysceypte and gyle of these bysshops shall not from henceforth be hyd and vnknewen. I as the comune proclaymour and cryer of trouthe, do crye stronglye and saye vnto you kynges, prynces, peoples, and men of all nacyns and languages, that the popes of Rome with the companye of theyr clarkes by this theyr decretalles beyng moste openlye false as touchynge to euery supposycyon of it do the moste hyghe preiudice that may be, vnto you all / for they do go aboute to bryng you in to theyr subieccion, yf you shall suffre that Decretall to remayne, and namelye to haue the vertue and strengthe of a lawe. For marke well this / it foloweth of necessitye, that he whiche hathe pryncypall auctorite to reuoke the sentence of any maner pryncce or iudge: hathe also iurysdyccion and coactyue domynyon vpon the same pryncce or iudge / and hathe auctorite and powre to instytute and to depose hym from kyngdome rule, and gouernaunce. But the pope of Rome ascrybeth this auctorite vnto hym selfe, ouer all prynces and kyngdomes of the worlde indifferentlye / for by that full powre and auctorite, whiche he saythe that Chryste hathe graunted to hym in the persone of saynt Peter: he hathe reuoked the cruyle sentence of the aforesayde Emperoure of Rome Henry / whiche powre, it foloweth of necessitye,

Folnes of powre, full ynough I trove: and yf the denyll be not in it.

De setēcia et re iudicata.

Marsilius of padway, the herolde of truthe.

Here al kinges take hede, yf ye wyll not haue your crownes pulled of your heddes. or the successyon of your bodyes betrayed, for in this decretall is manifeste treason cōceyuyd agaynst you all, & eke the succession of your bodies.

THE DEFENCE

to haue ben graunted to hym, no lesse vpon other kynges and gouernours of the worlde, than vpon the emperoure of the Romaines. For chryste no lesse hath ben is, or shalbe kyng and lord of other kynges and prynces or gouernours: than of the kyng & gouernour of the Romaines / whiche thynge also they owne speche or scrypture wytnesseth openlye. whan they do saye or wryte, kyng of kynges, and lord of lordes. For yf they sayenge or wrytynge were vnder this forme, syn gulerlye, that of the fulnes of powre graunted vnto them by chryste kyng and lord of the kyng or emperour of Rome. &c. by this peradventure myght the excep- ceyon of other kynges and kyngdomes be somwhat perceyued and comprehen ded. But now for asmoche as they pronounce this sentence plurallye, absolute ly, and indyfferentlye, euen as it is wryten of the euangelyste (thoughe not to that sentence or purpose, whiche the bysshops of Rome do intende) by it there can be made none exception of any kyng or gouernour / no more then they them sel- ues do vnderstande or meane any prynce to be excepted from it, but euery one to be contayned in it / as in an other place they predecessoure Boniface the. viii. dyd playnely and dystynctely expresse / and we haue broughte in his sayenge here to fore. To whome yet let no man contynue enuyous mynded for they sayenge or wrytynge. And albeit that the euangelyst sayd trewe, whan he called chryste the kyng of kynges and lord of lordes. yea yf he had sayd also of all creatures: yet for all that he sayd and wrote a false and an open lye, and contrary to the many fest and euydent sentence of chryste, and of the apostles Peter, and Paule, & Ja mes, whiche sayd and affyrmed the foresayd full powre of domynyon or of coac- tyue iurysdyccion, or any suche powre at all to be gyuen in the persone of saynt Peter or of any other apostle, to the bysshop of Rome, or elles to any other bys- shop. But suche maner of powre is, hath ben, and shal be vterlye for bydden to the bysshop of Rome, and to all other bysshops in the persone of what soeuer as- postle he be, as we haue vndoubtedlye certysyd by the scrypture and the auctori- ties of sayntes, in the. iiii. v. and. ix. of this dyccion. But in that newe saynyng, and whiche was neuer afore harde of any man, the bysshop of Rome no lesse fals ly than presumptuously, is not asfayde to speke openly agaynst his owne myn- de, & agaynst the mynde well nere of all chrysten men, beyng partakers of this consyderacion, whyles he dothe styffely affyrme, that it is vndoubted, hym selfe to haue superyorite (as he intedeth & meaneth) of coactyue iurysdyccion or domy- nyon in coparyson vnto y emperour of Rome. And agayne y the empyre beyng vacante: he succedeth the sayde emperour of Rome. For by these wordes is many- festly shewed the wrongfull and vniuste vsurpacyon of the emperypall iurysdy- cions, whiche the bysshops of Rome hether to haue exerceyd, and now adayes do exerceyse: namelye whan the emperypall see is vacante. For who is so fatte from shamesfastnes and vterlye shamelesse, as to saye that thynge to be vndoubt- edly trewe, whiche thynge, was neuer afore harde, neyther hath ben strengthened and confyrmed by the lawe of god or of man, or by ryght reason / and whose con- traryety accordynge to the sayd lawes and ryght reason: hath alwayes ben conceyued and spoken forth as a token of the truthe belened of all men: wherfore lykewyse (as the prouerbe of physycions is) as he doth heale most men, of whom most men haue confydence and trust: so may we say in very dede he is wyllynge to dysceyue & be- gyle moste men, to whom moste credence is gyuen now adayes.

The bysshop
of Rome is
bothe false &
presumptuous.

Asymptitude

Howe the bysshop of Rome hath vbled the same fulnes
of powre, moze sprecpallye, agaynste the empe-
roure, and the empyre of Rome.

The. xxvj. chapytre.

Thus than the bysshops of Rome haue so vbled hytherto the aforesayd
fulnes of powre. contynualtye, euer longer worse and worse, and so
do styll, but yet most of all agaynste the emperour & empyre of rome.
For agaynste hym they may mozte largelye exerceyse thus theyr wy-
kednes, that is to wyte of subduynge & empyre vnto them selues: by
reason of the dyscorde whiche hath ben hytherto raysed vp, and contynualtye is
raysed vp and noysshed by those men whiche ben called pastores or mozte holy fa-
thers, betwene the inhabytantes of the empyre amonge them selues: and also a-
gaynste theyr pryncce. And agayne because this empyre beyng ones subdued vnto
them: they suppose and beleue, that they may easely haue a waye open to subdue
other kyngdoms also: and yet are they mozte largelye and syngulerlye bounde to
the emperoure & empyre of rome: for benefytes receyued of them, as it is knowen
vnto all men. But that we may speake a thyng not vnkowen to any man or
nedyng my wordes or testimony, they smytten with couptousnes, with pryde,
and ambycion, and by vnkynndnes made worse then yll, setche and go aboute all
maner wayes: to prohibite and let the creation of the romayne emperour: yea and
in conclusyon go aboute to destroye his empyre or els go aboute to translate it in
to an other forme or fashyon, beyng subiecte vnto them, and this they do lest the
excesses myght be corrected and redressed, whiche they haue comyt agaynste & em-
pyre, by the auctoryte and powre of the sayd pryncce or emperoure, & lest also them
selues myght suffre chastysment accordyng to theyr desertynnges. And though he
for that intent whiche we haue sayd, they do euidently lay some maner stoppe or
impedymment vnto the aforesayd emperour, yet gylefullye they pretende an other
thyng, to couer and hyde this theyr intente / sayenge that they do it, to defende the
ryghte and lybertyes of the spouse of chryste, that is to wyte of the churche: but this
pypkyed pyetie & sophistycall deuocyon is to be laughed to scorne. For I am that
temporall thynges, yea rather theyr couptousnes, theyr ambycion, and desyre of
iurysdyccyon or domynyon, is not the spouses of chryst neyther haue chryste cou-
pled it vnto hym selfe by matrimonye, but hath expressely refused and forsaken
it: as it hath ben here tofore declared by deuyne scryptures. Neyther is it the inhe-
rytaunce whiche the apostles haue lefte to theyr true and vnfayned successours,
as saynt Barnarde sayth openly and playnly to Eugenius pope in þe booke De
consideratione & in the. iiii. chapytre. This is Peter (sayth Barnarde) whiche is
not knowen to haue come forth at any tyme, outther adourned and decked with
precious stones or sylkes: or couered with gold: or rydynge on a whyte palfreye,
neyther garded with men of warre: neyther compased aboute on euery syde with
seruauntes, makynge noyse: and yet without those thynges he supposed, that hym
selfe myght suffyciently fulfyll þe holysome comaundemēt or charge, yf thou lonest
me fede my shepe. In these thyngs & is to wyte golde, precious stones, & other tēpo-
rall thyngs, thou arte successour not to Peter, but to Costantyne. So than by stry-
uynge for tēporalles, the spouse of chryst is not defēded: for þe popes of rome & are
nowe adayes do not defende, but offende the very spouse of chryste: & is to wytte
the catholyke faythfull multytude of chrysten people, and they do not saue and

The frute of
o' holy herdes
men or bys-
shoppes.

The spouse
of chryst, and
þe church must
be a cloke to
couer al wy-
kednes.

The spouses
of chryste.
Barnarde

The popes
haue succeeded
not Peter but
Constantine
or rather Ni-
roth & cruel
these & tyrāt.
kepe

THE DEFENCE

Reason to:
warde & em:
perour of
Rome in the
decretalles.

The corona
cyon of & em:
peroure.

Let al kyngs
by this take
hede how they
suffre the bys
shops to exer
cise any cere
monyes a
bout or vpon
them, yea or
bissshop vpon
bissshop vndre
what coloure
of holynes so
euer it be, for
in conclusion
an other daye
yf they maye
come a lyste,
they wyl cha
lege therby a
certayne
pouere and
make therof
a certayne re
lygyon neces
sary holynes
and a lawe
of god.

Kepe: but do defyle and blemyshe the beaultie and fayrenes of this spouses / that
is to wylt the vnyte therof, whyles by sowynge cockele and scysmes, they do teate
the membres therof, and do dyssener them one from an other. And whyles also
they do not admyt and receyue & true accompanys and wayters vpon chryste,
pouertie, & humyltye. But done vtterlye exclude them, they do shewe them selues
not to be the mynysters of the spouse, but rather his enemyes. The bysshoppes of
Rome therefore goynge aboute to subuerbe and destroy this empyre, do suppose &
thynge, which we haue brought in here afore of theyr owne narracyons called De
cretalles, that is to wylt, that them selues, by the lawe of god, or of man, or perai
uenture by bothe, haue superiourite in comparyson to the pryncce or emperoure of
Rome other beyng created, or elles to be created / and that the emperyal
pouere or iurysdyccion doth appertayne vnto them whan the empyre is vacante /
whiche supposycyons for all that, are moste euidentlye false / and strenghted by
no lawe of god or of man, or ryght reason / but the contrarye of them hath ben pro
ued by demonstracyon in the. xlii. of the fyrst dyccyon, and hath also ben more lar
gely confirmed by scrypture in the. liii. v. and. ix. of this dyccyon. And the occasy
on of these supposycyons, nay rather presumpcions with other aforesayd was a
certayne superfluous yea superstycious deuocyon / for it sodeynly pleased / certayne
of the prynces and emperours of Rome syns the tyme of Constantyne frendely
and amynable to sygnifye and gyue knowledg of theyr eleccyon vnto the bys
shops of Rome / that in the persone of the bysshops, they gyuyng synngulare reue
rence to Chryst: they myght optayne of chryst by the intercessyon of the bysshops
(as they thought) larger benedycyon and grace to gouerne theyr empyre. And in
the same maner or moch lyke, certayne emperours of Rome for a solemnyte and
sygne of theyr intronizacyon or coronacyon, and for the more large grace of god to
be optayned: haue caused the emperyal diademe to be put vpon theyr hedes, by the
bysshops of Rome / whiche settinge on of the diademe, who wyl saye & it gyueth
to the bysshop of Rome more auctorite vpon the emperour: than it doth to & arch
bysshop of Rhone ouer the kyng of Fraunce? For suche maner solemnyties do
not gyue auctorite: but they do sygnifie that auctorite hath ben had or gyuen. Of
this reuerence than so gyuen by the emperours of theyr owne free wylls, the bys
shops of Rome oftentymes sechynge those thynges which at not theyr owne: haue
brought in a custome, & to saye more trulye an abuse by reason of the symplycite
(because I wolde not saye the cowardenes and dastardnes) of the prynces & em
perours, to call the approbacyon of the persone elected, and the benedycyon whiche
they sent vpon the same persone by worde of mouth or in wrytyng, the cofirma
cyon of the eleccyon aforesayd. And whyles the emperours of Rome in & olde tyme
dyd nothyng regarde nor take hede, what preiudyciall intent and purpose was
hyd vnder this maner of so callinge it: the popes of Rome haue so secretlye and pry
uely brought it in from tyme to tyme, yea & now doth it openly, that no man,
be he neuer so couenyently elected kyng of the Romaynes, may be called kyng
neyther yet maye haue or exercise the auctorite of the kyng of the Romaynes,
excepte he shall haue ben approbated before by the bysshoppe of Rome / whiche ap
probacyon resteth onelye, in the wyll and pleasure of the bysshop of Rome as he
hym selfe sayth, because he recognyseth or knowledgeth no man here in earth to
be superiour or equal to hym selfe in such maner iudgemēt. Neyther he is bounde
(as he sayth) to folowe the counsaile of his brethren whom he calleth cardynalles
in this thyng or in other thynges, albeit that he doth vse theyr counsell, but that
he may do contrarye to theyr counsaile in what soeuer thynges yf he lyst, of the
fulnes of his pouere.

But

But in this the Bysshop of Rome after his owne wylle and maner, cōcludeth false of trewe thynges, and euyl of good thynges / for it doth not folowe, because the emperoure throughte deuocyon of his owne free wylle gaue this reuerence to the Bysshop of Rome, that he gaue hym knowledge of his eleccyon, and despyed his benedycyon and intercessyon vnto god: that therfore the election of the emperoure of Rome hangeth of his wylle and pleasure. For this shulde be none other thyng than to lose or dystroye the empyre of Rome, & perpetually to prosybyte or let the creation of the emperoure or gouernour. For yf the auctorite of the kynge or pryncce elected, shuld hange onely of the wylle and pleasure of the Bysshop of Rome: than is the offyce of the electours utterly voyde and of no strength, for asmoche as he that is elected by them, neyther is emperoure, neyther may be called kynge or emperoure, afore that he be confirmed by his wylle or auctorite, who is sayde to syt in the see apostolyke / neyther maye he that is so elected exerce any regall auctoritie. Yea and moreouer (which is a very paynfull thyng, not onely to suffre but also to heare) it shall not be lawfull to any man so elected, to take vnto hym selfe so moche as his cotidiane and dayly charges of the prouentes of the empyre: without the lycence of this sayde Bysshop / what other auctorite than doth the eleccyon of the prynces, gyue vnto the emperours, than onely the name: sayenge that the determynacyon of them hangeth vpon the wylle and pleasure of one man alone, that is to wylt the Bysshop of Rome. For seuen barbours / or seuen blere eyed men myght gyue as moche auctorite vnto the kynge or emperoure of Rome, as dothe the .vii. electours / but yet let no man thynke, that we do speke thus to the contempte of the electours / but to the mockynge and derysyon of hym, that wolde depriue them of the auctorite deuē vnto them / for he is ignorant, what is the vertue & nature of an eleccyon, and for what cause the powre and auctorite of the sayde eleccyon dothe consyste and reste in the bygger parte of them that ought to electe & chose the emperoure, and that the effecte therof neyther ought, neyther maye depende or hange vpon the wylle of any one man alone, yf it shall be reasonably instituted / but onely it shall hange vpon the wylle of the electours. So than the Bysshoppe of Rome euidentlye is wyllynge to dystroye the offyce of the electours, all though he gothe aboute by metuaylouse crafte and subteltye, to blynde, circumuent or begyle them. For he sayth in certayne of his scripatures, that no man beinge elected to be kynge of the romaynes is kynge or ought to be called kynge, afore his conformation / the auctorite wherof he sayth to belonge to his owne free powre. And he meaneth also that the instytucion of the electours, also dothe belonge to the same auctorite. For the same Bysshop as he sayth hath translated the empyre from the Grekes, in to the persone of great Charles otherwysse called Charles mayne. And agayne in other certayne decrees wher he sayth playnlye that a certayne emperoure whiche was elected by them, was by chryste and his apostolyke see depriued of all the auctorite, which the electours myght gyue vnto hym / he putteth after wardes craftelye and gylefullye these wordes. And yet we wylle not that by this any preiudyce be gendred to the electours, or to theyr offyce. And yet he dothe manifestlye preiudyce vnto them / naye rather to speake more trulye: he dothe annulle theyr offyce utterlye, in that he sayde before, that by theyr auctorite: the regale auctorite of the romaynes is gyuen vnto no man / and agayne in that that without theyr consente and determynacion he dothe depriue hym, that was elected by them: of the ryght and the auctorite of the eleccyon gyuen to hym by them / and so mockynge and begylynge them he dothe none other wyse preiudyce vnto them, than he dothe hurte one, that pulleth out his eye: although he do saye, that he wylle not hurte hym, whan he doth so.

Agayne

THE DEFENCE

The unlawfull othes of
the emperours
to the bysshop
of Rome.

Al gayne to ascribē this confirmacyon of the emperour elected, vnto hym selfe and to saye that without the sayd confirmacion no man is emperour, nor ought to be called kynge or emperour, nor ought to mynyste the thynges appertaynyng to the emperour, that is none other thyng, than to proshypte perpetually by the creacyon and promocyon of the sayd pryncē or emperour / or elles to byng the sayd empyre holly in to the seruptude and bondage of the bysshop of Rome / for the bysshop of Rome yf he lystē not: wyl neuer approue or confyrme any man that is elected kynge or emperour of the Romaynes, for asmoche, as he affyrmeth hym selfe to be superpoure vnto all men / and in this thyng to be vnder no colledge or syngulare persone / nowe shall he neuer lystē or be wyllynge to approue or confyrme any man elected / because that afore he doth approue hym, whiche is elected kynge or emperour, he wyl requyre of hym promyscs and othes. And amonge other he wyl requyre the othe, wherby the emperour shall saye and expresse hym selfe to be subiecte vnto the sayd bysshop, in fealtie, or temporall and coactyue intysdycyon. And he wyl requyre also the vnlawfull and vniuste occupacyons of certayne prouynces, to be kepte and mayntayned vnto hym selfe by the sayd elected emperour / and this thyng he wyl requyre to be promysed and confyrmed by the othe of the sayd elected emperour / whiche vnlawfull promyscs and othes, beyng not possyble to be made, neyther to be holden, and kepte after they are made, sauynge the conscience of the emperours maiestie, and the lawfull othe gyuen or made in his creacyon to cōserue and mayntayne the lyberties of the empyre. Neuer any man beyng elected emperour wyl gyue or make to the bysshop of Rome, or to any other bysshop, excepte he be more softe and cowardlye than a woman / and also manifestlye perturbed in swerynge and promysynge suche manner thynges / wherfore none of the emperours elected, shall euer be created emperour of the Romaynes, or shall deserue the name of the emperour: yf the regall or emperyal auctorite of the persones elected doth hange of the bysshop of Rome / For as longe as the sayde bysshoppe maye lette and proshypte them (though he doth this vniustlye, and sekyng those thynges whiche appertayne not to hym) no questyon but he wyl let them / both by his wordes, and also by his workes & dedes / so longe as he may. And yet there foloweth also a more greuous preindycce & more vntollerable hurte than these aforesayde / & all prynces cōmunyties, & synguler psons whiche ben subiects to the emperour ben by this reason also subiects to the empyre & domynyon of the bysshop of Rome. For seynge the sayd bysshop doth say & affyrme hym selfe to succede the aforesayd emperour in offyce, the emperyal seate beyng vacaunte: it foloweth of necessitye, that it belongeth to the auctorite of the sayd bysshop, to exacte and requyre othes of fidelite of all prynces, and other that oweth fealtie to the emperour and to compell them to make or gyue the aforesayd othes / and also to demaunde of the same, trybutes and other seruyces, whiche hathe ben wonte to be done by the same vnto the emperours of Rome, with other thynges whiche the sayd bysshop shall lystē to saye, to be dewe vnto hym selfe beyonde the custome, of his fulnes of powre, whiche he sayth openly to belonge vnto hym selfe. And it foloweth also that the collacyon, or gyuyng of prynces, domes, of fees, and of other lyberties, whiche the emperour of Rome may gyue, for defaulte of hayres male, or for any other reason or cause: dothe lyke wyse appertayne to the auctorite / of this sayde bysshop, the emperyal seate beyng vacaunte. Yea it foloweth moreouer (whiche is moste preindycpall and moste greuous thyng of all) that whan the emperyal see is vacaunte, whiche after the powre and dyllygence of the bysshops of Rome shall perpetually be vacaunte: the prynces, colledgies, cōmunyties, and syngulare persones whiche are subiectes to the

the empyre of Rome, contendynge and stryvinge cnyly one with an other, by the reason of appellacyons comynge betwene / or throughe complayntes made of them brought vnto the courte of the bysshop of Rome / as well reall as personall shall be compelled to come to the courte of the sayd bysshop by his cytacyons / and there to abyde cnyly and tēporal iudgement. And no pryncce comynge or iudge beyng subiecte to the emperour of Rome shall be able to put any sentēce: by the reason that the persons condemned shall alwayes, to stoppe suche excecucion, appele from the temporall sentences of them vnto the courte of Rome. And yf they that be subiecte to the empyre of Rome, wyll not obeye the sayde bysshop or be vnder hym in the aforesayde thynges (as they are not bounde) than the sayde bysshoppe shall contynuallye without ceasynge, and with all malycious and fro ward enforcemēt, persue them by sentēces as they are called of cursynge, of blasphemys / of excomunicacyons / of heresyces / of interdycyons / and laste of all of beyng depriued and losynge of theyr temporall goodes / makynge suche maner temporalles comune, and grauntynge them to who soeuer shall be able by any maner waye to plucke them awaye / and by grauntynge to them that dothe persue suche persones with all theyr subiectes, and adherentes, and whiche also by what soeuer meane can kylle or stee them: false and dysceyptfull pardon of all manner synne and payne / and also by absoluyng (thoughe heretycally) the subiectes of them from theyr othes outhere afore gyuen, or afterwarde to be gyuen vnto the sayd prynces. And yf the bysshop of Rome, pretēdyng after his wonted manner, the cure and loue of the people, shall saye, that therfore it appertayneth vnto hym selfe, to conspyne or alowe the eleccyon of the emperoure of Rome, lest peraduenture an heretyke myght clyme vp vnto the emperypall dygnyte. Whiche by the reason therof wolde do verie moche hurte to the comynge of chrysten people: verely answere is to be made vnto hym conuenientlye, that the sayd eleccyon nedeth not therfore to be allowed of hym for asmoche as the same eleccyon is celebrated and made by. iiii. solempne archebysshops of chrystendom (whiche eche one of them hath taken as great auctorite of preesthode, or epyscopall powere of chryste, as hath the bysshop of Rome. And also by. iiii. seculare chrysten prynces, with whome, whan the aforesayde relygyous pastours or prelates do agree toggyther: than the eleccyon of the aforesayde emperoure is made perfyete. And it is not lyke to be trewe, that these. vii. wyll so erre or be moued by peruerse intencion or corrupte affeccyon, as dothe the wyll of the bysshoppe of Rome alone by hym selfe, whiche thynketh & supposeth, that he maye of ryght, leaue vnto his owne iudgement alone, by & reason of that fulnes of powere, which vnaccordyngety he dothe ascrybe vnto hym selfe. For so he myghte at his pleasure iudge to whome soeuer he lyst to be an heretyke, and so depriue hym of the ryght of his eleccyon / by reason wherof the offyce of the prynces electours shulde be made voyde / and the creacion and promotynge of hym that is elected shulde be alwayes prosybyted and letted for the causes aforesayde. But yet the case put, that accordynge to the mynde of our aduersarye, the emperoure of Rome outhere afore or after his eleccyon hath fallen or doth fall in to heresyce, and that the prynces electours had no knowledge therof: yet it is to be sayde, that the iudgement or correccyon of hym dothe in no wyse therfore appertayne to the bysshop of Rome. Moreover it is to be demaunded, why the ablyng of other kynges dothe not belonge also to theyr sayd iudgemente and powere of approbacyon. For I dare be suertye, that they do intende this also, thoughe they dare not as yet attempte it or set vpon it, but do wayte a mete and a conuenient tyme therfore / wherof also peraduenture we shall speake somwhat. So than of these sayde false supposicions, now we last of all a certayne

Pardons.

Absolucions

An obieccion

Answer.

No nor yet to any other creature or creature or creature

THE DEFENCE

one called pope of Rome entrynge in to the way of erroure and iniquyte with al his studye and inforcementes letteth and proschypeteth noble Ludouyke descen- dyng of the dukes of Bauarye, which is elected kynge of the Romaynes: to pro- ceede vnto quyet possession of the hygge emperypall dygnyte. For the sayd Ludo- uyke bothe by his worde and also by his dede, kylleth and destroyeth, & not with- out a cause, the supposicions of the aforesayde bysshop. For albeit that he hathe not yet ben approued or confirmed by his wordes or wytynges, as we haue eu- dentlye shewed here before, neyther neadeth to be confirmed: yet that not withsta- dyng from the tyme of his election made and publysshed by the electours hyther to contynualle: he hathe caused, and dothe cause hym selfe to be wyten and na- med kynge of the Romaynes, as in very dede and accordyng to the trouthe, he is and hathe ben / and also he dothe admynystre all thynges belongyng to the sayd kynge or emperoure in all poyntes: as he may and also is bounde to do of ryght / wherfore accordyng to the tale of Esoppe worthy to be marked, and very well a- greyng to our purpose, this serpent the bysshoppe of Rome, that now is, albeit that he hathe ben exalted, releued, and aunanced, in his predecessours, by the sayd Ludouyke or his predecessours, from great pouertie, dyskenes, oppressyon, rebu- kes, and persecucion, vnto abundaunce of temporall goodes, to that hygge dyg- nyte and honoure / and to powre and tranquylite: yet lyke an vnkynde persone, and one that had forgotten all the aforesayde benefytes, he hathe lysted vp hym selfe agaynst the aforesayd Ludouyke. Fyiste after his lewde and wonte maner spyttyng out many wordes of rebuke, dysworshyp, and irreuerence, agaynst the sayd pryncce. But yet offeryng this venome or poyson vnder the apperaunce of hony, he pretendeth after his olde crafte and decypte, a coloure and apperaunce of vertue and charyte / where he saythe in certayne of his epystles whiche he call- leth decrees, that he wytyeth or speaketh suche thynges to the ende, that he myght brynge agayne the sayd Ludouyke from the bypathe of erroure, vnto the ryghte waye or pathe of truthe and of helthe / not regardyng hym selfe whiche speaketh neyther what he speaketh, neyther to whome he speaketh. To the which bysshop as beyng out of the waye from all truthe, and parteles of all equyte, we may say couenyently and verely truly with chryste, that texte in the .vii. of Mathewe and in the .viii. of Luke / why seest thou a strawe in the eye of thy brother, and dost not se a bealme in thyne owne eye? or how sayst thou to thy brother, brother suffice me to caste out the strawe out of thyne eye: and haste a bealme in thyne owne eye? Thou hypocryte fyiste caste out the bealme of thyne owne eye / and than shalte thou se, to caste out the strawe of thy brothers eye. There is no good tree, whiche bryngeth forth euyl fruyte / neyther euyl tree brynngng forth good fruyte. Every tree is knowen by his owne fruyte. Why than dothe this hypocryte, the most euyl tree, brynge euery where the fruytes of all malyce and seducyon and dyscorde, as it is sencyble knowen of all men, and why dothe he go aboute to defame this ver- tuous man, innocent, catholyke, and praysed of all men, with his wordes of igno- mine and slaundre, vnder the false apperaunce and coloure of deuocyon and charyte. Let hym fyiste caste out from his owne mynde, beyng ful of darkenes, and as it were blynde the bealme / that is to wyte, his most great ignorance and erroure. And from his owne lewde affeccyon (beyng in a maner ostynate and in durated) let hym caste a waye malyce and furbous woodnes, and than he shall be able to se the small faultes of other men, and maye by his exortacions and mo- nyacions the more metelye and couenyentlye caste them out of other men. And afterwarde the aforesayd bysshop, whiche vnder such decyptfull and fayned wor- des, dothe intende not the amendment of the man, but the cynple deathe and des- truccyon

struccyon of the comune weale, hath pored forth and spredde abroad agaynst the aforesayde moste chrysten pryncce, the venomes and poysons of cypse lyfe, whiche he hath supposed to be moste deadlye vnto hym / in that that he hath excomunicated hym, with all those that pertyculerly do cleue vnto hym / and hath also forbydden the exerceyse of the dyuine seruyce vnto all comunyties of chrysten men, whiche do gyue or are aboute to gyue helpe, counsaile or fauour, vnto the same pryncce as beyng kyng of the Romaynes, lytle or nothyng markyng or regardyng the counsaile of saynt Ambrose in his booke, whiche is intytled *De sacerdotali dignitate*. For there Ambrose treatyng of the tecte of Paule in the thyrde chapytre of the fyrste epystle to Timothe. If any man despyeth preef: hode. &c. And amonge other thynges in the. viii. chapytre of the sayde booke, he sayth thus. Not brawlers that is to saye / let not a preefse louse his tonge to raylyng and euyl wordes, lest by the same tonge, by whiche he gyueth prayse to god and offereth vp the deuyne seruyce, he do bryng forth the venome or poyson of brawlyng and stryfe. For it is not semely that bothe benedycyon, and maledycyon shulde yssue out of a preefstes mouth. And agayne lest by the same tonge by whiche god is lauded, man maye be desprayed and euyl spoken of. For he maye not bryng forth bothe swete water and bytter water out of one fountayne or springe. And in conclusyon peraduenture he shall sende forth the prycke or styng of his malyce, whiche he supposeth to be most vtter and extreme in noyenge or dystroyenge, supposyng to fasten it vpon the sayde pryncce / that is to wytte a certayne blasphemye, called of hym a sentence, thoughe in verye dede it maye be called a madnes by whiche he hath pronounced the aforesayde pryncce with all that dothe cleue vnto hym, or that dothe obeye hym, or fauoure hym as kyng of the Romaynes: to be heretykes & enemyes or rebellyons vnto the churche. And by the whiche sentence he hath depriued and berefte them the ryght of all theyr temporallies bothe moueables and vnmoueables / in makyng the sayde temporallies comune by his aforesayde sentence (vntoworthelye so called) & by grauntynge them also to who soeuer lyst to entre vpon them, & to wyne or get them by vyolence, & by spreadyng abroad in all prouynces by his wordes, or elles by his wrytynges in parchment, by hym selfe or els by certayne other false preachers, that this maye be done lawfullye. And agayne by condempnyng them to deathe / and by grauntynge remysyon and forgyuenes of al synnes and paynes or punysshementes, and of all crymes vnto those that do kille or inuade them. And by bryngynge them yf they betaken prysoners a lyue, whete soeuer they shall be, in to the seruytute of those persones that taketh them. Moreover he graunteth the greatest ecclesiasticall offyces / as bysshopryches, archebysshopryches, and patryarkeshypes with the meane and smaller ecclesiastycall offyces also / he spendeth therto the ecclesiastycall temporallies called the benefyces, the treasures and money of the churche: that he maye rayse vp all men to enuye and rebellyon, to warre and dyscorde agayne the sayd pryncce. And this he dothe albe it / that it dothe nothyng at all belonge to his auctoryte to gyue forth the sentence of any of the forsayde thynges / as we haue before euidentlye declared. And besyde all these horryble malygnytes aforesayde, he exerceyseth a newe kynde of wyckednes and malyce, whiche semeth manifestlye to smell of heresy / for he rayseth vp in to rebellyon agaynst the sayde catholyke pryncce his owne subiectes and leyge people / assolyng them by his deuyllysh sayenges or wrytynges, whiche he calleth (for al that) apostolycall wryttes: from the othes of fydelyte, by whiche they had ben, and in verye truthe are bounde to the ofte reherfed pryncce.

t. 2.

And

The fruytes that haue commed and proceeded these many hundred yeres from the seat of Rome from our holy fathers there, & mayntayned by our holy fathers here.

THE DEFENCE

And suche maner absolucyons he publyssheth and preacheth euery where by certayne mynystres of his myscheces: whiche by suche maner exerceise do hope or truste to be promoted by the sayde bysshoppe vnto ecclesiasticall offyces and benefices.

¶ That this worke is not an apostolyke but a diabolycall dede, it is euident. For accordynge to this, and by this, the sayde bysshoppe with all his complices, ordynatours, consenters, and executers, in worde, wytyngge, or dede / beyng blynde with couptousnes / with pryde and ambicion, and fylled with moste great iniquyte (as it is euident to all men) be guydes and leaders of all them, that do gyue credence vnto them, or that folowe them, by worke or dede, in all the aforesayde sayenges or wytyngges: vnto falsynge and goynge downe heedlynge in to the dyche or pytte of deadly synnes. Fyrste in to manyfest & open perturbe / afterwarde in to treason and iniurie open and playne to all men / consequentlye he causeth them to fall in to rauyne or robbrye, manslaughter / and in a maner in to all kyndes of myscheuous synnes / in whiche they dyenge without repentaunce, and beyng begyled by this moste holy father and his mynysters, and yet not be excused before god for theyr grosse ignoraunce: are caste downe heedlonge and drowned in hell / that is to wytte in the pytte of perpetuall damned persones. For this is and ought to be vndoubted to euery man that hath reason, and that is able to vse it, that neyther the bysshoppe of Rome, neyther any other preeste may assoyle any man from suche maner or any other lawfull othe, outhen gyuen or made, or els promysed. Nowe it is euident to euery man, which wyll stande to his owne consyence, and whiche is not troubled with any synnysse or crooked affeccyon: that the cause whiche the bysshoppe of Rome pretendeth, agaynst & deuoute prynce Lewis & agaynst any other prynce in lyke case: is not resonable, but vntonsonable, vndyscrete, and vniust / wherfore the gydynge, doctryne, and exhortacyon of this bysshoppe and of his mynysters, in such thynges, is to be eschewed and auoyded / and vtterlye to be despysed / as the thyng whiche leadeth and bryngeth in conclusyon vnto the eternall deathe of soules. For it is playnly and openly contrary to the holsome doctryne, wordes, and sentence of the apostle Paule in the .iiii. to the Romaines / in the .vi. to the Ephesynes / in the .vi. of the fyrste epystle to Tymothe / and in the seconde and thyrde chapytres of the seconde epystle to Tite. For there the apostle teacheth openly, that subiects ought to obey theyr carnall lordes, not onely beyng good and gentyle: but also beyng hasty and frowarde / as saynte Peter saythe in his fyrst canonycall epystle the seconde chapytre. Howe moche more than ought they to be obedyent whan they are bounde to them by an othe: whiche thyng the gloses also after the myndes of sayntes in the same places more largely do declare / sayenge manifestlye, That subiectes are bounde and oughte to obey theyr lordes, yea though they be infydelles and neuer so frowarde or euill / but yet vnderstandynge & meanyng this, in suche thynges as be not contrarye outhen in worde or dede to the lawe of god. ¶ But it is vndoubted, that the wordes and workes by whiche the bysshoppe other wyse called the pope of Rome inueheth and procedeth agayne the emperour of Rome: are neyther the comaundementes of godes lawe, neyther consonant or agreable vnto it / but rather dissonant and manifeste repugnaunt and contrarye to the sayde lawe / as it hath ben shewed, by the scrypture, in the .iiii. v. and .ix. chapytours of this dyccyon. Agayne to obey to the bysshoppe of Rome, or any other bysshoppe teachynge or preachynge these thynges, is none other thyng: than to suffre the rote of all regymentes and gouernaunces to be cut vp, and the bonde

Of true obedyence to
warde kyngs
and prynces,
whiche & bys-
shop of rome
with his chur-
che, yet neuer
taughte.

Bonde and knot of every cyplyte and kyngdome to be losed or broken in sondre, for I do suppose that suche maner roote or bonde is none other thyng, nor it ought none otherwyse to be taken, but the othe and fydeltyte of the prynces and theyr subiectes of eche of them to other. And in dede this fydeltyte of the forsayde subiectes (as Tullius saythe in his fyrste boke intytled *De officiis*) is the fundament or groundesell of all iustyce / whiche fydeltyte betwene the gouernours and the subiectes, who soeuer gothe aboute to dyssoleue or breake : he gothe aboute to gette vnto hym selfe no lesse thyng, than that he maye accordynge to his owne entent and pleasure, ouertourne and destroye the powre and hygh auctoritie of all prynces and gouernours of the cyplyte comunyte, and afterwarde to brynge the aforesayd subiectes, in to his owne seruytute and bondage. And besydes this also to trouble the peace and tranquyllyte of all men that lyueth cyplyte / and so by reason therof or by some other meanes to depyue them of theyr suffycyent lyfe in this worlde / and fynallye to brynge them that ben so dysposed in theyr mynde yf they maye therto attende, as we haue sayde, vnto the eternall dysstruccyon of theyr soules. Wherfore let all Lhrysten men dyspyse and beware of the wayne promyse of pardon & forgyuenes, for it is a thyng clene contrary agaynst y lawe of god. And the pernycious and madde doctryne of the bysshop of Rome, or to call it more truelye, the seduccyon of soules, of this bysshoppe of Rome and his complices which be the colledge of clarkes or of cardynalles, worse than the doctryne of the pharysees / regardynge Lhryste whiche counsayleth and teacheth the same in the .v. chapytre of Mathewe, whan he saythe to all chrysten men, but yet in the persone of the apostles. Suffre them or lette them alone / that is to wytte the pharysees / which at that tyme were supposed to be the teachers of Moyses lawe, but for all that they were of erronious oppnyon in the vnderstandynge of the lawe, and in a maner contynuallye contrarye vnto Lhryste and agaynst hym and all his doctryne of the gospell. By which pharysees were sygnifyed and vnderstanded all sophisticall and false teachers of holy scripture, of whiche sorte be these persecutours of the Romaine emperour and of other innocēt true chrysten people / in the persone of whome beynge the membres of Lhryste : these wycked persones (that is to wytte the bysshoppe of Rome and his complices) also dothe persecute Lhryste and dothe agaynst hym with all theyr dylygence and labour. And Lhryste sheweth the cause afterwardes why we ought to despyse these false teachers. For they are (sayth he) blynde and the guydes of blynde men / wherfore (sayth he) yf one blynde man be guyde to an other blynde man : bothe of them falleth in to the dyche. So than accordynge to the counsell and teachynge of chryste whiche teachynge every chrysten man ought to folowe : these false teachers are to be lette alone and to be despyed : because they are bothe blynde with auaryce or couetousnes, with pryde, and ambycion them selues, & also the guydes of blynde men, that is to wytte of couetouse, proude, and rebellious persones. Whiche false teachers, also not regardynge, or not lystynge to regarde the precept of y apostle, or rather of god, sayenge playnlye without any metaphore in the .viii. chapytre to the Romaines. Let every soule be subiecte to the hygh powers, do teache openelye subiectes to rebelle agaynst theyr prynces and gouernours. And suche persones so rebellynge and by theyr gylefull and vniuste perswasions inducynge other men to rebellyon, do resyste the ordynacyon of god. So saythe the apostle in the sayde chapytre / who soeuer (saythe he) resysteth the powre (that is to saye the seculare gouernoure) resysteth the ordynacyon of god. Of whome the same apostle hathe prophesied in the fourthe chapytre of the fyrste epystle to Tymothe, who soeuer re-

The vertue
of the popys
the pardons.

The phary
sees were a fi
gure of our so
phistical Du
sers, & Tho
matistes.

Who soeuer re
systeth y pow
er of a kyng
or hed prync
is of y deu
yll
yea though he
were an aun

THE DEFENCE

gell of heuen
yf it were pos
syble, moche
more then a
bysshop, or a
preeste, a po
pysshe, pylled
freer, monke,
or chanon, or
a peuysshe
nunne.

Disobedient.

The emper
ours at dep
ed of the bys
shop of rome,
& so be all o
ther kynges
of theyr bys
shops & clari
fy.

For what
day, the bys
shops & clari
fy do wayte.

and in the thyrde of the seconde epystle, to the same Timothe, whan he sayde/
This knowe thou, that in the laste dayes there shall be peryllous tymes towar
de/and there shall be men louynge theyr owne selues / couetous / proude / hygge
mynded / blasphemous persons / not obedyent to theyr parentes / vnder this worde
parentes comprehendynge prynces and gouernours / wherfore Iulij De offici
is in the fyrste boke saythe. The prynces ben the contrey, and our parentes / by
whose great benefytes we are bounden to be obedyent, dysobedyent therfore to
theyr parentes, is as moche to saye as dysobedyent to the prynces, and it folo
weth in the sayenge of Paule. Vnkynde persones, full of myscheyse / vnfaith
full / kepynge no promyse / without copassion in any goodnesse, without peace /
traytours, lecherous persones, cruell, without benygnyte, false accusers, lewde
töged / frowarde / swolne or puffed vp with pryde / louers of pleasures, more than
of god / haunynge in dede the face of holynes: that is to saye appetyng to do those
thynges / whiche they do, for the honoure, reuerence and loue of god: but in very
effecte denyng the vertue of it / that is to wytte of suche holynes or deuocyon /
whiche thyng it is easy for all men to knowe by theyr workes, accordynge to
that texte in the .vii. chapytre of Mathewe. Take you hede and be ware of false
prophetes, whiche do come vnto you in the apparayle of shepe: but inwardlye are
rauenynge wolues / by theyr fruytes you shall knowe them. And the apostle
saythe conformablye to the aforesayd counsaile or precepte of I hysste, and such
persones auoyde thou / that is to saye do not beleue them neyther obeie them in
suche thynges. But alas it is a pytuous case, for they haue throughe this appe
raunce of godlynes so greatlye deceyued and begyled men, that nowe they tru
styng to the vyolente powre whiche they haue optayned and gotten vnder the
apperaunce and symplytude of holynes, partly of mennes free gyfte, and a great
parte by secrete and pryncy usurpacion, and nowe by open and vyolent usurpa
cion can not well be auoyded or eschewed, in doynge vyolence and persecucion
to chrystes saythful people. Whiche also beyng vnkynde / proude / without peace /
cruell / and in very dede suche maner persones in all poyntes / as the apostle hathe
describbed, affyrmyng good to be euyl / and lyght to be darkenes / accordynge to
the sayenge of Esaye the prophete, by the collacion and gyfte of the ecclesiasty
call offyces, bothe the greatest, the meane sorte, and the smallest, and by the exhy
bycion or promysynge of the temporalles or benefytes, as well of the mouables,
as vnmouables, and of the tythes, whiche haue ben ordayned for a good ende /
and by abominable conuencion and bargaynes hereof made before: do styre vp
agaynst the chrysten prynces theyr owne subiectes / and also theyr owne cosens
and alyuaunce of straunge countrees not beyng theyr subiectes / whiche thyng
althoughe they with theyr complices do nowe seme to do onelye agaynst the em
peroure of Rome: yet let other prynces learne by the example of the sayde emper
oure, whiche hathe ben so greatlye benefyciall to the bysshoppe of Rome and to
his churche: that the same thynges may of lykelyhode chaunce vnto them selues
also / and that the aforesayde bysshoppe shall be full busye to do the same thynges
agaynst them also, whan occasyon of suche assaulte, shall offre it selfe vnto hym
for he is without good affeccyon towarde every man. And he affyrmyng both
by his wordes, and wrytynges aforesayde, that all prynces and peoples are sub
iectes to his gouernaunce or coactyue iurysdyccyon, because of the fulnes of his
powre (as he calleth it) whiche vnaccordynghlye he ascrybeth vnto hym selfe: and
couetyng also and despyng greatly to bryng this to effecte, wayteth suche ty
mes in whiche there appereth scysmes and contencyons of chrysten prynces and
people

people one with an other / and rebellyon of subiectes agaynst theyr soueraygnes or rulers / whiche sedycions, contencions, and rebellions hym selfe also procureth other whyles to be raysed or styred vp to the intente that so the one of the partes beyng at dyscorde betwene them selues, beyng weake and feeble, or beyng not able to resyste the aduersarye parte: may be compelled to beseeche his helpe or ayde and to submyt hym selfe to his domynion. For albeit that vnder the fayned face or apperaunce of holynes deuocyon, or charyte, he semeth other whyles to defende impotēt and weake persons, & peraduenture wrongfully oppressed / and to gyue vnto them his seculare fauour: yet for all that he gyueth not this fauour, excepte he be sure afore, that they whiche nede his fauour / and that do requyre it, wyll be content to come vnder his gouernaunce or seculare domynion / hoppyng therof in conclusyon that by suche oppressynge & enuye of eche to other, bothe parties beyng so at vrayaunce, shall be compelled to come vnder his domynion, wherfore suche contencions and accyons are to be auoyded, whiche may brynge in or cause necessity, vnto any man, of his fauoure or helpe / for at the laste, they are turned in to the destruccyon of lybertye / and in to the seruytude and thraldom of them that receyue the sayde fauoure.

¶ So than after this maner this sayd bysshop by lytle and lytle crepeth successyuelly throughe the kyngdoms of the worlde, that he may at the last be able to subdue & make subiecte vnto hym selfe, all the empyres & domynions of the worlde / whiche thynge incessauntly he desyret. He dareth not attempte suche maner processes in all or many of them togyther at one tyme / but he abydeth vntyll suche tyme, that by lytle & lytle so great seculer powre shall haue growen preuely vnto hym selfe: that he dothe perceyue & beleue, that he may without any iopardy ouercome the powre of other empyres or domynions / and than he doth boldly open & shewe forth vpon other realmes the sence and meanyng of this tytyle of fulnes of powre, which he hath presumed to take vpon hym. And doth expressely say forth that all other prynces and empyres are subiecte to his domynion or coactyue iurysdyccion, lyke wyse as he sayth the empyre of Rome to be now subiecte vnto hym / and those that wolde refuse (although they myght do it lawfully) to be subiecte vnto hym, he doth then pursue by blasphemyes, & other lyke sentences to these afore, mayntayned agaynst the emperour of Rome and his faythfull subiectes / & also by vpolent or armed powre euen vnto theyr vtter vndoynge. Thus by these meanes or wayes, the sayd bysshop with his complices haue welnere seduced and brought all the prynces, comunalties, and people of Italye, in to contencions & scysmes / and he hathe begonne to do the same, and studyeth to brynge the same to passe, contynually in Almayne. For he hathe raysed vp certayne of the subiectes, traytours, and vngacious persones, by seculer fauoures, as by gyuyng to them ecclesynstycall offyces, and by exhybycion of tythes and money: vnto rebellyon agaynst the emperoure of Rome / and he procureth without ceasyng, to rayse vp whom soeuer he maye, both great, meane, and small persons / and those that shall so be begyled by hym, and whiche shall obeye hym: he calleth and nameth the sones of the churche, and true chrysten men / and who soeuer cōtynueth, & are wyllynge to cōtynue in due faythfulnes, obediēt to theyr pryncce or soueraygne. he nameth them scysmatykes & heretykes / & he persecuteth them as enemyes of the churche, by blasphemynge, dyssamyng, & excomunicatyng them as moche as euer he may, and by condēpnynge them in theyr persons and goodes by seculer sentence / albeit that no suche maner iudgement after suche fascon is

A cunnynge
poynte of
practicasyon.

He studyeth
to brynge the
same to passe
in Almayne.

Who ben the
sones of the
churche as the
bysshoppe of
Rome calleth
them.

Who ben here
tykes as the bys-
shop of rome
calleth them.

THE DEFENCE

Belongynge to hym in that he is suche one, neyther by the lawe of god / neyther by the lawe of man / as it is euident of the thynges afore gone and hath ben refered heretofore.

The Bysshop
of Rome de-
noureth the
shepe.

Abfolucion
from synne &
payne, to all
that wyll be
traytours to
theyr prynces

Let chrysten
men be a sha-
med of theyr
madnes.

Champions
of the deuyl &
not of chryste

He calleth hi
selfe the vicar
of chryste he
ought more
truely be cal-
led the vycar
of the deuyl.

But the moste myscheuous thyng of all, and the thyng whiche dothe great-
est nopaunce or hurte generally: is this (wherof we haue spoken somewhat here-
tofore, and whiche maye not be passed ouer with scylence of hym that wyll leith
not to falle from the lawe of Chryste and of his gospell) that the Bysshoppe of
Rome eternallye confoundeth and deuoureth all the shepe of Chryste: whome he
saythe to be comytted vnto hym selfe for to be fedde with holysome doctryne / for
he puttynge or sayenge euyll to be good, and lyght to be darkenes, graunteth by
mouthe and in wytyng vnto all men absolucyon from all maner synne and
payne, vnto all them, that warreth at a certayne tyme outhen on horsebacke or
fote agaynst the sayde Chrysten subiectes of the emperoure of Rome obeyinge
and wyllynge to obey hym constantlye as beyng theyr kynge and souerayne.
Whome also as beyng heretykes & rebles to the crosse of Chryste: he pronouceth
by hym selfe, or by other men, as well by worde of mouthe, as by wytyng: that
it is lawfull by all maner meanes to impugne, to robbe, and synally to destroye.
And whiche also is abomynable to be herde he preacheth it openly, and causeth
it to be preached openly euery where by certayne deceyptfull and false prears
whiche hunger and thyrste after ecclesiastycall dygnytes or promotions, as yf it
were as acceptable to god, as to fyghte agaynst the paganes in the partes ouer
the see / and to destroye them, whiche deceyptfull and false pardon or forgyuenes
the sayde Bysshoppe graunteth lykewyse vnto them: that are not able for feble-
nes of bode to fulfyll and performe that myscheyse, yf at theyr owne propre
costes and charges they shall procure it to be done by other men or shall gyue a
suffycient summe therfore vnto his cursed and vnglacuous exactours or gather-
ers. Notwithstandynge accordynge to the catholyke saythe and relygion, of
Chryste no man oughte to doubt, that to them that so warre or fyghte, this for-
gyfthe and payne absolucyon dothe no profyte or good at all, but dothe moche
hurte vnto them. But yet thus he begyleth symple men, to the accomplisshment
of his owne wycked & lewde despres / granntynge vnto them that thyng, which
lyeth not in his powre, yea moreouer he dothe by this meane brynge and leade
them out of the ryght waye, vnto eternall deathe and destruccyon of theyr soules
For they beyng the inuadours of other landes prouynces and countrees, and the
vniuste destroyers of them, and the troublers of the peace & quyetnes of innocent
chrysten men, whome they do knowe to be trewe catholyke men, & the defenders
of theyr owne countree, and the obseruers of fydelite to theyr owne trewe and
lawfull lorde, pryncce, or gouernour of the sayd countree. I saye in robbynge or kyl-
lynge or otherwyse impugnyng suche maner persones, they are made not the
champions of Chryst, but the champpons of the deuyl. For they do comytte and
fall vnto raupes / brynnynges / thestes / murders / fornyccacions / aduoultries /
and well nere all other kyndes of Crymes and trespasses / wherof it is euidente
and vndoubted, that they do not deserue pardone or forgyuenes: but rather that
they are made gyltye and detters of eternall dampnacyon, to the doynge wherof
and for the which thyng they are seduced by his sayenges and probacions of the
holy scryptures, whiche calleth hym selfe, though he be not: the vycar of chryste
in earth. And this blodsheder and gylefull man, beyng not contented nor thyn-
kinge it ynoughe that suche horryble thynges are excused by laye men at his
comaundement, or throughe his entysementes and perswasions, hath sent ouer
a certayne

a certayne preeſte one of his brethren or complices, whome they do call cardynall with a great nombre and company of horſemen and ſotemen, in to the prouynce of Lombardye. And alſo hath ſente lyke wyſe an abbot in a certayne marche of Italye, which is called Ancone, for to impugne and to deſtroye the faythful chryſten people, whome (becauſe they wyll not obey his wycked and vniuſte commandementes agaynſt the pryncce) he dothe vexe without ceaſynge with all maner aforeſayde perſecucyons / and hath presumed of his wonte temerite to call in his ſayenges and wyrtyngeſ, thei deuoute pryncce the aforeſayde Ludowike, becauſe he hath compaſſyon on them and cheryſſeth them accordynge to his powre, a fauourer of heretykes. In to whiche and in to lyke uſes this biſſhoppe conſumeth and turneth the eccleſiaſticall temporallties, whiche deuoute chryſten men aſwell prynces, as thei ſubiectes, comunalties, and ſynguler perſons, haue appoynted and ordayned to the ſuſtentacyon of the mynyſtres of the goſpell / and to the ſuccurynge and relenyng of impotent poore people / and alſo vniuſtlye chalengynge the temporallties bequeſted in teſtamentes vnto vertuouſe uſes, as to the paſſage ouer the ſee, and to the redemyng of the pryſoners taken of the infydels, and to other lyke uſes, I ſaye chalengynge them as belongynge vnto his powre: he gothe aboute to tourne them in to the aforeſayd uſes. Albeit that it is no worke mete for the ſucceſſoure of the apoſtles, or a preeſte, neyther it dothe become a preeſte or a man conſecrated vnto god, to moue weapon, or to bydde warre, to be made amonge chryſtes faythfull people, and namelye vniuſtlye / but rather by conuenient exhortacions to call agayne the ſame people vnto con corde and vnyte yf they ſhall be at dyſcorde or debate amonge them ſelues one of them with an other / as it hath ben ſuffycientlye ſhewed by the auctorite of the apoſtle / by Chryſoſtome, Hilarie, and Ambroſe in the .v. and ix. chapytres of this dyccyon / it is not therfore from henceforth to be permytted or ſuffered, that this biſſhoppe or any other ſhall haue ſo generall abſolute, or ſo great powre, to gyue or dyſtribute the eccleſiaſticall temporallties / but the ſayde powre is by the prynces and parlyamentes vtterlye to be reuoked from hym: or elles ſo to be tempted and meaſured that thoſe thynges whiche hath ben ſtatuted and ordayned hyther to, to the helthe of chryſten men, bothe preſent and for to come, and continuallye are ordayned may not tourne to the continuallye vexacyon of them and in concluſyon to the euerlaſtyng torenement or dampnacyon of them. Alſo he that is called pope euen nowe adayes with his mynyſtres, whom he calleth legates, haue proceeded of late dayes, and continuallye do procede with ſuche maner proceſſes, ſo laudable, and ſo pleaſaunt vnto god: as euery man beinge of ryght mynde and not corrupted in affeccyon maye perceyue, agaynſt the aforeſayd Ludowike kynge of the Romayns. And ſo they haue proceeded agaynſt his deputies, and faythfull ſubiectes namelye in the prouynce of Lombardye, of Tuſkayne, and of the marches of Ancone. Amonge whome, moſt ſpecyallye and ſyngularlye he hath hyther to perſecuted the gentle, noble, and famous catholicke man, ſyngulare amonge all other Italyens in honeſtye of maners, and in graunte, Maſthewe of good remembraunce ſherife and by the emperyall auctorite his ſyfe tennaunte vycare or deputie in Aylayne with a verie great multitude of chryſten people adherentes vnto hym / for this ſayde Maſthewe, the aforeſayde biſſhoppe (thoughe verie vniuſtlye) by his prophane and wycked ſayenges and ſcriptures, dothe pronounce to haue ben of a ſhamefull lyfe, and of an euyl & dāpned memory. But not ſo ſayd Maſthewe, but he by whom ſlanders & offences do come, & which bringeth forth of ſo manye treaſures of his malice alwayes

A captayne
Cardynall.
An abbot of
cheualrye.

The epetout
is called of my
lorde abbot, a
fauourer of
heretykes.

It is not one
ly not ſimply
but alſo ſor:
beden by the
lawe of god
for preeſtes to
be men of
warre.

The biſſhops
ben falſe bac:
byters & ſlaui:
deters of ver:
tuous people:
ſpiritually of
ſuch as write
or ſpeake a
gaynſt thei:
abhomynaci:
ons.

THE DEFENCE

Note well
these words of
Iherome vpon
on the .xvi. of
Mathewe.

The iniuste
curse of any
bysshop, hurteth
no man,
but hym selfe

The maynte
nance of all
myscheyfe

enylles: is counted openly of dampned memoire afore god and man, and it shall be more largelye accompted and layde to his charge bothe afore his death and after his death, accordynge to the manassynge of Chryste, which is verye trouthe in the .xviii. chapytre of Mathewe, where he sayth/ woo be to that man by whom slaunder cometh, and agayne in the same chapytre/ who soeuer shall offende one of these lytle ones, whiche beleneth in me, it were more expedyent for hym, that a mylne stone be hanged in his necke, and that he be drowned in the depthe of the see, whiche sayenges he nothyng markynge or regardynge, lyke wyse as he regardeth not the other monycions and counsailes of Chryste (as beyng frowarde/ and vnpenytente) contynuallye without ceasynge, dothe persecute and blasphemie very many other noble men, for the prosecutyng of theyr faithfulness and constancie towarde the sayd pryncce or emperour of the Romaynes/ whose fame beyng swete, bothe afore god and man, by his aforesayde prophanacones, and blasphemyes he gothe aboute to spotte and defyle. This is the bysshoppe, the iudgement of whome and of his churche, god dothe not folowe / because he iudgeth by surrepcyon and ignorauncie/ as the mayster of the sentence saythe in the .iiii. booke the .xviii. dystynccyon and the .vi. chapytre. And the cause hereof saynt Iherome sheweth vpon that texte in the .xvi. chapytre of Mathewe. And to the I shall gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuyns. For he saythe whiche I am not greued to reherse. Certayne men not vnderstandynge this place (as for example this bysshoppe vnderstande thou, take vnto them selues somwhat of the pryde or hygge mynde of the pharysees, that they do suppose them selues to condempne innocentes/ or to lose and assoyle malefactours and gylty persones/ and it foloweth afterwarde to the same purpose, albeit that in very dede afore god not the sentence of the preestes but the lyfe of the persones accused is soughte for. God therfore dothe not folowe the iudgement of suche maner preeste, bysshoppe, or churche, beyng so vniuste and contrarie to equitye/ wherfore the blasphemyes of hym and of his complices, are not to be drede or feared of any Chrysten man, as we haue sayde: for they do not entre in to the flocke of Chrysten men, but they haue learned rather by the powre of god to stryke and lyghte vpon the fowle bodyes, and the cursed and wretched soules of them, that braste forth in to suche blasphemyes. These than whiche we haue reherfed are the trewe begynnynge of the thynges inqyred/ and those thynges whiche also haue bothe due eye and vndueye procedyd and gone forwarde / albeit that by reason of longe tyme, and the folyshenes and ydlenesse of men they are fallen out from the syghthes and memoires of them and in the stede of these thynges, throughe custome of herynge false and sayned thynges: certayne falsehodes haue ben broughte in secretlye, and fastened in the soules of verye many chrysten men, whiche thynges are contrarie cleane to trouthe. The begynnynge and fountayne therof was auerice, or couptousnes, and Ambicion, or pryde. And no lytle instrumente of the increase and mayntenaunce therof, hathe ben that expectable oppynyon and sayenge, by whiche the bysshoppe of Rome and the compaignie or colledge of his clerkes or cardynalles do affyrme, that vnto the same bysshop in the persone of saynt Peter the apostle, was graunted and gyuen by Chryste fulnes of powre. But after moche dyllygent and labourfull serchyng and equysycyon of the scryptures of god, from the scryptures of men (whiche certayne bysshoppes of Rome had confounded and almoste set at nought the sayd scryptures of god, and mengeled the one with the other, and wiestynge it to theyr pleasures, supposynge & beleuynge, & of such menglynge & gatherynge of them togyther, the same auctoryte which is due

due onely to the holy scripture shulde be comune to theyr owne instytutions and ordynacions) we haue detemyned the sences of the sayde tytyle / and haue suffe-
ently opened and declared in the. xxiij. chapytre of this dyccion to all that vseth
reason, at the least wyse whiche are not troubled with croked affections: that the
sayde sences are false / and moſte of all other, that sence, vnto whiche the bysshop
of Rome hathe laste translated the aforesayd oracyon, that is to wyt ascrybynge
by it vnto hym selfe vnyuersall or hyghest iurysdyccyon coactyue (whiche vnder
a metaphoſe of wordes he calleth the temporall swerde) vpon all prynces comu-
nityes and peoples of the worlde / albeit that he dothe nowe expresse this tytyle
onely agaynst the emperoure of the Romaynes, as we haue sayde, and haue shew-
wed also for what causes / But in tyme to come he shall expresse the same tytyle a-
gaynst all the resydue of prynces, whan he shall perceyue and se sedycyon to be in
theyr realmes / and shall se also that hym selfe hathe vyolent powre to vsurpe and
to occupye or wyne them. So than the fulnes of powre, throughe cowardenes
beynge permytted vnto the bysshoppes of Rome, they haue hitherto vsed aboute
cruyle actes / and contynuallye do vse, and shall vse in tyme to come worse and
worse, yf they be not stopped or letted / for they haue made certayne olygarchycall
lawes, by whiche they haue exempted the colledge or companye of clarkes, and
certayne other maryed men, from y cruyle lawes dueſye gyuen or made to y most
hygh prynces and peoples. And yet not contentyd to kepe them with
in these bondes, they do nowe cause laye men to be cyted and called afore theyr of-
fycalles or iudges (as they are called) and wyll there punyssh them / vtterlye de-
stroyng the iurysdyccyon of the prynces or gouernours. And this is the syngu-
lare cause of stryfe and cruyle dyscorde, and verry secrete in the begynnynge of it
whiche we purposed euen from the begynnynge to shewe and declare. For many
chryſten men beynge deceyued and begyled throughe the darkenes & mynglyng
together of the scriptures of god, and of the scriptures of men: haue ben induced
and brought in mynde to beleue, y the bysshop of Rome, with his clarkes whom
they do call cardynalles: maye make statutes & decrees vpon chryſten men, what
soeuer he and they luste / and that all men are bounde by the lawe of god, to obser-
ue the same / and that the transgressours of them ben bounden vnto eternall damp-
nacyon, whiche thyng we haue shewed of suertie here tofore, neyther to be true,
nor yet nere to the truthe, but manifestly contrarie to the truthe. This agayne
is the cause as we sayd in our prologue or entresse, wherby the kyngdome of Ita-
lye hathe ben of longe season combred, vexed, or dyscased, and is cotynuallye vex-
ed, and this contagyon is nowe no lesse redy to crepe in to other cuntryties and
realmes / yea and hathe somwhat all redy infected them all / and in conclusyon yf
it be not stopped or letted, shall infecte them vtterlye, as it hathe enſected the em-
pyre of Italye / wherfore it is expedyent vnto all prynces and peoples, by a gene-
rall counsaile to be called together, to interdycte and vtterlye prosybyte the bys-
shoppe of Rome, or any other bysshoppe, to haue or vse this tytyle / leaſte throughe
custome of hearynge false doctrynes: from hensforth the people be seduced and
begyled. And the powre is to be reuoked from hym, of gyuyng and dystribu-
tyng ecclesiasticall offyces, and temporalles or benefyces / and that because this
bysshoppe of Rome abuseth them to the hurte of the bodyes, and to the dampna-
cyon of the soules of faythfull chryſtened men. And this to do all y haue iurysdyc-
cyon, cheſelye kynges: are bounde by the lawe of god. For herefore they are con-
ſtytuted & ordayned: to do iudgement & iuſtyce / whiche thyng yf they be neceſſyget
& do not regarde to do: from hensforth they are in excusable, in asmoche as they do
knowe the hurte y groweth of ſuche omysſion forbearyng or rather neceſſyge.
And

Jurysdyccyō
coactyue, or y
temporall
swerde.

Of the iudge-
ment of offy-
cailles and
of other.

Take hede
ye prynces vn-
to your duty-
es.

THE DEFENCE

The protesta-
cion of Mar:
silius of Pad
way.

Herolde or
messenger of
truth.

The great
dragon and
olde serpent
antychryste
of Rome.

And let hym whiche is bysshop of Rome with his successours in the aforesayde seate, and all other preestes and deacons, and spyrityual mynystrs/to whome I speake these wordes not as to enemyes, I cal god to wytnesse agaynst my body and soule, but rather as vnto my fathers and brethren in Chryste: let them I say stude and inforce them selues to folowe chryste and the apostles/ renounsynge vterly and puttyng away secular empyres, and domynions of temporall thynges. For I haue openly reprovied and rebuked them, whiche do synne in the syght of all men/ accordynge to the doctryne of chryste and of the apostle/ and I beynge the comune herolde of truth: haue gone aboute by the deuyne & humayne scriptur, to reduce and brynge them agayne vnto the pathe or waye of the truth that they, and nameley the bysshop of Rome whiche semeth to haue gone moste largelye out of the waye: maye auoyde that indygnacyon of all myghtye god &, of the apostles Peter and Paule, whiche he synghulerly often tymes threteneth to other men. wherfore let hym regarde the ordie of charyte so that fyrste auoydunge the sayde indygnacyon hym selfe, consequentely he do teache other to auoyde the same. For he is not ignorant, or at the lest wyse shall not from hensforth be igno- rant, that besyde and without the comaundement of god, yea cleane, moreouer a gaynst the precepte or counsaile of chryste and of the apostles, he setteth vpon the empyre, and vniustly letteth and troubleth the emperour. Agayne he is not igno- rant, & throughe the slaunder or occasyon repesed by certayne of his predecessours and hym selfe, in Italic: many batayles haue spronge: by reason wherof so many thousandes of chrysten men haue ben slayne by vyolent death/ whom it may be presumed of lykelyhode, to be eternally dampned, for asmoche as very many of them haue ben preuentyd with death beynge full of hatred and euyl wyll to- warde theyr brethren. And they that are lefte alpyue of the same sorte are wretches abydynge the same, or very lyke ieopardous chaunce and myserable ende: excepte the helpynge hande of god be theyr succoure or leche/ for hatred hath entred in to & myndes of them with stryfe and contentacyon, wherof afterwarde, syghes and batayles do folowe. And moreouer also honest maners and dyscyplynes beynge corrupted: in a maner all kyndes of vyces, wantonnes, myschefes, and errours haue vterly possessyd and occupied the myndes, and the bodies bothe of men & women. The successyon of theyr chyldren is cut away/ theyr substance or goodes are consumed/ theyr houses are plucked in sondre, and destroyed, great & famouse cyties are emptie and destytute of theyr inhabytaile/ the felde desyntylled & now beynge deserte: are dyswonted and haue ceased to gyue theyr wont fruytes. And (whiche is the thyng most to be bewayled and sorowed) the true deuyne seruyce and honourynge of god, hath ceased in the same place beynge in a maner vterly dystroyed and put away/ and the churches or temples haue remayned as desertes or wyldernesse, beynge destitute of preachers/ vnto all whiche sayde myserable & pyteous thynges, the wretched inhabytailes blynded in mynde, throughe hatred and dyscorde amoge them selues one to an other: haue ben prouoked and prycked and cotynually are prycked and prouoked by that great dragon the olde serpent, whiche ought and maye be worthy called the deuyll and Sathan for asmoche as with all his powre and enforcement he seduceth and gothe aboute to seduce or begyle all the wohole worlde.

What so carlysshe or vniuanerallye sone of this countree or mother of Italye, (whiche in olde tyme was so fayre and beutefull, and is now so euyl fauored & torne) seyng these thyngs, and hauynge knowledg and powre: can fynde in his herte to kepe scylence, and not to crye out vnto the lorde, agaynst them that do so vniustly hale or draue her here and there or plucke her in peces/ for to suche a sone it shall

It shall be sayd very truly, as the apostle sayeth, that he renounced the sayth, and is worse than any infydel or heathen person. As touchynge to the fulnes of powre and the maners or sygnifycacyons of it / also concernynge the begynnynge, and increase or goynge forwarde therof, and agayne after whiche sygnifycacyons, and in what wyse the bysshop of Rome hath taken the sayde fulnes vnto hym selfe, and howe he hath used the same bothe as touchynge to the ecclesiastycall customes and ceremonies, and also aboute the secular cyuile actes of men: let it haue ben determyned in this wyse as is afore gone.

Of certayne obieccyons or reasons, that maye be made agaynst the thynges determyned in the. xv. chapytre, and the other chapytres consequentye folowynge, of this present dyccyon.

The. xxvi. chapytre.



At peraduenture some man doubtynge, and not without cause, of the thynges, whiche we haue sayd heretofore in the. xv. chapytre, & the other chapytres consequentye folowynge of this dyccyon: shall fyrst shewe that the dygnytie of a bysshop is greater, yea and also an other sondrye dygnytie in kynde, than is the dygnytie of hym that is but onely as they call hym a symple preeste /

and that not onely by the instytucion made by man, whiche afore we haue called the seperable auctorite: but also by the ordynacyon of god, whiche we haue afore called the effencyall or inseperable auctorite. And it semeth or appereth, that this maye be prouyd by the. v. chapytre of Luke, where this tepte folowynge is had.

Afterwardes the lord apoynted also other. xviij. & sent them by payers or couples afore his face / vpon whiche tepte Bede sayeth thus / as there is no man, that doubteth the. xii. apostles to represent or shewe before, the forme or fasyon of bysshops: so there is no man also that doubteth these. xviij. dyscyples to haue borne the fygure of preestes of the seconde ordie. Agayne the same is prouyd by the. v. chapytre of the fyrste epystle to Timothe: whan the apostle sayde / receyue none accusacyon agaynst a preeste: excepte it be vnder. ii. or. iii. recordes or wytnesses / it foloweth of these wordes, that Timothe was superyoure in dygnytie to the other preestes / but not by the eleccyon of the preestes or of the chrysten multytude: ergo by the ordynacion of god. Agayne the same appereth by the epystle of Clement pope, whose superscrypcion is, to James the cosen of our lord. This also semeth to haue ben the mynde welnere of all the bysshoppes, whiche are sayde to haue succeeded saynt Peter or saynt Paule in the epyscopall see of Rome / as appereth euidently by the aforesayde booke of Isodore. Moreouer it appereth, that this maye be proued, that saynt Peter was superyoure to the other apostles, in powre or auctoritie gyuen to hym imedyatly of chryste, and not gyuen by man or other men vnto hym / and so consequentye, that the successours of hym are superyours to the successours of the other apostles in the same auctoritie. And this appereth to be so / fyrste by the. xvi. of Mathewe, where chryste sayde seuerallye vnto hym. And I say to the, that thou arte Peter. and vpon this stone I wyll buylde and edyfye my churche / and the gates of hell shal not preuaile agaynst it / and to the I wyll gyue the keyes of the kyngdom of heuens. By whiche wordes, chryste semeth to haue expressed, that Peter shuld be the heed & foundacion of the churche /

The answers of all the obieccyons, that ben made in this chapytre ben cotayned & set forth in the nexte chapytre.

THE DEFENCE

6
7
 namelyste chryste beyng deede / where the glose sayth in this wyse / he graunted that
 powre and auctoritie specyally vnto Peter: that he myght call or prouoke vs to
 vnytie / for therfore he dyd constytute or make hym the cheyfe or pryncypall of the
 apostles: that the churche shulde haue one pryncypall vycare or deputie of chryste,
 vnto whome the dyuerse members of the churche shulde haue recourse, yf perad-
 uenture they were at dyscencion, and coulde not agree amonge them selues / for
 yf there shulde be dyuers heddes in the churche: then the bonde of vnytie shulde be
 broken. ¶ Agayne the same is shewed by x. xxi. chapytre of Luke, where chryste
 sayd specyally vnto hym / and I haue prayed for the, Peter: that thy saythe may
 not fayle. And thou ones beyng couerted, confyrme and strengthe thy brethren /
 By this it semeth to folowe, that the pryncypall pastorall cure, and the confyrmacyon
 of his brethren, that is to wyte of the apostles and of other chrysten men:
 was comytted or betaken vnto saynt Peter, because of the fyrmytie and stedfast-
 nes of his saythe, for whiche chryst semeth specyally to haue prayed, that it shuld
 not faynt or be quēched, neyther in hym neyther in any successour of hym / where
 the glose sayth thus. Confyrme thy brethren / seynge that I haue made the cheyfe
 or pryncypall of the apostles. And this is not to be vnderstanded onelye of the a-
 postles, whiche were at that tyme, that they shulde be strengthened of Peter: but of
 all chrysten men. And a lytle after it foloweth in the glose / by repentaunce he ob-
 tayned (that is to wyte Peter) to be the pryncypall bysshop of x. worlde ¶ Agayne
 the same is shewed by the. xxi. chapytre of Iohā, where chryste sayde seuerally
 to hym. Fede my shepe / fede my lambes / fede my shepe / rehersynge the same
 worde threys. It appereth therfore, that he was instytuted and made pryncypall
 and generall pastor or herdesman imedyatlye of chryste: seynge that no partycu-
 lare flocke of shepe was determyned or apoynted vnto hym / where Chrysostome
 saythe in this wyse / for Peter was the moste excellent of the apostles, and the
 mouth of the dyscyples, and the heed of the compaignie / wherfore his negacyon
 beyng put out of remembraunce, he comytteth or betaketh to hym the ouersyghte
 or prelacye of his brethren. Finallye this is confyrmed by the auctorite of many
 sayntes & doctours, vpon that tecte in the. xxi. of Iohā. Ps I wyll, that he shall
 contynewe or remayne vntyl I come, what is that to the? But folowe thou me /
 for saynt Augustyne sayth. The churche knoweth, two lyues to be shewed vnto
 it selfe from god aboue / of the whiche, the one is in saythe or beleue, and the other
 is in hope. This lyfe, that is to wytte in saythe, is sygnifyed or marked forth by
 Peter the apostle, because of the prymacye or pryncypalite of his apostleshipp.
 Agayne Theophilus in the same place saythe thus / he hathe instytuted to hym
 the prelacye of all chrysten people. And Chrysostome saythe thus. Ps any man
 wyl say or aske the questyon, howe or after what maner than toke James vnto
 hym selfe the epyscopall seate of Ierusalem: this truly I wyll saye / because he
 hathe intronysed or staled Peter mayster of the whole worlde. And the same
 Chrysostome saythe after wardes. To hym (that is to wytte to Peter). Also the
 ouersyght and gouernaunce or prelacye of his brethren hathe ben comytted or be-
 taken / agayne the same Chrysostome sayth / therfore because the lord had shewed
 and sayde before great thynges vnto hym (that is to wyte to Peter) and had com-
 mytted or betaken to hym the whole worlde. And agayne Theophilus vpon
 that tecte / Ps I wyll that do remayne, saythe thus. For the I do dymytte or
 sende nowe to the offyce of the ouerseer or bysshopryche of the whole worlde / and
 in this folowe thou me. Moreover yf chryste had not instytuted a heed of the chur-
 che in his absence: he shulde haue lefte it heedles or without a heed / and shulde not
 seme to haue ordered it accordynge to the better or beste dysposycyon / But nowe
this

this is to be beleneed, that he hath lefte it ordred and dysposed after the best wyse and maner: wherfore it is to be holden that he hath institute and made a heed of the sayd churche/ but there is none other more conuenient heed than Peter wherfore it may be concluded, that saynt Peter was superyoure to the other apostles in auctorite by the imedyate instytucion and ordynacyon of chryste. ¶ Agayne we maye proue the same thyng in kynde, by shewyng that saynt Paule was not egall to saynt Peter in dygnyte or auctorite / for in the seconde chapytre to the Galatyas is red this terte folowynge. Agayne after. iiii. yerres I cam to Jerusalem, to se Peter/ and I taryed with hym. xv. dayes/ & a lytell afterwarde it foloweth. And furthermore after. xlii. yerres, I wente vp to Jerusalem agayn with Barnabas and Titus/ taken with me/ and I conferred or compared with them the gospel, whiche I do preache amonge the gentylles/ and specyally with them, whiche seemed to be greatly esteemed and of auctorite/ lest peraduenture I shulde rone or els had rone in vayne/ where the glose saythe. Paule shewed here, that he was not out of feare or doubte of his gospel: excepte it had ben cōfyrmed and strengthened by the auctorite of Peter, and of the other apostles. For asmoche than as Paule hath taken securite of his gospel, of Peter, after the mynde of the glose: it appereth that he was not egall to Peter in auctorite/ wherfore it seemeth to folowe of necessity, as well of this reason as of other afore rehersed: that all the other bysshops of the worlde, are subiectes to the bysshop of Rome, as beinge the syngulare or specyal successour of saynt Peter, by & ordynacion of god/ and that the churche of Rome is the heed and pryncypall of all other churches: because the bysshop of it beinge the successour of saynt Peter, is iudge, pastor, and herdsman of all other men/ whiche thyng Isodore more largelye expresseynge in his booke afore rehersed, in the chapytre whose tytyle is Incipit prefacio Niceni cōcilii: he saythe in this wyse. It is verelye to be knowen/ of all catholyke people that the holy churche of Rome hath ben preferred & made superyour to all other, not by any synodall decrees: but he hath obtayned prymacie or superyorite by the wordes of our lord and sauoure in the gospel, where he sayd to saynt Peter the apostle. Thou arte Peter/ & vpon this stone I shall edyfy and buylde my churche/ and to the I wyll gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens. &c. whiche prymacie or superyorite, all the bysshops of Rome haue vsed hytherto without any graūt of the prynces or emperours: from the tyme of saynt Peter, vnto the tymes of Constantyne the fyrst emperour of Rome/ bothe makynge Canons or rules & Decrees: and cōmaundyng them to be obserued throughtout all churches/ as cūydently dothe appere by the processe of the sayde booke. ¶ Agayne I confyrme or strengthe this by reason/ for saythe is but one, accordynge to the mynde of the apostle in the. iiii. chapytre to the Ephesians/ wherfore it foloweth that the churche also is but one/ but it is none otherwyse one, but because it hath but one heed pryncypall/ whiche can be, none more conuenient, neyther so conuenient, as the bysshop of Rome the synguler successour of saynt Peter, whiche was the stone, wherupon chryste sayde, that he wolde buylde his churche. ¶ Agayne this same may be confyrmed by this reason/ for because lykewyse as temporall thyngs are reduced to one heed or pryncypall, that is to wyte to & pryncce, kyng, or emperour: so also it semeth that the spyrytuall thynges oughte to be reduced vnto some one heed or pryncypal, that is to wyte to the bysshop or pope of Rome. ¶ Agayne it may be confyrmed by an other reason/ for lykewyse as in one churche or diocese, it is necessarye, and expedyēt, that there be but one bysshop/ lest yf euery preeste with in the same churche or diocese dyd draue and plucke the churche vnto hym selfe, it myght breake the vnytie of chryst's churche, as we haue here tofore alledged in the

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12 11 12 13 14 15

of this dyccion of the epyſtle of ſaynt Iherome to Euandrie: ſo it is more ex-
 pedient and neceſſarye, that in the vniuerſall church of chryſt there be but onely
 one heed, for the conſeruacion of the vnyte of chryſten men / for by howe moche ſuche
 maner good thyng is more comune, & the more they are parttakers of it: by ſomoch it
 is & more godly & the more worthy to be deſyred or choſen / wherefore it is red in
 xv. chapytre of Iohil. ¶ And there ſhall be made one folde of ſhepe, & one herdys-
 man. Nowe verely it ſemeth, that ſuche herdysman or ſuche maner heed is the
 pope of Rome moſt conueniently of al other: for the cauſes here tofore aſſygned.
 ¶ And of the aforeſayd thynges it foloweth of neceſſyte, as it ſemeth: that onely
 the Byſſhop of Rome is the pryncypall effectyue cauſe of the ſecondarye inſtytu-
 cyon of all other Byſſhops, both medyatly and imedyatly, becauſe of his vniuer-
 ſall auctoryte, that he hath vpon all other Byſſhoppes and preeſtes and all other
 mynys of the churches or temples. To whiche ſentence, the auctoryte of ſaynt
 Ambroſe dothe agree in his epyſtle De tradendis baſilicis, where he ſaythe thus /
 it is the church of god, or the church is goddes owne / it oughte not therfore to be
 aſcrybed to Ceſar. The temple of god can not be the ryght of the emperour / where-
 fore it foloweth alſo conſequentially, that the inſtytucion of preeſtes in the ſame tem-
 ple dothe not appertayne to his ryght, whiche ſayde inſtytucion we haue called
 here tofore in the .xv. of this dyccion the ſecondarye auctoryte of them. And yf it
 be ſo, that the gyfte of the churches maye not appertayne to Ceſar: moche leſſe
 than may the ſayd gyfte belonge to any other ſeculer pryncce or gouernour. This
 auctoryte therfore ſhall belonge onely to hym whiche is the heed & cheyfe or pryn-
 cypal of all other preeſtes, the Byſſhop of Rome. By the auctoryte of god: yf it may
 not be the ryght of any pryncce or ſeculer gouernour / hereof alſo it ſemeth neceſſa-
 rylye to folowe, that to hym alſo belongeth the auctoryte of diſtributyng or gy-
 uynge the benefices or the temporallies of the church / for theſe maner thynges are
 gyuen for the exercyſynge of theyr offyces. ¶ Of the aforeſayd thynges alſo it ſe-
 meth that it may be inferred and concluded & the ſame pryncypall Byſſhop hath
 coactyue iurysdyccion vpon all other Byſſhops of the worlde, and all other my-
 nys of the temples or churches / for they are ſubiectes vnto hym by the ordyna-
 cyon of god: as it is euident of the reaſon afore made / whiche thyng alſo maye
 be confirmed and fortifyed by the aforeſayde both booke and chapytre of Iſodore
 for amonge other thynges there, he wyrteth ſo as here foloweth. ¶ But in that
 counſaile the pryncce or emperoure dyd a metuaylouse dede, whiche I do ſuppoſe
 is not to be paſſed ouer with ſeulence / for when the Byſſhops were come togyther
 almoſt from all places, and (as it is wonte to be) had broughte certayne braules
 or cotencions of dyuerſe cauſes amonge them ſelues he was often tymes called
 on, and lybelles was offerde, and crymes were offerde of eche one of them / and
 they gaue theyr myndes more vnto theſe thynges, than to that thyng for whiche
 they were come / but he ſeynge and perceyvinge, that throughe ſuche braules and
 cotencions, the cauſe of the hygheſt and greateſt buſynes was hyndred, backed,
 or fruſtrated / he ſet & apoynted a certayne daye, whan every one of the Byſſhops
 ſhulde bryng in his complaynte, yf he had any ſuche mater of complaynte. And
 whan he was ſet: he receyued of eche one theyr lybelles / whiche all togyther holi-
 dyng in his boſome, and not openynge them to ſe what was contayned within
 them / he ſayd to the Byſſhops. God hath ordayned and made you preeſtes / and
 hath gyuen to you powre to iudge of vs alſo / and therfore it is well done and
 ryght, & we be iudged of you / but you may not be iudged of men: wherefore abyde
 you or tary you for the iudgement onely of god. Betwene you / and youre braules
 or contencions what ſoever they be: let them be reſerued to that iudgement of god /
 for

for you are goddes, gyuen vnto vs of god: it is not cōuenient, that any man do iudge goddes/ wherefore, to conclude: the auctorite of iuryspccion vpon them appertayneth to hym, which is the god of such goddes in erthe, as he is called, that is to wote the bysshop of Rome. ¶ And of the same thyng: also it semeth, that the same bysshop hath auctorite to call together & to cōmaunde generall councelles of preestes, & in the same cōcilles to propoude or put forth, & to determyne such thyngs, which he shall thynke in his mynde worthy to be put forth, & to be determyned aboute the lawe of god, & the ecclesiasticall custome and ceremonies. Concernynge the auctorite of gatherynge a generall cōcell. Isidore in the p̄face of his sayd worke sayth thus. But the auctorite of gatherynge synodes, hath ben cōmytted by pryuate or peculjar powre & auctorite to the apostolyke see. Neither do we rede any synode to haue ben of effecte or strengthe: which hath not ben cōgregated & strengthened by the auctorite of the sayd see. These thyngs the canonys call auctorite wytnesseth or recordeth. These thyngs the ecclesiastical hystorie fortyfeth & confyrmeth. These thyngs the holy fathers also confyrmeth/ and as touchynge to the powre or auctorite of despynyng or determynyng the sence or meynyng of the scripture: the same Isidore speakynge in the same booke & chapytre, sayth in this wyse. Furthermore we haue set forth to syght in this volume 2 Decrees of dyuers cōcilles, both greake councelles & latyne, which haue ben made onther afore or after, in dystyncte & sondry chapytres, vnder the ordre of nombres & tymes/ puttyng after also 2 other Decrees of the popes of Rome vntyll saynt Gregorie, & certayne epyssles of hym, in which the auctorite of the apostolyke see is egall to the auctorite of the councelles. It foloweth than that the pope by the auctorite of his owne selfe alone: may determyne that thyng, which the auctorite of the generall cōcell may determyne/ for asmoche as his auctorite is not vnegall to the auctorite of the general cōcilles, after Isidores sayenge. ¶ The same also semeth to haue ben 2 mynde & oppnyon of saynt Iherome, in his epystle intytled of the exposicion of the catholyke sayth/ where he sayth thus. This is the saythe. O most blessed pope, which we haue learned in the catholyke church/ which we haue alwayes holden or kepte/ in which yf haply any thyng hath ben put eyther not learnedly, or to openste: we desyre that it may be amendyd by you, which do kepe the saythe and seate of Peter/ but yf this our confessyon be approued and allowed by the iudgement of your apostleship: who soeuer shall be wyllynge to spotte or desyle my name, he shall proue hym selfe to be vnlearned or euyl wyllid, or also no catholyke persone, and not me to be an heretyke. ¶ And as touchynge to the powre and auctorite of ordaynyng or decreyng those thyngs, which appertayne to the ecclesiasticall customes or ceremonies and to eternal helthe: it appereth by the oracle or saynge of chryst in the .x. chapytre of Luke/ for there he saythe to the apostles, and to all bysshops or preestes in the person of the apostles/ who soeuer despyseth you, despyseth me/ & who soeuer despyseth me, despyseth hym that hath sent me. It foloweth therefore, that the statutes of preestes are to be obserued & obeyed of the necessity of saluacyon. Therefore of these powers assygned to the bysshop of Rome, and other more large, saynt Bernarde makynge a colleccyon to Eugenius pope in his seconde booke De consideracio sayth in this wyse. Nowe are the rest to be repeted, yf at 2 leste any there be, of the place which we haue declared or dysputed of/ go to, let vs serche yet dyslygentlye, who thou arte/ that is to wote, what persone thou doste beate for the tyme in the church of god/ who art thou? ¶ A great preest/ hyghest bysshop/ Thou art heed or pryncipall of bysshops. Thou art heire of the apostles/ thou arte in prymacie Abell/ in gouernaunce Noe/ in patriarcheshyp Abraham/ in ordre Melchysedeche/ in dygnyte

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20 nyte Aron / in auctorite Moyses / in iudgemente Samuell / in power Peter / in a
 noynting chryst. And it foloweth by a by ase in the same chapytre. And thou as
 lone, art pastor or herdysman, not onely of the shepe: but also of all pastors or heri
 dysmen. Askest thou wherby I do proue this: by the wordes and sayng of chryst.
 For to whom (I do not saye of bysshops, but of the apostelles also?) hath all the
 shepe ben cōmytted so absolutely & generally without exception, as to Peter: whē
 he sayd Peter yf thou lone me fede my shepe: & a lytel after he sayth. To whom is
 it not playne & euident, & he dyd not appoynte or make out any certayne or ptycu
 ler flock: there is nothynge exceptyd or out taken: where no dystynccion or differēce
21 is made. And afterwarde agayn in the same boke he sayth. ¶ Herof it is, & the o
 ther apostels haue taken to theyr porcyon, eche on of them one nacion or people?
 knowynge the mystery of chryst's wordes. Fynally James which semyd to be one
 pyllet of & churche: was cōtented with Jerusalem alone leauynge vnto Peter the
 vniuersyte or generall cure of the whole flocke. And afterwardes cōcludynge, he
22 sayth thus in the sypte. ¶ Accordynge to & Landō, other bysshops ar called in to
 parte of cure / but thou art called in to fulnes of power the power & auctorite of
 other bysshops is cōtayned within certayne lymytes: thy power is extended also
 vnto them, which haue receyued power & auctoute vpon other. Mayste not thou,
 yf a cause shall ryse: shytte heuen to a bysshop? mayst not thou depose hym from
 his bysshopyche, & also gyue hym to Satan, by excomunicatyng or cursynge
 hym. ¶ Thy pryuylege therfore stādeth sure & stable vnto the, & vnbroken as wel in
23 the keyes gyuen vnto &: as in & shepe cōmytted or betaken vnto the. ¶ And Ber
 narde dyd not saye here that the bysshop of Rome had onely auctorite vpon eccle
 siasticall mynystrs, as bysshops, preestes, & the other inferior ordres: but also the
 same Bernarde semeth to ascrybe vnto the same bysshop, coactiue iurysdyccion
 vpon all prynces & gouernours / whiche iurysdyccion & same Bernarde calleth vn
 der a metaphore, the tēporall swerde / wherfore he sayth to the same Eugenius, in
 the v. boke & sypte chapytre. in this wyse / why shuldest thou go aboute to vsurpe
 the sworde: whiche thou wast ones cōmaunded to put vp agayne in to the sheeth,
 whiche swerde for al & who soeuer denyeth to be thynne: as me thynketh he doth not
 suffyciently regarde or marke the wordes of our lord, whan he sayde. Turne thy
 swerde in to the skabarde. So than the swerde is thynne / & peraduenture it is to be
 drawen out of the sheeth, at thy wyll & cōmaūdemēt: albeit not with thynne owne
 hande / for els yf the swerde dyd no maner waye belōge vnto &: chryste wolde not
 haue made answer to & apostles, whan they sayd, so here ii. swerdes, vnder this
 maner as he dyd. sayenge it is ynoughe, but he wolde haue sayde it is to moche / it
 foloweth therfore, & bothe swerdes belōge to the churche / that is to wyt both the
 spyrytuall & the materiall swerde / but this materiyall swerde is to be drawen out
 for the churche, & the other spirituall swerde is to be drawen out also of & churche /
 the one is to be drawen out with the preest's hande: the other with the hande of the
 souldyer or man of warre, but at the wyll of the preeste, & cōmaūdemēt of & em
 peroure. There be other very many auctorities of sayntes, wherby the aforesayd
 thyngs myght be cōfyrmed, but I haue ouerhypped them here, fyrst because that
 they are of the same or very lyke vertue & strength with the auctorites afore alled
 ged / & agayne because the maner of makynge answer both to them & these, is al
 one or very lyke. And last of all because of shournes to be had in this our pcesse.
 Moreover these same thyngs as it appereth may be cōfyrmed & strengthened by cer
 tayne Decrees & decretalles of the bysshops of Rome / for in the it is proued & ord
 dayned, that all the ecclesiasticall offyces, & the benefyces instytuted & ordayned
 for the same offyces, ought to be gyuen by the bysshop of Rome & other bysshops
 and

in no wyse by hym that is pryncer or gouernour by the auctorite/it is ordayned also by þe same Decretalles & decrees: that preefts & clerkes ought not to come vnder the coactyue iudgement of the sayd pryncer & gouernour. But rather þe pryncer ought to be vnder the coactyue iudgemēt & by þe same Decrees & decretalles also it is cōfyrmed, & all the potowes do belonge vnto the bysshop of Rome: which saynt Bernarde ascrybeth vnto the sayd bysshop, in his wordes afore reherced.

Playne trayson & heresy i the decretalles.

Of þe answers to be made vnto þe aforesayd obiecciōs or reaso.

The. xxviii. chapytre.

The respydewe of the secōde parte of this booke, is to expounde cōueniently & accordyngly the auctorities of the scrypture, & to dissolue the humayne reasons & obiecciōs, which haue ben brought in, in the. iii. chapytre, & also in the chapytre imedpatly afore gone, of this dyccyon/whiche appere & seme to proue the contrarie, of our determynacyōs/But fyrste it shall be very expedyēt & well done, to call to remēbraunce that, whiche we haue sayd in the. xix. chapytre of this dyccyon, accordyng to þe mynde of saynt Augustyne, & an infallible reason grouēd vpon þe scrypture/that is to wyte, that we are not bounde of necessitye of soule helthe, to beleue suerly, & to confesse any scrypture to be vndoubtedly true. saue onely those scryptures which are called holy scryptures, that is to wyte those whiche are cōtayned in the body & volume of the Byble/ & those also whiche necessarye foloweth of the sayd canonycall scryptures/ wherfore we shall folowe vterly the manifest lpytterall sence of suche auctorities of the holy scrypture, whiche nedeth not any mystycall expositycion/ & in such as nedeth mystycall expositycion, I shall leaue & cleaue vnto þe more prouable sentence & mynde of saynt. And as touchyng to the sentences, whiche they haue spoken forth of theyr owne propre auctorite, besyde þe scrypture: such as are consonant & agreable to the scrypture or holy Canon, I wyll receyue & allowe/ but suche as are dysagreyng vnto the sayd scrypture, I shall reuerently denye & refuse/ but yet none otherwyse than by the auctorite of scrypture, wherunto I wyll alwayes leaue & cleue faste/ for the holy expositytours & sayntes otherwhyles do not agre togyther, but are of contrary opynyōs & sentence/ bothe aboute the scrypture, & also in other thyngs besyde the scrypture/ as Iherome & Augustyne dysagre aboute the tēpte in the secōde chapytre to the Galatians/ the wordes ben these. And whan Peter was come to Antioche, I respysted hym opely to his face because he was reproveable/ & agayne Ambrose & Iherome dysagre aboute the dygynyte of Iosephe/ yea moreouer otherwhyles one of the sayntes speaketh at one tyme contrarie to that whiche hym selfe spake at an other tyme / as it shall manifestly appere & be open of those thynges which hereafter foloweth. ¶ Now therfore to make answer fyrst vnto þe obiecciōs made in the laste chapytre afore gone/ wher it is reasoned, & bysshops are of greater essential or inseperable dygnyte, then symple preefts (as they are called) by the. x. chapytre of Luke, wher it is sayd/ that the lord marked forth the or assygned also other. lxxii. &c. by whom after the expositycion of Bede is fygured the ordie of preefts, whiche he calleth the seconde ordie, that is to wyte the nexte after the ordie of bysshops, it is to be sayde, that accordyng to the mynde of the apostle, and to those thynges whiche haue ben broughte in and alledged of the auctorite of sayntes in the. xv. chapytre of this dyccyon, by these. lxxii. is fygured more conueniently the ordie of deacons, than of preefts/ or els it may be sayd cōueniently, that it foloweth not hereof of

What scryptures we are bounde to beleue & to gyue credence vnto

Howe moche the expositycion of olde auncient doctors do bide & when they are to be admitted. and when with reuerence to be refused.

Iherome & Augustyne. dysagre. Ambrose & Iherome dysagre. Answer made to the fyrst obieccyon, in the chapytre last paste.

THE DEFENCE

this, that a bysshop hath a greater essenciall ordie than hath a preeste. But that sendynge, wherby chryste sent them in to the worlde to preache, dyd sygnifye rather the humayne eleccion or instytucion. By the whiche in dede one of them shulde be preferred vnto an other in the ecclesiasticall Iconomye or admynystracion: for chryste dyd not than gyue vnto them any essencpall dygnyte, when he sayd. Go you therfore & teache all nacjons: but he had gyuen the essencpall dygnyte vnto them afore that tyme / and the case put, that at one or lyke tyme he had gyuen to them both dygnytes or auctorytes: yet I do saye, that the sendynge of them to preche, dyd not adde vnto them any intrynsecall perfeccyon, whiche they had not before, when they receyued preesthode by the holy ghost / and this secodarie instytucion of the apostles, aboue other that shulde be made preefts, was done by chryst, for bycause that at that tyme there was no multytude of chrysten people, by whom suche maner eleccyon myght be celebrated / and thonghe there had ben: yet coude it not haue yet ben done so couenyently by any multitude, as by chryst hym selfe. For whiche cause the apostles also, after the passyon & resurreccyon of chryste, reduced & brought them selues to eleccion in deuydng the prouynces amonge them selues / for it is red in the seconde chapytre to the Galatians thus, James, Peter & Iohn, gaue the ryght handes of socyetie & felowshyp vnto me / & Barnabas. & we shuld go & preache amonge the gentyles, & they vnto the Jewes / and therfore the case put, that this chosynge of the xpiii. had ben a fygyre such as Bede sayth of the state of preestes: yet I do saye, that a bysshop hath not any greater intrynsecall dygnyte, or perfeccyon, or characte gyuen immediatly by god, than hath a preeste beyng no bysshop / and the cause hereof hath ben suffyciently assygned in the .xv. of this dyccion. ¶ And to the secōde obieccyon taken of the .v. chapytre of the fyrste epystle to Timothe. agaynst a preeste. .cc. I do say, & Timothe receyued of the apostle no secodarie instytucion essenciall. ouer the other preefts of that prouynce / the instytucion & wyll of the whiche sayde apostle, was equiualent & of egal strength to an eleccyon / because of the lacke & insuffyciēcie or rudyte and ignorauce of the multytude of chrysten men / wherfore the apostle in the .iii. chapytre of the fyrst epystle to the Corynthians. sayth in this wyse. And brethren I myght not speake to you, as to spirituall psons: but as to carnall / as vnto babes in chryste: I haue gyuen you mylke to drynke, and not meate / for you were not as yet of strength. no more you are of strength now / for you are yet carnall persons / & this tēpte we haue opened & declared more largely in the .xvii. chapytre of this dyccion & the .vii. parte. ¶ And as for the auctoryte whiche is alledged of the epystle of Element, whiche is intytled to James the cosen of our lord: I do not receyue it as vndoubted / for it is very greatly suspected, that it shuld not be of epystle of Element, for cause of many thynges that are contayned in the same epystle. Agayne these canons or epystles are suspected / for in that epystle whiche is intytled of the sacramentes, of the apparell or vesture, and of the vesselles vnto James the cosen of our lord, and also in that whiche is intytled of the comune lyfe of the apostles, it is wyrtē as yf Element dyd tell vnto James those thynges, which chryste dyd or wrought with his apostles. But this shuld haue ben a great ignorauce, because I wyll not saye a great presumpcyon, of Element: that he wolde go aboute to gyue knowledge of these thyngs, which he had onely harde, & as it were to teache them vnto hym which had ben present at that doynge of them, & had hym selfe sene chryste and his apostles, of whome hym selfe also was one / for who coude better instructe the dyscyples which were in Ierusalem, of the lyfe of chryste, & of his apostles: or whether ought to knowe more of the ecclesiasticall custome or vsage, & apostle thynke ye, or he that was but the successour of an apostle

An answer
to the seconde
obieccyon.

To the thyrde
obieccyon.

The epystle
of Element.

Suspecte
Canons.

Alse: there is no man I trowe that doubteth/whetherfore the epyistles are to be accōp-
ted amonge the apocryse scriptures/ but though he we dyd graunt that the sayde e-
pyistles were the epyistles of Element (so as some men do affyrme) trustynge and
groundynge them setures vpon fables & lyenge tales, yea in somoch that they do
saye, Element because he was bysshop of Rome, to haue ben of greater auctoryte
in the churche of god, than James the apostle/ of whome this questyon conueny-
ently may & is to be asked, why the epyistles of Element are not put in the body of
the holy Canon or byble, as well as the epyistle of saynt James is put there? Yet for
all this I wyll make answer vnto these thynges, whiche in the sayd epyistles shall
seme to be consonant & agreeable to the sentence and mynde of chryste & of the a-
postles whan we shall treat of the auctorytes of scripture, whether vpon they seme
to be grounded. ¶ But vnto that obieccion, whiche sayth, that this hath ben the
sentence or opynyōn & mynde of all the bysshops whiche hath succeeded saynt Pe-
ter in the episcopal see of Rome. Answer is to be made, as we haue answered to
the fyrste obieccion/ that theyr meanynge was so as we declared there/ or yf they
vnderstode or meened other wyse than so, we do leaue or forsake them, and do fol-
lowe the apostle & Iherome in the .xx. and .xvi. chapytre of this dyccion. ¶ But
vnto those auctorytes of the Canon or holy scripture, wherin it semeth to be shē-
wed & proued, that saynt Peter was superyour to the other apostles in dygnyte,
not onely by mans lawe, but also by the immediate ordynacion of chryst. And fyrst
where it was alledged of the .xvi. of Matthewe. Thou art Peter & vpon this stone
I shall buylde & edyfye my churche/ & to the I shall gyue the keyes of the kyngdom
of heuens. &c. by which wordes chryste shulde seme to haue made & instituted Pe-
ter the heed & fundamēt of the churche, at the lest wyse in his owne absence: I do
saye that there hath ben, & also is but onely one heed, & foundacion or groundwarke
of the churche, by the immediate ordynacion of god, & that is chryst/ as we haue pro-
ued vndoubtedly by the scripture. Therefore vnto that auctoryte or tēpte / vpon
this stone I wyll edyfye my churche: I do saye accordyngly to the glose, & vpon
this stone, betokeneth vpon chryste, on whome thou beleeuest/ where the glose be-
twene the lynes, therefore called the glose interlinear: addeth the wordes folowynge.
Thou art Peter, & is to saye of me whiche am the stone/ but yet so that I do re-
serue & retayne vnto my selfe the dygnyte of the foundamēt or groundwarke. And
chryste called hym Peter, that is to saye cōstant in the saythe/ whiche thyng we
do not deny/ for though we do graunt that he was more constant & more p̄fyt
in meryte than the other apostles: it foloweth not therefore & he was afore them in
dygnyte/ excepte onely peraduēture in tyme/ as we haue euēdēly proued by the
scripture in the chapytres afore alledged. And this sence whiche we haue sayd to
be the sence of the scripture, the expositiō of saynt Augustyne helpeth vpon the
same place. For Augustyne sayth, & it is taken of his booke of retracciōs/ I haue
sayd in a certayne place of the apostle Peter, that vpon hym as vpon the stone the
churche is edyfied or buylded/ but I knowe that I haue afterwarde very often
tymes so expounded that sayenge of our lord/ thou arte Peter & vpon this stone
I wyll edefye or buylde my churche: that it shulde be vnderstanded to be buylded
vpon hym, whome Peter confessyd, saynge/ Thou art chryste the sone of the ly-
uynge god/ as yf Peter called or haupynge his name of this stone, shulde fygyre the
person of the churche, whiche is buylded vpon this stone/ for it was not sayd to hym
Tu es Petra. i. thou art the stone, but Tu es Petrus. i. Thou art Peter/ but the
stone was chryste/ whome Symon cōfessynge lyke wyse as the whole churche cō-
fesseth hym, was called Peter. And the reason or cause hereof may be assygned ac-
cordyng to the scripture. For Peter as longe as he was a pylgryme in this worlde
myght

Element bys-
shop of Rome

4

6

Chryst is the
stone.

The interpre-
tation of
Peter.

THE DEFENCE

myght erre and synne by the lybertie of his fre wyll/wherfore he is red to haue denyed chryste/and otherwhyles not to haue walked aryghte accordynge to the wyte of the gospell/but suche one coulde not be the fundament or grounde stone of the churche/but chryste onely was this stone (as it appereth in the thyrde chappitre of the fyrst epystle to the Corynthyas)whiche coulde not erre or do amysse/for from the fyrste instante of his conception,he was so confirmed and establysshed in grace:that he coulde in no wyse synne/wherfore saynt Paule in the place afore alledged saythe.No man may put any other foundacyon,than that whiche hathe ben put or set:whiche is chryste Ihesus.And as concernynge this addycion.To the I shall gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens this addycion I say,gyueth none auctorite to Peter vpon or aboue y other apostles/for this self same iudiciarie powre he gaue also to the other apostles,after the mynde of saynt Iherome, and of Rabane/whose expositiōs or gloses we haue brought in here tofore in the sypte chappitre of this dyccyon, & the thyrde parte. Moreover because chryste semeth not by these wordes to haue gyuen to hym the powre of the keyes / for he saythe I shall or wyll gyue to the/whiche soundeth it for to come. he sayd not I do gyue/but in the. xx. of Iohā he sayd indyfferently to all the apostles. Receyue you the holy ghoſt /and whose synnes you shall forgyue:they are forgyuen. &c. But this admytted that Peter by these wordes had receyued this auctoryte:yet it is not concluded nor foloweth hereof, but onely that he was instytuted pastor or herdyſman afore other in tyme. And in that that chryſt vouchesafe to gyue these keyes syngulerly to hym, albeit it were so in dede, yet he wolde nomore thereby, but sygnifye and betoken the vnyte of the churche in saythe, vnto whiche vnyte chryſte hath called or prouoked chryſten men, by the synguler tradycion or promyse of the keyes, as the glose sayth. Or elles peraduenture, because Peter dyd fyrst of all other confesse boldly, openly, & playnly, that chryſte is the sone of god:therfore he in tyme is fyrste endowed & is honoured with the keyes gyuen to hym, or is promysed to be honoured / & by such rewarde promysed:an exāple shuld be gyuen to the other also, so to confesse chryſte openly & boldly / but yet for all this it is not therfore proued, that he was superiour and afore other in dygnyte or auctoryte. Albeit y some of the expositours seme to saye this of theyr owne selfe, not hauynge this of the scripture/and that I do say the trouth:the tepte of the gospel here folowynge dothe infallybly sygnifye and declare, whiche is had in the. xx. of Mathewe, where chryſte openly determynynge this questyon. sayde that none of them was superiour one an other, for there was a contencion ryſen or made amonge them, which of them shuld be greatest. And the same is had in the. xvi. of Mathewe. For chryſte sayde vnto them. But be not you in wyll to be called mayster / amonge your selfe one to an other/for you haue but one mayster and all you are brethren/that is to saye all you are equall. It foloweth therfore that he excepted not one / in as moche as he sayde all you are brethren or felowes/and it is a meruaylouse thyng yf we ought rather to gyue credēce to y auctoryte of the expositoure or glose maker:than of chryſte hym selfe, who soeuer that expositoure is/yea though he be a saynt/and specyally seynge that he speaketh this not as an expositoure or glose maker, but of his owne propre mynde. For the tepte of y scripture is so open & playne, that it nedeth no glose in this thyng. Moreover because the gloses selues saye the contrarye, expoundynge the seconde chappitre to the Galatians/as it hathe ben declared in the. xvi. of this dyccyon. And we haue treated this mater suffycientlye and serpyously in the. iiii. and. xx. of this dyccyon/neither we wyll Iterate or reherſe agayne all the probacions, because the thyng is euidently knowen / and for cause of speede and shortnes to be had

Chryſte sayd
I shall gyue
the keyes &
not I do
gyue.

That Peter
was not supe
riour.

An exposit
tour is not to
be credeted be
fore a playne
tepte.

be had. ¶ But to the other auctorite taken of Luke in the. xii. chapytre, wher
 chryste sayde to saynt Peter/ but I haue prayed for the. Peter: that thy saythe
 shal not fayle. And whan thou arte ones conuerted, consume thou thy brethien.
 Of whiche texte some men do inferre and conclude two thynges/ the one is that
 the saythe of the churche of Rome onely can not fayle/ because that chryste by the
 saythe of Peter, vnderstande also the saythe of the successours of Peter/ and con-
 sequentlye, that the bysshoppe successoure vnto hym is the cheyfe and pryncypall
 of all other. The seconde is, that by these wordes chryste made hym prelate of
 the other apostles/ but I do saye, that neyther of these two thynges do folowe of
 the wordes of chryste, by the vertue and strengthe of the wordes. For in this con-
 sequence or argument, the contrary rather of that that is inferred and concluded,
 standeth with the antecedent or with that wherof it is inferred. Secondarylye I
 do proue by the scripture that neyther of them dothe folowe/ and that by the wor-
 des of chryste hym selfe and none other. The fyrst of the two, that is to saye, that
 the saythe of the churche of Rome onely can not fayle, I proue to be false, in that
 that chryste sayde to them all in the laste chapytre of Mathewe. So you therfore
 and teache all nacjons. &c. And loo I am with you at all tymes euen vnto the
 endynge of the worlde. ¶ If chryste than dyd promyse hym selfe to be with the other
 apostles, at all tymes, euen vnto the worlde shall be at an ende, it foloweth than
 that he vnderstode also of y successours of the other apostles, yf y other aucthor-
 tie brought for them, ought to be vnderstāded of the successours of Peter. Agayn
 yf the bysshoppe of Rome be called syngularetie or specyallye the successoure of
 Peter, it is vndoubted and euidently knowen, that a certayne heretyke, or cer-
 tayne heretykes haue ben made bysshoppes in that see/ as it hath ben shewed of
 Liberius and of certayne other popes & it hath ben proued in the. xvi. of this dy-
 cyon: that the bysshop of Rome is not syngularetie or senerallye the successour of
 saynt Peter/ for the causes assygned accordynge to the scriptures in the same cha-
 pytre. And the seconde consequence or argument lykewyse is of no strength that
 is, that the bysshop successour vnto Peter is the cheyfe and pryncypall of al other
 which thyng I proue also by the scripture. For Paule gaue somwhat vnto Pe-
 ter, and dyd profyte and helpe hym in the gospell, and not contrarye wyse Peter
 vnto Paule/ as we haue alleaged heretofore suffyciently of the seconde chapytre
 to the Galatiās in the. xvi. chapytre of this parte. And (which is a more euident
 thyng) The wordes of chryste afore alledged of the. xx. of Mathewe, and of the.
 xii. of Luke: destroyeth this consequence, by whiche wordes playnly & openly
 chryste desyned & hath determined the contrary/ wherfore the glose expōdyng
 this place sayth thus. As I haue defended the by my prayer, & thou shuldest not
 fayle: so do thou cōforte the weake brethien, by the example of the penaunce or re-
 pentauce, that they do not dyspayre of forgynenes/ vnderstādyng & meanyng
 by brethien indyfferently all chrysten men/ whiche wordes also he speakynge to
 Peter: gaue knowledg to the other apostles, that they shulde do the same/ wher-
 fore in the. xiii. of Marke he sayd. That I saye to one, or els after the other letter,
 but cōmyng all to one sence. That I do saye to you, I do saye to all. ¶ Or perad-
 uenture he spake these wordes, specially to Peter (& this semeth also to be y mynde
 of the glose) because chryste knewe before, that Peter shulde denye hym, wherfore
 thou beyng ones conuerted & repentaunt, cōformeth and strength thy brethien,
 by the example of thy repentaunce, because he wolde that he whiche had optay-
 ned forgynenes, shulde by his wordes, & example of hym selfe, cōforte or cōfyrm
 syngulerly those y were weake in the saythe, that they shulde not dyspayre of for-
 gyuenes. ¶ And to the other auctorite of y scripture taken of y. xvi. of Iohn, by
 whiche

Liberi9 pope.



THE DEFENCE

Whiche certayne men go aboute to proue and conclude the same, because that chryste sayde to saynt Peter, fede my shepe / fede my lambes: it is to be sayd fyrst, that after the mynde of *the* glose this is the sence and meanynge of this texte, that

To fede shepe to fede the shepe: is to comforte them that beleue, that they do not despayre, and what it beto: to prouyde earthly subspoyes, succour, or releafe, yf nede be: to theyr subiectes / to keene.

Marke this. And whan he hereth the thyrd tyme, that Peter dothe loue hym: than he byddeth hym fede his shepe. This knowledgyng of his loue towarde chryste thre tymes: is sette agaynst his thryes denyenge of chryste / that his tonge shulde no lesse do seruyce to loue: than it had afore done seruyce to feare. But yet it is not hereof prouyd or concluded, but onely that chryst dyd instytute hym apostle or feder of shepe and it foloweth not for all that hereof, that he made hym superiour or afore the other apostles in auctorite or dygnyte / neyther agayne it foloweth hereof, that the other apostles haue not ben instytuted pastores and herdysmen. For the contrarie of bothe these conclusyons: standeth with the auncedent / that is to wytte with the wordes or saynge of chryste afore recyted / & that these aforesayde thyngs are trewe: it may be prouyd by this, that the catholyke church: syngeth one preface indyfferently of all the apostles, whiche is this folowynge. Wrekye it is accordynge, and ryght, reasonable, and holsome, humblye to beseeche the at all tymes, that thou whiche art the eternall pastor do not forsake thy flocke: but that thou do kepe them with contynuall proteccyon by thy blessyd apostles, that it may be gouerned by *the* same gouernours & rulers: whome thou hast gyuen to the same church. as pastores or herdysmen, bycars & debyts of thy worke or offyce. So here *the* church calleth *the* apostles in *the* plurall nombre gouernours, bycars, & herdysmen by *the* imediate colliacyon or gyfte of chryst / & she doth not cal any one of them alone, a gouernoure / bycare, or herdysman constytuted by chryste / and to hym that woll aske. why chryste spake these wordes synghulertye to Peter: it is to be answered / that chryste somtyme dyrected his speache to a man in his owne proper persone / as in the forgyuenes of synnes / in the healyng of sycke men / and in the reysynge of deed men to lyfe / and otherwhyles he dyd dyrecte his speache to one in the person of all. or of many as in the .v. chapytre of Iohann, whan he sayd, go and synne no more lest it chaunce or happen worse vnto the / wherfore chryste in comyttynge or betakynge that offyce to Peter: he spake vnto hym in the persone of all the apostles / as he hym selfe wytnesseth or recordeth this maner of speakynge of his owne, in the .xiii. of Marke, whan he sayd, that whiche I do saye to one, or to you: I do say to all / but yet he dyrected his speche specyally vnto Peter: because he was more auncyent or aged, or because he was more feruent in charyte / or elles because he wolde sygnifye and gyue knowledgge to the church that was to come after, what maner herdysmen ought to be instytuted / that is to wyte, men ripe in age / by whiche is betokened wysdome or knowledgge, and also men feruent and full of charyte / by whiche is sygnifyed cure and dyligence, whiche herdysmen or curates ought to haue. Or els peraduenture lest Peter myght seme more abiecte or vyle, and more out of fauour. because he had denyed chryst / whiche semeth to be the mynde of the glose, where it saythe / agaynst his thryes denyenge: he nowe maketh thryes confessyon or knowledgyng / that his tonge shulde not do lesse seruyce to loue, than it had done afore to feare / for this is sure and vndoubted, that it was sayde indyfferently to them all in the last chapytre of Mathewe, So you therfore and teach all nacyns or peoples / and he sayde not to Peter go thou and sende thou other / in whiche thyng he sygnifyed them all to be of egall auctorite,

auctorite, as we haue also afore alledged of the. xlii. of Mathewe, whan he sayd vnto them, be not in wyll to be called mayster / vnderstande thou, one in comparyson of an other, or one vpon an other or other of you / for you haue all but one mayster, and all you are brethren. Or elles it is to be sayd, and very probablye, & as me thynke agreeable & accordynge to the truthe, that for so moche chryste sayde vnto Peter, fede thou my shepe: that he wold comytte and betake specially vnto hym, because of his constancie and boldnes, the people of Israell or of the Jewes whiche was a styfnecked and stubburne people towarde god / as it appereth in the. xxxviii. of Exodus, and the apostle alledgeth by Esaie the prophete, in the last chapytre of the actes / for chryst cam pryncypally to couerte and saue the sayd people / wherfore he sayd in the. xv. of Mathewe, I am not sent but vnto the shepe, which are perysshed of the house of Israell / vnderstande thou, I am not sent pryncypally. And therfore he semeth to haue comytted the cure of this people specially vnto Peter, whan he sayde / fede thou my shepe. And this also semeth to be the playne and open sentence of the apostle, whan he sayd in the seconde to the Galatians whan they had sene and perceyuyd, that vnto me was comytted and betaken the preachynge of the gospel vnto the Gentyles, as vnto Peter was betaken & preachynge of the gospel vnto the circūcised people of the Jewe. &c. where the glose after the mynde of saynt Augustyne, saythe / whan they had sene, that the gospel of incircumcision was betaken vnto me (as beyng saythfull, & pryncypally) as the gospel of circuncysion was betaken to Peter. For chryst had gyuen vnto Paule, that he shulde mynystre the gospel to the Gentyles: which also had gyuen to Peter, that he shulde mynystre the same to the Jewes / but yet for all that this dyspensacion was so dystributed vnto them, & bothe Peter myghte preache to the Gentyles, yf a cause had requyred it so to be done: and Paule also to the Jewes. And I do not se or perceyue, that Paule or any other saynt coulde take or gather of any other place of the scrypture, that the people of the Jewes was specially and pryncypally betaken vnto Peter: but onely hercof: because chryste sayd vnto hym, fede my shepe, seynge that Paule doth saye in the seconde chapytre to the Galatians, that the preachynge of the gospel to the Gentyles, was betaken to hym: as the preachynge of the same to the circūcised people was betaken to Peter. For yf the preachynge of the gospel vnyuersally or generallye had ben comytted vnto Peter more than to Paule, or to the other apostles: than truly Paule shuld haue spoken the aforesayd wordes inconueniently / yea more ouer all his speche had ben wayne, and the comparyson whiche he made in it / accordynge to the gloses of sayntes and of other doctours. Vpon these thre poyntes of the scrypture aforesayde: we shall speake in the ende of this chapytre, lest it myght chaunce vs to iterate or reherce agayne one and the same thyng very ofte.

¶ But vnto the sayenge of the apostle in the seconde chapytre to the Galatians by whiche it semed that he was inferiour or lesse than Peter in auctorite, for as moche as he sayd, I conferred or copared with them the gospel, whiche I do preache amonge the Gentyles, lest I myght tonne or had tonne in wayne. &c. It is to be sayde fyrste, & answered accordynge to the glose of saynt Augustyne vpon this place / for he sayth. And I haue not learned of them, as beyng greater or superiours vnto me: but I haue conferred with them, as beyng nyghe frendes & egalles. And as touchynge to that, whiche the glose bryngeth in accordynge to the mynde of saynt Iherome vpon the texte, lest I myght tonne in wayne. &c. he sheweth here (saythe the glose after Iherome) that he had not securyte, nor was out of doubte of the gospel that he preached, excepte it had ben confyrmed and strenghtened or fortifyed by the auctorite of Peter & of the other apostles: I do say

Peter preached
to the Jewes
and Paule
to the gentyles.

THE DEFENCE

The cause
why Paul
conferred with
Peter & other

Lest I shuld
ronne in
dayne.

With reuerence, & this glose outhur shulde be contradictoꝛy & playne agaynst it
owne selfe, in that whiche is sayd afterwarde after the mynde of the same Iher
rome, yf it be so vnderstanded, as he doth seme to intende, whiche is aduersary to
this sentēce, whiche we haue sayd: or elles this glose after the mynde of Iherome
must be vnderstanded, accordynge to that which foloweth in the same glose after
the mynde of saynt Augustyne. For this was not the cause, why he dyd conferre
his gospell with them, for that he doubted that he had not the certaynte of the gos
pell: but this was the cause of the sayde confertynge, that it shulde be the more be
leued of the herers, whan he sayd, that he had conferred it with them, whiche had
ben conuersaunt with chryste / whose wytnesse or testymonye was the more pro
bable and lyke to be trewe / wherfore that sayenge, lest I myght ronne in dayne
or had ronne. &c. ought not to be referred to the defaulte of & apostle by hym selfe,
or of his owne parte: neyther to any doubtyng whiche he had in the gospell / for
this gospell he receyued or learned not of man, neyther by man, but by the imedy
ate reuelacyon of god / as he sayth his owne selfe in the fyrste to the Galatians.
Moreouer in the seconde chapytre to the Galatians the apostle makynge mency
on of this collacyon or compartyng of his gospell: sayth in this wyse. And they
whiche semed to be of auctoryte and greatly esteemed: gaue no thyng vnto me:
but I to them / where the glose after & mynde of Augustyne sayth / as who shuld
saye, I do not therfore haue recourse agayne the former thynges, done by me, for
they are suffycient for the comendacyon of me, seynge that they whiche semed to
be somwhat, that is to wyte, Peter and other whiche were with the sorde, haue
gyuen, that is to saye, haue added nothyng vnto me / wherin it is euident, that
I am not inferyor vnto them, whiche am so made perfyte of the sorde and of god
that there was no thyng, that they coulde adde to my perfeccyon, in this confert
yng of my gospell with them. For he that gaue wysdome & knowledg to those
iii. vnlearned men: he hathe also gyuen knowledg vnto me. And it foloweth af
terwarde in the glose after the mynde of saynt Iherome. They gaue or added
nothyng to me: but I gaue or added somwhat to Peter / and agayne afterwar
des / I resysted or withstode hym, as egall vnto hym / for he wolde not haue ben
bolde to do these thyngs: yf he had not knowen hym selfe not to be vnegall. Ther
fore that sayenge lest I shulde ronne in dayne. &c. oughte to be referred vnto the
hearers whiche peraduenture wolde not haue gyuen credence elles vnto hym: or
at the lest wyse not so moche credence vnto hym / and by the reason therof shulde
haue remayned voyde or emptie / and he lykewyse shulde haue ben voyde in them /
that is to saye, shulde haue ben dysapoynted and haue myssed of his purpose and
intent in them. For asmoche as he shulde not haue engendred any fayth in them,
whiche he intended by the course of his preachynge. And this is it also whiche fol
loweth afterwarde in the same glose after the mynde of saynt Augustyne / for
the apostle Paul beynge called by a voyce from heuen, after the ascencion of
chryste, yf he shuld not comunycate and be pattenor or felowe with the apostles,
and shuld not conferre his gospel with them. so that it myght appere that he was
one of the same felowshyp or companye: the churche wolde gyue no credence to
hym at all / but whan the churche had knowen, that he dyd preache the same gos
pell that the apostles dyd, and that he lyued in the comunyon and vnyte of them,
suche myracles also beynge done by hym, as they dyd worke / then by such comen
dacyon of the sorde he deserued auctoryte, and to be regarded in the churche, that
his wordes be so herde in the churche: as yf chryste were herde speakynge in hym,
as he hym selfe sayd moste truely. Than it foloweth of these wordes of the glose,
that Paul deserued auctoryte or to be regarded, by the comendacyon of chryste /
and

and he sayde not, Peter or the other apostles comendynge hym / or causynge hym to be accepted. And it foloweth a tytell afterwarde in the glose, after the mynde of the same Augustyne / wherfore he conferred his gospel with them, & toke theyr ryght handes. For he preachyd the same worde of god that they dyd: though he receyued not it by them. For that conferryng of his gospel with them, shewed it was all one kynde of doctryne: all spottes or dyuersite of lepye cleane shaken away. This than was the cause of his conferryng of his gospel with them / that all scrupules and doubtfulnes of the variete and dyuersyte of his doctryne & theyr, shuld be rydde and taken away from the hearers. And this is it whiche the glose had sayde afore: after the mynde of Augustyne. For he sayd I went up agayne to Iherusalem. &c. I wente up I saye, with Barnabas whiche was of the Jewes, takynge also Titus vnto me, whiche was of the gentyles / As who shulde saye, I haue wytnes and recordes of both nacyns, by whiche it shulde be playne & euident, that it was not trewe, but false, that I dyd preache one thyng to the Jewes, and an other thyng to the gentyles. And I dyd ascende not one ly after this dysposycyon and ordie, as I haue rehersed: but also accordyng to the reuelacyon of god. And I haue not lerned of them as beyng greater than I or superiours to me / but I haue conferred with them, as with my frendes & egalles, the gospel of chryst whiche I preache amonge the gentyles. This thyng he dyd for the assencion and defendynge of his owne preachynge for many men were in doubte of the doctryne of the apostle, the Jewes tro to belynge and disquetyng thei myndes whiche scruple and doubte it pleased god to take away. And therfore not by the delyberacion of man, but by the reuelacyon of god: the apostle, (as he sayth hym selfe) went up to Iherusalem, to conferre his gospel with them / not for any doubtfulnes that he hym selfe had of his gospel that he preached: but that the sayd scruple or doubtfulnes shulde be ryd out and taken away from the myndes of his hearers. And where it was alleged of the glose vpon the seconde chapytre to the Galatyans, that Paule was an hyndermore pastor than saynt Peter the apostle: it is to be sayde, that þe glose maker spake properly. For saynt Paule was called the later of them two vnto apostleship / and therefore he was posteryor, that is to saye hindermore in tyme / but he was not therefore inferiour in auctorite / neyther dyd the glose expresse this: but rather the contrary / so than of the aso resayd & nowe rehersed thynges, it appereth euidently, that neyther Peter, neyther any other of the apostles was greater than Paule: but that he was frende & egall to them, in the auctorite imedyatly gyuen vnto them by chryste. And yf there haue ben any prioryte amonge them: it is to be cōsydered to haue ben paduēture by þe election of them amonge theyr selfe or els after such maner, after whiche we sayd saynt Peter to haue ben hedde or cheyfe of þe apostles, in þe .xvi. chapytre of this dyccion. And to the sayenge taken of the boke of Isodore, in þe chapytre, whose title is Incipit p̄fatio Niceni cōcilii, where it is sayd thus: it is to be knowen verely of al catholyke men, þe holy churche of Rome is preferred to other & made pryncypal. not by any synodal Decrees: but it hath obtayned prymacie by þe voyce or wordes of our lord and sauour in the gospel, so also vnderstandynge of the bysshop of the same churche: the sayenge of Isodore, & of who soeuer saythe so besyde Isodore without the Canon: is to be denyed / for the churche of Rome hath ben instytuted and made moste pryncypall and the heed of the other churches, by the Decrees of the Romaine emperours, and by the consent of the other ben preferred churches, as it were by a certayne election. Moreouer that doth not folowe of the aso resayd auctorite of the Canon: which Isodore doth inferre. But the illacyon manes lawe or argument of hym maye be put by, or yf any other man, who soeuer shal so say onely.

Why saynt
Paule confer-
red the gospel
with the a-
postles.

Howe Paule
was an hynder-
more pa-
stor: than Pe-
ter was.

The churche
of Rome hath
ben preferred
vnto other by
manes lawe
or argument

THE DEFENCE

By those thynges whiche haue ben determyned of vs in the. xv. chapytre of this dyccion in the. viii. parte of it / and in the. xvi. chapytre in the. viii. and. xiii. parte. And vnto the auctorite wherby he gothe about to fortyfye these saynges, taken of the. xvi. of Mathewe, Thou art Peter and vpon this stone I wyll edify my church. &c. it hath ben answered heretofore. ¶ And vnto þe reason or argument, by whiche it was deduced that the church is but one / and that there is but one pryncypall or hyghest bysshop, because of the vnyte of the saythe, accordynge to the mynde of the apostle in the. iiii. chapytre to the Ephesians: it is to be sayd, that kynge the church in his propre sygnifycacyon for the multytude or congregacyon of chrysten people: that there is so but one church as there is but one saythe. And because there is not one synguler sayth in nombre, in all chrysten men, but one saythe in kynde or in generall: therfore þe argumente concludeth not, that the church is other wyse one than so, that is to wyte in generall / And whan it is added, that the church is not one but by the reason that there is one syngulare bysshop in nombre, whiche is superioure to all other. I denye this / and though I dyd graunte it. yet to the other yllacyon þe this pryncipal bysshop or heed is the bysshop of Rome by the instytucion of god imedyatly: I denye this yllacyon or argument with all his probacyons. For asmoche as neyther Peter was the stone, vpon whiche the church was grounde or buylde, but chryste, as we haue shewed here aboue in this present chapytre, & in the. xvi. chapytre of this dyccion, by the scripture / and agayne because the bysshop of Rome is not so syngulartye or specyally the successour of saynt Peter, or of any other apostle imedyatly, by the instytucion of god, that any superioure auctorite shulde be therfore deuē vnto hym in comparyson of the other bysshops / as it hath ben shewed in the chapytre of this dyccion afore alledged / but yf any suche syngulartye be in the sayde bysshop: it belongeth to hym by the instytucion or eleccyon of men. ¶ And to the cōfirmacyon of this reason. wher it is sayde, that there ought to be one bysshop or bysshopyche, whiche shulde be as the pryncypall and heed of all spyrytuall men and thynges, lyke wyse as there is one pryncce or cheyfe gouernoure of all temporall men and thynges in one realme, this comparyson or symplytude maye be denyed / for it is necessarye, that there be but one pryncce or heed gouernoure in nombre in one realme, for all the contencyous actes of men / as it hath ben shewed in the. xvii. of the fyrste dyccion / whiche munerall vnyte is not necessarily requyred to be in any of the other offyces of a cōmunyte or realme. ¶ And to the other reason or argument, wher it is sayde, that as in one temple or church there is but one bysshop, so lyke wyse it oughte to be in whome chrystendome / it is to be sayde fyrste, that it is not of the necessarye of helthe, neyther by the preceptes of goddes lawe, that there is but one bysshop in one church / but there myght be many bysshops in one church as we haue shewed in the. xv. chapytre of this dyccion, by the. xv. chapytre of the actes, and by the apostle in very many other places, and by the epystle of saynt Iherome to Euandrie / but that afterwarde in later tyme there is instytuted but onelye one ouerseer or bysshop so called by excellenye, in one church or diocese, whiche is preferred to other preestes in the Iconomye or orderynge of the church: this cometh imedyatlye of the instytucion of man, and not of any necessarye compellynge therunto by the lawe of god. And yf there were any suche necessarye compellynge hereunto by the lawe of god: yet the symplytude holdeth not. For it is not all one and the same necessarye that there be but one orderer or gouernoure in one house, and that there be but one gonernoure in a whole cytie or cōmunyte or in many prouynces. For they that be not in one and the same house or familie, nedeth not to haue one orderer or gouernoure in nombre, for asmoche

9

One church.

One saythe
in kynde.

10

It is necessary
that there
be but one
pryncce in one
realme.

11

Many bysshops
in one
church.

By what auctorite
there
is but one
bysshop in every
diocese.

moche as they are not partakers one of them with an other, of meates and other thynges necessarye to theyr sustenance/ of mancyon and of bedde & borde/ neyther at conuersaunt togyther in suche maner vnyte, as they be whiche ar of one famylpe or housholde. For this reason shuld conclude also that there oughte to be but one orderer or gouernour in nombre, in the hole worlde/ whiche is neyther expedient, neyther true. For it is suffycient to the quyte conuersacyon and luyngge togyther of men, that there be but one pryncce or hed gouernoure in nombre, in every one prouynce, as we haue sayde in the. xviij. of the fyrst dyccyon or parte. But it semeth not yet to haue ben proued, that there ought to be but one coactyne iudge of all men of the necessarye of eternall saluacion, albeit that the vnyte of suche a coactyne iudge semeth to be more necessarye requyred amonge chrysten men than y vnyte of one vnyuersall or generall bysshop/ for because y a general pryncce maye kepe chrysten people in vnyte: more than may an vnyuersall or generall bysshop. For in the olde tymes synmatykes were compelled by the prynces to kepe the vnyte of the faythe, But they coulde not haue ben compelled by the bysshops, because they lacked auctoryte coactyne, whiche sayd auctoryte is not due to them nor syttinge or semely for them in that that they are bysshops, as it hath ben prouyd in the. x. chapytre of the fyrst parte of this boke, and hath be more largely confirmed by the scripture and auctorytes of sayntes, and by other reasons in the. iiii. v. viii. ix. and. x. chapytres of this dyccyon. ¶ And vnto that auctoryte of Ihoñ in the. xv. chapytre, that there shal be made one folde, and one pastor, or one herdyfman: it is to be sayde that chryste spake of his owne selfe / for he onely was the generall herdyfman, and the hed or cheyf and pryncypall of all pastores and herdyfmen, and none other after hym lyke wyse as he onely was the hed and foundacyon of the churche, as we haue shewed in the. xvi. of this dyccyon and also haue repeted in verye many other places / & this was the open & playn lyteral sentence & mynde of saynt Peter. For in his fyrst canonycal Epystle & the. v. chapytre he sayth/ whan the heed or pryncypall pastor shal come (speakyng of chryste) you shal receyue glorye that neuer shal fade. This also is the sentence and mynde of sayntes vpon this place/ for the glose after the mynde of Gregory saythe/ he maketh as it were one folde of two flockes/ for he ioyneth togyther the people of the Jewes, & of the Gentyles, in his saythe/ So howe & after what maner there is made one folde/ that is to wyte, in the vnyte of sayth/ saynt Gregory dyd not say that there was made one folde, because that all chrysten men are set or put vnder the bysshop of Rome, or any other one bysshop besyde chryste. Agayne Theophilus sayth vpon y same place/ for there is all one & the same seale or marke of baptysme, to all men. One herdyfman, & worde of god. Let Manicheis therefore take hede & marke, that there is one folde, and that there is one herdyfman, of the olde and the newe testament/ for the makynge of this vnyte of the folde, in no place Peter or Paule or any other apostles is named, but onely the vnyte of saythe, and the person of chryste/ which alone by the imedyate ordynacion of god, is heed and foundacion or groundworke of all the churche, and pryncypall or cheyfe of all herdyfmen/ as we haue sayd by the premysse, and haue shewed of certaynte in the. xvi. of this dyccyon. ¶ And to the other obieccyon or argument, wherby it is concluded, that the bysshop of Rome alone, or with his colledge of cardynals onelye, is the pryncypall cause effectyue of the secondrye instytucion of all other mynystres of the churche/ and that it is in his powre outhere medyate, or imedyate, or elles bothe, to assygne or determyne temples to the same mynystres/ I make answere denrengge it. And whan it is cōfirmed by the auctoryte of Ambrose, of De tradendis Basilicis, whiche saythe, that it can not be the ryghte of Cesar, to

12

One pastor
or herdyfman

One folde, &
after what
maner.

19

THE DEFENCE

Valentinian
the Empe-
rour.

The church
is not to be co-
mptted to he-
retikes.
A bysshop in-
fected may be
deposed.

determine or institute preestes to temples or churches, because the church belon-
geth to god, it is to be answered and sayde, that Ambrose spake this therfore, be-
cause at that tyme, and in those dayes, it was ieopardouse to permytte the gyfte
of suche maner offyces, that is to wylt, the cures & charge of soules, vnto the Em-
perours of Rome: because they were not yet suffyciently cōfyrmed and establis-
shed in the fayth, but rather certayne of the sayd emperours and romayne prync-
ces, dyd fauer more other whyles the preest; & were heretykes than those preestes
which were verely faythfull & in the true belefe. As dyd the same Valētiniane &
emperour, to whome saynt Ambrose wrote & dyrected the aforesayde epystle, De
tradēdis basilicis / but yet for all y. the fayth beyng rote & establisshed both in
subiect; & in the prync; & in such maner cōmunyte: & eleccion & instytucion of bys-
shops, & of other curats, hauynge charge of mans soule, is both more suerly & safe-
ly, & also more profytably, & more cōformably to y. lawe of god, made or done by
y. auctoryte of the chrysten prynces: than by the wyl of one preeste, which we do se
lyghthly, and in a maner daylye, to be peruerted and corrupted, throughe prayer,
or money / loue / or hatred / or elles by some other synystre & croked affeccyon. Ney-
ther dyd Ambrose euer saye, that this auctoryte dyd belonge to the bysshoppe of
Rome, or elles to any other bysshop / but for the aforesayde cause he sayd, that the
church or temple belongeth onely to god, and to his faythfull multytude of chry-
sten people, as beyng the church in his pryncypall and fyrste sygnysfycacyon, of
the whiche church chryste is the heed. Neyther dyd Ambrose outhere say or thynke
the contrarie hereof. And it is a sygne hereof, that is to wylt, that Ambrose as be-
yng a bysshop and herdysman of chrysten men, dyd styeue onely herefore, that y.
chrysten flocke shulde not be cōmytted to the gouernaunce of an euyl preeste or
beyng an heretyke: for as moche as he sayde in the fyrst epystle to Valentiniane
in this wyse. And wolde to god I knew suerlye and cūdyntly, that the church
shulde not be cōmytted to the Arrianes I wolde than wyllyngly of myne owne
mynde offre my selfe to the wyl and pleasure of your maiesty. And that he must
nedes haue meaned so aboute the tradycion & gyfte of churches, as we haue now
sayd, and haue manifestlye proued also in the .xvii. of this dyccyon. For yf a bys-
shop or preeste, which were infected with heresy, shulde occupye a rometh in any
church in a cōmunyte of chrysten men, and wolde not gyue place: it is vndoubt-
ted, that such maner persone may laufully be cōpelled and ryghtfully, by a iudge
coactyue, and by powre of armes, accordynge to the lawes of men. But this coac-
tyue, iudgement and powre is not the auctoryte of any preeste, as the same Am-
brose wytnesseth, and truelye, in his epystle, whiche is intytled Ad plebem / that
is to say to y. cōmune people / for he sayth. Agaynst the Gothes, & men of warre
also, my teares are myne armoure and weapons. For suche are the munymētes
& defence of a preeste / other wyse I neyther maye, neyther ought, to resyste / howe
beit this thyng also hath ben cōcluded by demonstracyon, in the .xx. and .xxii.
of the fyrste dyccyon / and hath ben also cōfyrmed by the auctoryte of scrypture
and of sayntes, and by other probacions also, in the .iiii. v. viii. and .ix. of this dy-
ccyon. And therfore it is safely to be holden, that saynt Ambrose dyd so meane as
we haue sayd. For the apostle Paule also appelled vnto Cesar / as we haue here
tofore alledged of the .xx. chapytre of the actes. So than it semeth to appertayne
to the auctoryte of the prync and gouernour, to gyue the temples or churches to
be dysposed & ordered, and to institute preestes in them / whiche thyng also the ca-
tholyke kynges of Fraunce do in certayne churches / recognysynge neyther bys-
shop or preeste, as from whom this auctoryte shulde be deryued vnto them. And
so we do byleue and suppose, that Ambrose dyd meane, and oughte to meane, yf
he

he meained truly. And yf he meained contrarie to this, which we do knowe and byleue to be the sentence of the holy Canon or scrypture: than leauynge his oppo-
nyon, which we are not compelled or bounde to byleue of the necessitye of salua-
cion, for asmoche as his scrypture is not canonicall: & cleauynge to the canony-
call scryptures: I do holde the sentence, which I haue sayd as beyng true, And
where as it semed, of the same auctoryte of Ambrose to be inferred and cōcluded,
that vnto the bysshop of Rome appertayneth, by the auctoryte of god imedyatly
the hyghest iurysdyccion of the ecclesiasticall tēporalles, which for theyr offyces
are gyuen to the euangelical mynystres: it appereth of the aforesayd thyngs, that
this illacion or argument is weake, & of no strength/as we haue also suffycyēt-
ly concluded in the. xviij. chapytre of this dyccion/ which sentence in this poynt
saynt Ambrose also doth confyrme in the aforesayd epystle *De tradendis basilis*.
as. i. of the gyuyng of churches, where he sayth thus. Yf he desyreth trybute (that
is to wyte the emperour) we do not denye it hym/ the landes of the churche payeth
trybute. Yf the emperour desyreth the landes: he hath the powre & auctoryte to chalē-
ge them. None of vs letteth or stoppeth hym. The collacion or gyfte of the people
may be suffycient and more than ynough to poore men/ let them not make enuy
of the landes, let hym take them yf it pleaseth hym I do not gyue them to y empe-
rour: but I do not denye them to hym/ but peraduenture som man wyll obiecte,
which secheth alwayes to defende the landes, sayenge that these landes are the
ryght of the spouses of chryste (haupnge lytell care for the defendynge of the true
spouses, that is to wyte, of the holy catholyke sayth) as the kynge & kyngdome or
realme of Armenye can manifestly beare wytnesse vnto hym, that saynt Am-
brose spake these wordes, not because that the lādes of the churche of ryght ought
to paye trybute: but because it was requyred of them by the violence & oppressyon
of the emperours. Forsothe this is a false expositiō, which certayne also of the
bysshops of Rome with theyr cōplices ostentymes doth vse for to declyne and a-
uoyde the coactyue iurysdyccion of the prynces or emperours sayenge that theyr
selues in dede are brought violently, and not by ryghte or lawfullye in to secular
iudgement/ for chryste sayd the contrarie in the. xix. of Iohn/ and we haue alle-
ged his wordes here tofore in the. iiii. chapytre of this dyccion. And this is it whi-
che Ambrose saythe afterwarde, accordynge to the sentence which we do holde
agreable to the Canon or scrypture, whan he saythe these wordes folowynge/
we do paye to Cesar, those thynges which belongeth to Cesar/ and to god: those
thyngs which appertayneth to hym. Trybute belongeth to Cesar: it is not deny-
ed hym. Therfore trybute, & iurysdyccion vpon the ecclesiasticall temporalles be-
longe to the emperoure, not vyolently: but of ryght. ¶ And to the other illacyon
or argument, by which it semeth to be concluded, that all the colledge of clarkes
is subiecte to the bysshop of Rome by coactyue iurysdyccion, because he is cheyfe
and heed of all by the ordynacyon of god: the auncedent is to be denyed. For it
hath ben shewed afore, that no bysshoppe or preeste is by the imedyate ordyna-
cyon of god, or by the lawe of god, inferiour or subiecte to the bysshoppe of Rome,
in any auctoryte, outhet essenciallye or accydentallye deuote to a preeste. ¶ And
as to whyng to that which is consequentlye brought in of the boke of Isodori-
re, of the wordes of Constantyne, it is to be sayde, that it was a worde of speche
of exortacyon and of monycion, by which the sayde honorable and deuoute
Constantyne dyd shewe what maner men bysshoppes and preestes ought to be/
For they oughte to be suche maner men bothe one of them to an other amonge
them selues, and also vnto other men/ that they oughte not, or nede not to con-
tende or stryue in secular iudgement/ accordynge to the doctryne of the apostle in
the. vi. chapytre of the fyrste to the Corynthyans/ wherfore do you not (sayth he)

Remember et
uer & the auc-
toryte of doc-
tours, is of
no force with-
out the aucto-
ryte of holy
scrypture.

Ambrose.

The holy ca-
tholyke sayth
is y true spou-
ses of chryste.

The churches
paye trybut.

14

15

THE DEFENCE

I thinke this to be a soude lye forgyd in the name of Constantyne, as was the gyfte, called the donacyon or gyfte of Constantyne. The bysshop of Rome is no more goddes vicar, nor beareth his stede in erthe other wyse, than any other bysshop.

Constantynes sayenges are not Canonycall, or any parte of a Canon or scripture.

16

17

rather take iniurye? why do you not rather suffre damage: than haue iudgements amonge you. .cc. And to that which is added, of the sayenge of Constantyne. God hath geuen vnto you powre to iudge of vs. .cc. it is to be sayde, that it is true by iudgement of the fyrst sygnysfycacion, but not coactyue of any man in this world of whiche iudgement it hath ben spoken suffycientlye, in the .vi. .vii. .viii. and .ix. of this dyccion. And yet it foloweth not of the aforesayd tepte brought in of Isodore, whether it were spoken of Constantyne, or not spoken: that the other bysshops are subiecte in iurysdyccion to the bysshoppe of Rome. For Constantyne saythe/ Abide you or wayte for the iudgement of god onely betwene you/ and your braufes or stryfes, what soeuer they be: let them be reserued to that dyuine iudgement: he sayd not to the excomynacion or iudgement of the bysshop of Rome. And wher it is added that the bysshoppe of Rome is goddes vicar and beareth goddes stede in erthe: it is to be sayd that he beareth nomore the stede of god by the ordynacion of god imedyatlye: than dothe any other bysshop/ as it hath ben shewed and sayd here tofore. Neyther yf he dyd beare the stede of chryste in erthe/ as touchynge to the teachynge and mynystrynge of sperrytuall thynges: yet for all that it foloweth not therfore, that he beareth the stede of chryste as touchynge to coactyue iudgement vpon any laye man or clarke/ as it hath ben shewed heretofore of the .iiii. and .v. of this dyccion. A very many other places/ but in this thyng that is to wote, in coactyue iudgement: the prynces are the mynystres of god/ as the apostle Paul sayde in the .xiii. to the Romaynes/ and saynt Peter in the seconde chapytre of his fyrste Canonycall epystle. Agayne I put the case that Constantyne had affirmed and sayd openly this to be true: I wolde denye his sayenge. For it is neyther Canonycall, neyther necessarily folowynge of the Canonycall scripture/ but yf he had ordayned this to be obserued by the maner of a Decree or constytucion: it shuld be expedyent that it were obserued and kepte as other lawes of men, but not as a thyng imedyatly ordayned by the ordynacion of god/ but it appereth euidently and openly of the very wordes of Isodore, that all bysshops are subiecte to the emperour of Rome by coactyue iurysdyccion/ for the bysshops of theyr owne accorde, and vncompelled dyd brynge theyr contencion and stryues to the iudgement of the emperour, and not to the iudgement of the bysshop of Rome/ desyringe his excomynacion and iudgment/ as Isodore telleth in the same place. ¶ And whan it is furthermore inferred of the same auncedent, that it belongeth to the auctoryte of the bysshop of Rome alone, or elles of hym with his colledge of preest, onely, to call togther general counceles of preestes, and of other chrysten men, and to ordayne other thynges in the same counsaile, wherof we haue made mencyon in the argumentacyon or obieccion. The illacyon or argument is to be denyed with his auncedent. For the contrarye of the auncedent, and of the consequence is true. And to the confirmacions hereof grounded vpon the auctoryte or sayenge of Isodore, because they do not suffre or receyue interpreta- cyon, for as moch as he hath expressed this sentence: I do answere denyenge them all/ because they are dissonant and disagreynge from the holy Canon or scripture/ and from the demonstracyon or argument grounded vpon the same scripture. ¶ And vnto that whiche Iherome sayd in his epystle, intytled the exposycion of the catholyke sayth, in whiche exposycion directynge his wordes to the bysshop of Rome, he saythe in this wyse. We desyre to be amended of the, whiche kepest or holdest the saythe and the seate of Peter. In whiche wordes he semeth to meane, that the bysshop of Rome is syngularely and specyally the successoure of saynt Peter: it is to be answered and sayd, that saynt Iherome for so moche sayde, that the bysshoppe of Rome holdeth or kepeth the saythe or seate of saynt Peter, because

Because saynt Peter is red to haue spt as bysshop in the church of Rome / and because this church by the statute and ordynance of man is the heed and pryncypall of all other churches, therefore he nameth it, and the bysshop thereof to be the successour of the most worthy and most perfyte apostle. Albeit that by the immediate ordination of god: Peter neyther is, neyther hath ben, in any auctorite immediately gyven to hym by chryste, superiour to the other apostles / as we haue heretofore brought in & fully proued in the. xvi. of this dyccion / and to that which Iherome addeth / But this our confession be approued and allowed by the iudgement of thynne apostleship & in which sayenge Iherome semeth to meane, that it appertayneth to the auctorite of the bysshop of Rome alone, to desyne & determine the doubtfull sentences of the lawe of god, also in the artycles of the faythe: it is to be answered & sayd, that Iherome dyd not so meane / but he spake these wordes onely for somoche, because it dyd belonge to the bysshop of Rome, to gyue answers of suche doubtles, which had be desyned & determined by the generall council, aboute the catholyke faythe / and aboute the ecclesiastycall customes and ceremonies. For the bysshop of Rome & his church was for this cause made heed & most principall of all other churches. And a token that Iherome dyd meane so as we haue sayd, is this / for that in his epystle to Euandrie, reprouynge & rebukynge certayne vsages & customes or maners aboute the deacons: of the church of Rome he sayth thus / yf auctorite be sought for: the whole worlde is greater than a cytie / that is to saye the auctorite of all the churches of the worlde: is greater than the auctorite of the church of Rome. But yet yf it had ben so, that Iherome had meaned that the bysshop of Rome alone, had this sayd auctorite appertaynyng to hym: I do refuse his sentence, as beyng not canonycall / neyther necessarye deduced & concluded by the canonycall scripture. ¶ And to þe which was brought in of the. xv. of Luke, he that hereth you hereth me. &c. it is to be answered & sayd, that it is true, who soeuer hereth you in teachynge the true worde of god / and speakyng accordynglye & agreablye to the scripture, & not blasphemynge vniustly / after which maner chryste sayde of the pharysyes. So suche thynges as they do say / that is to saye, do such thynges which they do saye accordyng to the lawe of god, as saynt Iherome sayth in þe. xliii. chapytre of Mathewe vpon this sayeng of chryste immediately afore reherted. Or els thus / who soeuer hereth you. &c. in the thyngs comaunded or prophyted by the lawe of god. he is bounde. ¶ And to the reasons of Bernarde, and fyrste of all vnto that, which is taken of the seconde booke De consideratione, vnto Eugenius pope, who arte thou? (sayth Bernarde) & the same makynge answer. sayth / a great preeste / hyghest bysshop. It is to be answered & sayd, that yf he vnderstode this by the immediate ordynacion of god, or by the comaundement of goddes lawe, his answer is to be denyed / for so it shulde not be consonant & agreablye to the holy Canon or scripture, neyther to þe thynges necessarye deduced and folowynge of the sayd scripture. But yf he dyd vnderstonde this primacye or pryncypalite to agre or belonge vnto hym by the election or instytucion of men than it is an other thyng. And whan he addeth, thou arte the pryncypall or cheyfe of bysshops, it is true takynge this worde princeps largely / þe is to say more principal by the aforesayd instytucion / but takynge this worde princeps stryghtly & narrowly, þe sayenge of Bernarde is not to be graunted. For the same Bernarde denyeth the same Eugenius, & consequently any other bysshop to haue domynyon or soueraygntie / as we haue alledged heretofore in þe. v. chapytre of this dyccion, of the fyrst booke, and the. v. chapytre to the sayd Eugenius. Thou arte the heyre or successour of the apostles / so also are þe other bysshops. Thou arte (sayth Bernarde) in primacie Abell / that is trewe, thou arte taken or chosen

18

19

Sacerdos
magnus.

Princeps
episcoporum.

Abell.

THE DEFENCE

Noe. chosen for hym, but yet by the election of men, or for the reuerence of hym, which in tyme was fyrste of all the apostles. In gouernaunce thou arte **Noe.** This is trewe by the instytucion of men, amonge clarkes and aboue clarkes. In patry-
Abraham. arkeshipp thou arte **Abraham.** This is trewe in mynystrynge spyrityuall thyngs onely, and by the instytucion of men. Thou arte the father of all spyrityuall fathers. In ordie **Melchisedech.** This is trewe as touchynge to preefthode, whiche
Melchisedech was fygyred of chryste, by **Melchisedech**/after whiche maner all other preefts are also. But not as touchynge to kyngdom/for as touchynge to this: **Melchisedech** fygyred chryste ouely (and sygnifyed none other preefte elles) whiche was bothe kyng & also preefte/and yet for all that he dyd not fygyre chryste in this, as touchynge to worldly kyngdome. For chryste neyther came to raygne, neyther wold raygne after this maner/that is to wyt worldly/as we haue shewed in the.iiii. of this dyccion. But **Melchisedech** whiche was both a preefte, & a worldly kyng: fygyred the preefthod of chryste, & his heuely kyngdom, not worldly. And so moche the lesse than he fygyred earthly or worldly kyngdom or domynion in any preefte or bysshop. For saynt Bernarde denyeth such maner kyngdome to besonge vnto the bysshop of Rome, in the place afore expressed/& more expressely/neyther also as touchynge to the prymacie of preefthode. **Melchisedech** dyd fygyre any other besydes chryste: but this prymacie or principalite is in other preefts (as we haue sayd) by the instytucion of men. In dygnyte **Aron.** This is true, as touchynge to the symplytude of prymacie & preemynence amonge preestes, but yet after a dyuerse maner & sondry fascion. For **Aron** was cheyfe preefte by the imedyate instytucion of god/ but not so the bysshop of Rome or any other bysshop beyng the successour of the apostles. In auctoryte **Moyse.** The same Bernarde sayd the contrary hereof openly in the fyrste boke *De consideratione*, in the.v.chapitre/& in the.iii. boke & fyrste chapitre. For **Moyse** was pryncce & gouernour as touchynge to con-
Moyse. actyue lawe/as it appereth in the.vii. of act;/whiche thyng Bernarde denyeth to beloge to any successour of the apostles in the place afore alledged. Agayne **Moyse** had this by & imedyate ordynacion of god, & vpon al Israell. But & bysshop of Rome hath this imedyatly by the graunte of man onely, & onely vpon the euangelycall mynystres & the mynystres of the temples. In iudgemēt **Samuell.** this is true, to the lyknes of **Samuell**/but yet after a dyuerse & sondrye maner & fascion, for.ii.causes. Fyrst because not by the imedyate ordynacion of god, as **Samuell**. Secōdarylye because onely vpon preefts & other inferiour mynystres of the gospell/ but **Samuell** was indyfferētye vpon al & people of Israell. In powre **Peter.** this is true in the essenciall powre, & by the workynge of god imedyatlye/& so is also euery other bysshop or preefte/ but yet euery bysshop of Rome hath his prymacie aboue other bysshops or preefts, onely by & instytucion of man imedyatly: whether **Peter** had it by the imedyate instytucion of god, or not, or els by the election of the apostles/whiche thyng rather we beleue or suppose accordynge to the scrypture, yf it be so that he had any suche prymacy at all as we haue shewed in the.xvi. of this dyccion. In unccion chryste. Yf he do meane by vnccion, the vnccion of grace or of the holy ghoft, whiche is gyuen with the carecte of preefthode it is true/whiche vnccion euery preefte also doth receyue/ but yf by vnccion he do meane/ prymacie vpon all the churche, by the imedyate instytucion of god, & not of men, whiche chryste onely & none els hath had vpon all preefts: than I do refuse his sentence/ because the apostle saythe the contrarye in very many places of the scrypture/as it hath ben shewed in the. xvi. of this dyccion. And to that whiche he dothe adde afterwardes. Thou arte not onely the pastor or herdysman of the shepe: but also thou alone arte the verye pastor of all herdysmen/ yf he dyd meane
Chryste. by the

By the instytucion of men imedyatlye: I wolde graunte his sayenge / but yf he do meane by the ordynacyon of god, or by the statute of the lawe of god, so as he appereth to intende: than I refuse his sentence / for it is not canonycall, neyther necessarye deduced and folowynge of the canonycall scrypture / but rather the contrarie. And whan he gothe aboute to fortify his sentence or sayenge by the scrypture, sayenge afterwarde / askest thou where I do proue it? by the sayenge of chryste. Yf thou louest me Peter fede my shepe / for to whom (I do not saye of the bysshops, but also of the apostles) was the whole flocke of shepe so absolutlye comytted, and without any dyuersyte or dystynccyon / to whome is it not playne, that chryste appoynted or marked not forthe any pertyculer flocke of shepe vnto the? there is nothyng excepted or outtaken: where no dyuersyte or dystynccyon is made. It is to be answered but alwayes with reuerence, that this questyon is to be meruayled at, by whiche he demaundeth, to whome of the apostles he doth not saye onely of the bysshops, the whole flocke of shepe hath ben so absolutlye comytted or betaken / without any dyuersyte or dystynccyon made / I do saye, that to all the apostles both ioyntly and seuerallye. Aske thou wherby I do proue this? by the wordes & sayenges of chryste more euidentlye, than he / for in the laste chapytte of Mathewe, and in a maner last of all his preceptes. Chryste sayd to all the apostles. Go you therfore and teache all nacions or peoples. &c. And I say more euidentlye than he. For chryste sayde in the .xx. of Iohn. Fede my shepe / but he sayde not all my shepe / now it is vndoubted that he comprehendeth mo shepe, whiche deliuereth all vnyuersallye, than he whiche deliuereth them onely indelynytely, sayenge fede my shepe / for whiche cause, agayne with reuerence, the scrypture which Bernarde alledgeth and byngeth in: semeth to receyue an other interpretation and more agreable to the scrypture / which interpretation we haue touched heretofore in the .ix. parte of this chapytte, and it greueth me not to reherse it agayne / for chryste in the .xx. of Mathewe is red to haue sayde, I am not sent but to the shepe whiche are perysshed of the house of Israell / whiche oracle and sayenge of chryste, after the interpretations of sayntes, ought to be vnderstanded, not truly as Iherome sayth, but that he was sente also to the Gentyles, but he was fyrste or principally sent to Israell. &c. But Remigius saythe, and more to the purpose and more agreable to the lettre. he was sent specially to the saluacion of the Jewes, that he shulde teache them also by his bodelye presence. Albeit that chryste accordynge to the exposycyon of sayntes, was sente to the saluacyon of all men, yet specially and principally he was sent to the saluacyon of the Jewes / as the wordes also of chryst do sounde in the gospel of Mathewe, whan he sayd. I am not sente but to the shepe whiche are perysshed of the house of Israell. These shepe than he dyd appropriate vnto hym selfe, whan he sayde, whiche are perysshed of the house of Israell. And because this people hathe alwayes ben hardnecked, & sturde or stubburne, as it appereth in the .xxvii. chapytte of Exodus, and also a kylle of the prophetes, as chryste, which is very trouthe it selfe, sayde in the .xiii. of Luke. And because chryste knewe Peter to be more constant in the saythe, and more feruent in the loue of hym, and of his neyghboure, therfore he dyd recomende these shepe synghulerlye and speciallye vnto hym / whan he sayde. Yf thou louest me, fede my shepe / that is to saye, speciallye laboure to teache the people of Israell. And that this is trewe, it is a token, seynge that it is wyrtyn thus in the seconde chapytte to the Galatyans. Whan they hadde sene, that the preachynge of the gospel to the Gentyles was comytted vnto me, as was the preachynge of the gospel to the people of circumcysyon was comytted vnto Peter. &c. Neyther coulde this sayenge of the apostle be confirmed by any

The shepe
were comyt-
ted to all the
apostles

A place of
Bernarde is
declared.

Chryste was
sent to the
Jewes.

The Jewes
were recom-
ded vnto Pe-
ter, when
chryste sayde
to hym Peter
fede my shepe

THE DEFENCE

By what
wordes the a:
postles recey:
ued auctorite

20

21

any other place of the gospell: than by this, fede my shepe. And agayne in the same chappitre to the Galatians. They gaue theyr ryght handes of socyete and felowshyp vnto me and Bernabas: that we shulde go and preache vnto the Gentyles and they vnto circumcysion: that is to saye vnto the Jewes. Christe therefore, whan he had sayde vnto Peter, fede my shepe: he dyd not by this comytte a more generall cure or charge vnto Peter, than vnto other, but rather a more specyall charge of a certayne people. For there can not be a more generall cure or charge than that, whiche he gaue to all the apostles in the last of Mathewe / and in the xx. of Iohn / whan he sayde. So you therefore and teache all nacyns. And take you or receyue you the holy ghost / whose synnes you shall forgyue: they are forgyuen. &c. For by these wordes all the apostles receyued pastoral auctorite and cure / and that in comparyson vnto all men indyfferentlye / as saynt Augustyne also dyd say in his booke of the questyons of the newe testament, in the. 94. questyon, and we haue alledged and brought in his wordes here tofore in the. xvi. chappitre of this dyccion. Let Bernarde also tell, what more generall cure christe hath comytted to any man, than he dyd vnto Paule, in the. ix. of the act: whan he sayd, he is a vessell of eleccion, or a chosen vessell vnto me, to bere my name afore the Gentyles, nacions & kyngs and the sones of Israel. ¶ And as for that whiche foloweth in Bernarde, whan he sayth, hereof it is, that eche one of the other apostles hath taken to theyr parte, one pertyculer nacion or people: it appereth to be dyssonaunte and dysagreynge from the scripiture / neyther the tpyte of the epystles of Paule agreeth vnto it / neyther can it be proued by the scripiture: but rather the contrarye / as we haue shewed here tofore. ¶ And where he sayth afterwarde in the syppte, accordynge to the canones, the other apostles are come in to parte of the cure and charge or busynes. &c. Vp it be meaned by the imedyate instytucion of god, than I refuse the sayenges both of the sayde Canones of Eugenius, and also of Bernarde agreynge vnto the same / because neyther they are canonycall / neyther ought to be called canonycall scripatures, but onelye scripatures: framed of theyr owne braynes. And also because we haue ostentymes by the scripiture proued the contrarye, of that whiche they do saye. But yf they do meane or vnderstande, that full powre, by the instytucion of man imedyatlye, than I do graunt his saynge to be trewe. And agayne to the whiche he addeth sayenge. The powre and auctorite of other is coarcted & restrayned within certayne lymytes or boundes / thynne auctorite and powre is extended also vpon them, whiche haue receyued auctorite vpon other. Mayste not thou, yf a cause ryse: shytte heuen to a bysshop? &c. it is to be sayd as before, & by the imedyate ordynacion of god: & bysshop of Rome or any other bysshop hath no more auctorite vpon the resydewe of bysshops, than they haue vpon hym. For the bysshop of Rome may not excomynicate or depose an other bysshop, for any crymes or trespase, by the auctorite gyuen to hym by christe imedyatlye more than they maye excomynicate or depose hym / as it hath ben shewed and proued by the scripiture, in the. xv. & xvi. of this dyccion. And hath also ben latelye repeted and rehersed agayne in this chappitre. But yf Bernarde do meane this prymacie, whiche he hath by the graunt of man imedyatlye, than he hath that prymacie, whiche hath ben graunted to hym a boue other, by the humayne powre. And to that whiche is added last of al, as touchynge to this oracyon. Thy pryncple therefore standeth vnbroken and inuiolated, vnto the. &c. it is to be sayde, that it is trewe / for the bysshop of Rome hath the powre and auctorite, to bynde and loose men from synnes / and to teache them, & to mynystre the sacramentes of eternall saluacyon. And so hath euery other bysshop or preeste, by the lawe of god / but yf by pryncple, Bernarde doth meane & vnderstande

vnderstande any prymacye due to the bysshop of Rome vpon other bysshops, by
 the lawe of god, or by the imediate ordynacyon of god: than as I dyd before, so
 do I now refuse his sentence / for the causes afore assygned. And to the other
 sayenge of the same. Bernarde in the .iiii. boke, & chapytre to Eugenius, by whi-
 che he semeth to meane, that vnto the bysshop of Rome belongeth coactyne iurys-
 dyccyon, whiche vnder a methaphore he calleth the temporall swerde, not onely
 vpon clerkes, but also vpon lay men, whan he sayde, whiche swerde truely who
 soeuer denyeth to be thynne: me thynketh he do not marke well, or suffyciently gyue
 hede to chrystes wordes. &c. And in the ende cōcludynge he saythe. Both swerdes
 therfore belongeth to the church / that is to wyte the sprytuall swerde, and the ma-
 teryall swerde: it is to be sayd with reuerence, and with no lesse mētiōnyng that
 the same Bernarde hath openly spoken in this matter, dyssonauntly and contra-
 rylye to his owne selfe. For in the place imediatly afore alledged, speakynge of
 this auctoryte and power: he sayd / why shuldest thou (that is to wytte the Pope)
 go about agayne to vsurpe the swerde: whiche thou hast ben ones bydden, to put
 vp agayne in to the sheeth or scabarde. And it is vndoubted, that the thynge whi-
 che any man vsurpeth: belongeth not to his auctoryte. But Bernarde or his in-
 terpreter shall saye peraduenture, accordynge to that, whiche Bernarde sayde in
 the ende of his speache or oracyon, that though the auctoryte now sayd doth be-
 longe vnto a preeste yet the excecucion therof ought not to be done by a preeste /
 whiche he called the drawynge forth or excecysynge, of the materiyall swerde /
 But this answer is not accordynge to the intencion and mynde of the scripture
 For Chryste dyd not onely refuse & denye from hym selfe, & drawynge out of this
 materiyall swerde. But also that iudgement, and byddyng or cōmaundyng it
 to be drawen out / whan he sayd in the .vii. of Luke, to hym that desyred such ma-
 ner iudgement of hym. Thou man who hath made me iudge or deuyder ouer or
 vpon you? Of which sayng of chryst, with certayne other sayngs, both of chryst
 and of the apostles, saynt Bernarde treatynge in the fyrste boke and the .v. chapi-
 tre De cōsideratione, as we haue alledged in the .v. of this dyccyon: destroyeth
 the interpretacyon of hym that doth so expound or declare hym in this place. For
 this he sayth to the same Pope. Herken what the apostles mynde is concernynge
 suche maner auctoryte. That is to wyte of iudgynge temporall thynges and it is
 in the .vi. chapytre of the fyrste to the Coryntheans. Is there not so wyse a man
 amonge you, whiche maye iudge betwene brother and brother? And it foloweth
 I do speake it to your rebuke and shame. Those, whiche are moste contemptible
 in the church, make and ordayne them iudges. And therefore after the mynde of
 the apostle, thou doest vnsenelye, whiche beyng an apostolicall person, doest
 vsurpe vnto thy selfe a vyse offyce, and the degree of contēptyble persons. Marke
 here & he speaketh of the offyce, not of the excecucion / wherfore the apostle woulde
 also instructynge a bysshop, that is to wyte Timothe, sayde in this wyse. Let no
 man that is a warrour to god: entangle hym selfe with secular busynesses / but
 I spare or forbere the / for I speake not stronge thynges, but possyble thynges.
 Supposest thou that men now adayes wolde suffre, yf whan men dyd stryue
 for erthlye inherytaunce, & requyred iudgement of the, thou dydest answer them
 with the wordes of chryste, O men who hath made me iudge vpon you. In to
 what maner iudgement shuldest thou come, and what wolde be iudged of the?
 what wolde a rustycall and vnlearned man saye? Thou knowest not the pryma-
 cye and preemynence. Thou dyshonourest the honorable and moste hyghe seate /
 thou doste derogate the apostles dygnyte / and yet for all that they that so shall
 saye (as I suppose) wyll not shewe, where at any tyme any of the apostles hath
 p. i. sytte

Bernardus
 non vidit om-
 nia.

We vsurpe
 those thynges
 whiche ar not
 our owne but
 belongeth to
 any other man

Chryste refu-
 sed both the
 swerde and al
 so iudgement
 or the offyce
 of a Judge.

Bernarde

THE DEFENCE

The dyscyples were iudged and dyd not iudge.

sytt as iudges of men, or as dynyders of termes, or boundes and dyscrysitors of landes. To conclude I rede, that the apostles haue stande to be iudged/ but that they haue syt iudgynge: I do not rede. This shall be in tyme to come/ it hath not ben yet. Is the seruaunte than a dymynyssher of the dygnyte, yf he wyll not be greater than his lorde and mayster? or the dyscypyle, because he wyll not be greater than he that sent hym? or the sone, because he wyll not passe beyonde the boundes or symytes, whiche his fathers hath set? who hath ordeyned me iudge vpon you? sayth that lorde and mayster. And shall it be iniurye to the seruaunt and dyscypyle, excepte he do iudge all men? Saynt Bernarde therfore, yea rather Chryste and the apostles, do remoue or take a waye from theyr successours the bysshoppes and preeftes, not onely the execucyon of secular iudgement: but also the offyce or auctoryte of iudgynge of suche maner maters / wherfore the same Bernarde saythe after wardes. These worldly thynges haue theyr mete iudges, the kynges and prynces of the erthe / why do you inuade the boundes of other men? why do you extende or put forth your sythe, in to an other mannes corne? This sentence agayne he dothe repete, confyrme and fortysse, in the seconde booke, and .iiii. cha: pytre / and we haue alledged it here tofore, in the .v. of this dyscryn / where, vnto the purpose here intended: he sayth thus / dyd he (that is to wyte Peter the apostle) leaue dominion & lordshyp to his successours? here what he sayth his owne selfe. not hauninge dominion, or beyng lordes ouer the clargye: but beyng made the exampyle of the flocke. And because thou shalt not suppose, this to be spoken of humylyte, and not rather of trouthe, it is chrystes owne wordes in the gospel. The prynces and rulers of the Gentyles, haue dominion and lordshyp ouer them / and they whiche haue powre and auctoryte vpon them: are called benefyciall. And it foloweth / but you shall not do so / it is playne here, that domynyon and lordshyp is vtterly forbydden the apostles. So thou than, and be bolde to vsurpe to thy selfe outhet apostlesshyp, beyng a lorde: or lordshyp, beyng an apostolyke person. Verely thou arte proshypted from bothe (vnderstade thou from hauninge bothe togyther.) And this is it whiche the same Bernarde addeth after wardes / yf thou couete to haue bothe togyther at one tyme, thou shalt lese bothe. For els thynke not thy selfe to be excepted from the nombre of them: of whom the lorde god complayneth thus. They haue reygned: and not by me. They haue ben prynces and rulers, and I haue not knowen them. Agayne he expresseth the same sentence, in a certayne epystle to the archebysshop of Senone, where he saythe thus. So saythe these suggestours and counsellors of dysobedience / but chryste bothe comaunded, and also dyd other wyse. Gyne you (sayd he) vnto Cesar, those thynges, whiche are belongynge to Cesar / and vnto god: those thynges whiche are appertaynyng to god. And this whiche he spake with his mouth: he dyd gyue dyspygence to fulfill anone after in his dede. He that was the creatour and maker of Cesar: was redy without delaye, to gyue trybute to Cesar. For he hath gyuen exampyle to you, that you shulde do lyke wyse. And howe shuld he denye deute uerence to the preeftes of god, whiche cared or regarded to gyue this reuerence euen to the secular powres also? Chryst than wolde not haue tēporal domynyon vpon the prynces of this worlde, but he wolde be subicte vnto them / and also gyue vnto them due trybute and reuerence, gyuyng an exampyle to all his successours, fyrste to the apostles, and in conclusyon to preeftes and bysshops, to do the same. Agayne expresseynge the same sentēce after wardes more playnly: he sayth thus / why than O religious men, doth the auctoryte of preeftes greue you? do you feare infestacyon & noyaunce? but yf you do suffre any thyng for ryghtuousnes sake, you are blyssed / you contempne and dyspyse secularyte, that is to say secular prynces,

ces. But no man was more secular or worldly, than Pilate, afore whom our lord
 stood to be indged. Thou shouldest not haue (sayde he) any power ouer me: yf it
 were not gnyen to the from aboue. Euen than he spake for his selfe, & had expery-
 ence on his owne person, of that whiche he cryed afterwarde by the apostles, in
 churches or congregacions. There is no power but of god. And who soeuer respy-
 steth the power: respysteth the ordynacyon of god. So your way now is than, and
 respysteth the emperour the vycare and depute of chryste: whan chryst dyd not respyst,
 no nor his aduersarye or saye, yf you dare, that god doth not knowe the dygnyte
 of the bysshop of Rome, whan chryste graunteth the power euen of the Emperou-
 res depute in Rome, to haue ben ordayned vpon or ouer hym selfe, from heuen a-
 boue. The bysshop than vsurpeth the offyce of an other man, and extendeth his
 sythe in to an other manes corne: whan he presseth hym selfe in to the iudgement
 of secular actes betwene men, of what so euer condycyon or estate they be. And as
 to whyng to that, whiche Bernarde sayth in the aforesayde obieccyon, whiche
 swerde for all that who soeuer denyeth to be thynne: he semeth to me, not to marke
 suffyciently the wordes of chryste. &c. I do saye, that no man that euer I haue
 herde or sene, hath denyed that, or can denye it more expressely: than he hym selfe
 hath done: as it is euident of his saynges afore brought in and rehersed. To whi-
 che this also is to be added with reuerence: that the exposityon of other sayntes,
 is alwayes more conuenient vpon this place. For (as all men doth agre) the lo-
 cucion or speache of chryste was metaphoricall, whan to the dyscyples sayenge.
 Lo here two swerdes: he answered, it is ynoughe or suffycient: wherfore Chry-
 softome saythe: for yf he had wyllid, that they shulde vse worldlye subspyde and
 ayde: An. L. swerdes wolde not suffyce or be ynoughe: but yf it was his wyll, &
 they shulde not vse worldlye subspyde or ayde: then euen two are superfluous, &
 mo than nedeth: wherfore it appereth, that the sence of chrystes wordes was my-
 stycall: whiche thynge euen his owne wordes euidently sygnifyeth, in the. xvi.
 of Mathewe & in. i. xvi. of Iohn, whan in i. tyme of defeece yf any defeece oughe
 to haue ben made by those swerdes: he sayd vnto Pet. Turne thy swerde agayne
 in to his owne place, or in to the skaberde: in whiche sayenge, he sygnifyed hym
 selfe not to haue comaunded, that any defeece shulde be made by the apostles with
 the swerdes, but that they had spoken mystycallye. After which sence, saynt Am-
 brose suffyciently regardynge and markynge the sayenge of our lorde: he ex-
 poundeth the aforesayd wordes sayenge in this wyse. Two swerdes are permyt-
 ted: the one of the newe testament, and the other of the olde testament: by whiche
 we are armed and fenced, agaynst the dysceptes of the deuyl. And it is sayde, it
 is ynoughe or suffycient, because he lacketh no thynge at all, whiche is armed
 and fenced with the doctryne of bothe testaments: but these preestes whiche haue
 great desyre, and do laboure also with all outwarde enforcement, though vn-
 duely and vnaccordynge, to vsurpe domynions and kyngdoms, they receyue
 wyllynge and gladly straunge exposityons of the scrypture, whiche semeth
 to taste or smatche of theyr owne corrupte oppynion, and lewde or croked affeccy-
 on. And yet for all that, though the wordes of chryste were taken lytterallye.
 yet are they nothynge agaynst our sentece & oppynion. For the materpall swerde
 is not dominion, neyther the iudgement of secular actes: neyther also after the me-
 taphore, accordynge to the sentence of chryste, it maye sygnifye domynion or
 the offyce of a secular iudge: whiche chryste hath comytted to Peter or to any o-
 ther apostle: as the same Bernarde hath proued manifestlye in an other place,
 as we haue alledged: and brought in here tofore, and also haue vndoubtedlye pro-
 ued by the scrypture, in the. iiii. and. v. chapptres of this dyccyon. And where the

Seculer iud-
gement apper-
tyneth not
to be a bysshop

Chrysostome

Two swerds
are the two
testamentes
by Chrysosto-
mes exposity-
cion.

THE DEFENCE

sayde Bernarde saythe after folowynge. Peraduenture the swerde is thynne, and to be drawen forth at thy byddynge and comaundement: I do saye, that he sayth here peraduenture, albeit that he oughte not to doubt in this, vntlesse peraduenture he do meane this, that a pryncce or seculer gouernour in drawynge forth the swerde, ought to haue regarde & respecte vnto the byddynge or wyll of the preeſte that is to saye to the counsaile of the preeſte in generall or ſpecyall counsaile, after as the dede chaunſeth to requyre, as in makynge warre, yf he do doubt, whether he ſhall do iuſtlye after the lawe of god, he ought to vſe the counsaile of preeſtes: leſte he do ronne in to deedlye synne / lyke wyſe as he oughte to do in all other his monaſtycall and cyuyle actes / namelpe in whiche he doubteth throughte ignorance to ronne in to deedlye synne / not therfore becauſe he is ſubiecte to a preeſte in ſuche maner offyce. For after this maner alſo in gyuynge lycences of dyſcyplynes, and in expellynge of leprouſe perſons out of the cytie / he oughte to vſe the counsaile of experthe and welſkylled men, to whom for all that he is not ſubiecte in iurysdyccyon / as we haue ſayde in the .v. chapytre of this delectyon / wherfore Bernarde in the ende of the aforeſayd ſentence ſaythe / that this ſwerde oughte to be drawen forth at the byddynge of the preeſte, and the comaundement of the emperoure / he dyd not therfore by byddynge vnderſtande comaundement or coactyue auctoryte / but counsaile. For this auctoryte he hath expreſſed to appertayne to the emperoure or pryncce. Albeit that the byſſhoppe of Rome very often tymes vniuſtlye comaundeth, the ſwerde to be drawen forth alſo amonge chryſten men, one of them agaynſt an other. And to be ſhorte and ſpeake at one worde / yf Bernarde by theſe wordes vnderſtande and meane, that ſuche maner offyce or iudgement dothe appertayne to the auctoryte of any preeſte or byſſhop, as beyng in this ſuperyour to any ſeculer pryncce, accordynge to iudgemēt of the thyrde ſygnifycacyon, in this worlde: I do ſaye, that manifeſtlye and openly he doth ſaye bothe agaynſt his owne ſelfe, and agaynſt the holy ſcrypture, which he byngeth in and alledgeth, as it appereth of the premyſſes / wherfore vtterly in this place I do reſuſe his ſentence (yf it be ſuche maner one) as beyng not canonycall, but dyſſonant and contrary to the canonycall ſcrypture. But to the ſayenges of ſayntes and doctours, and namelpe vpon the ſcrypture alledged of the .xvi. of Matthewe. Thou arte Peter and vpon this ſtone. &c. And agayne vpon that tecte in .i. .xxii. of Luke, but I haue prayed for the Peter. &c. Agayne vpon that in the .xxi. of Iohn, yf thou loueſt me fede my ſhepe, by whiche ſayengs they do ſeme to intende, that powre and auctoryte hath ben gyuen to ſaynt Peter aboue the other apoſtles, by chryſte imedyatlye, callynge hym the pryncce or heed of the apoſtles, and vniuerſall or generall paſtor or herdyſman, yea & ſome of them alſo callynge hym the heed of the church: it is to be answered and ſayde, but yet with reuerence, that chryſte imedyatlye gaue vnto ſaynt Peter none auctoryte eſſenciell (whiche we haue called the auctoryte of preeſthode) neyther any accydenſiall excellencye or preemynence of a paſtor or byſſhop, vpon the other apoſtles / But all ſuche maner auctoryte of one of them aboue an other amonge them ſelues he toke awaye bothe from Peter and alſo from the other / as we haue ſhewed evidently in the .xvi. of this dyccion, by the ſcrypture, and by the expoſycion of ſayntes and doctours. And after a certayne maner we haue reherced it agayne aboute the begynnynge of this chapytre / wherfore I folowynge chryſte, and the apoſtles, and the ſayenges of certayne of them in other places, what ſoever ſentence they do ſeme to ſaye vpon the places of the ſcrypture nowe recyted and any other lyke places, concernynge ſuche maner prymacye or pryncipalite, other wyſe than we haue ſayde in the .xvi. and .xxii. of this dyccion: I do reſuſe it. For ſuche ſentence

Byſſhoppes
reſe warres
vniuſtlye.

The auctory
te of doctours
may be reſu
ſed.

Preeſtes are
egall in dyg
nyte.

since is neyther canonycall, neyther necessaſſaſſe ſoloweth of the canonycall ſcripture/yea moreouer ſome of them in expoundynge the ſcripture in other places haſſe ſayde the contrarie / but here they ſpeake ſuche thynges without the ſcripture, of theyr owne propre myndes/ſolowynge the cuſtome / & regardynge more certayne comune ſamouſe ſayenges: than the wordes of the ſcripture / for who wyll not meruayle, that, when the apoſtles dyd contende and ſtrive amonge them ſelues, whiche of them ſhulde be greateſt. Chryſte answered, that there ſhulde be equalitye alwayes amonge them / and that none of them ſhulde be ſuperioure in auctoryte to other / yf he dyd intende that ſaynt Peter ſhulde be more pryncypall and heed amonge them: why dyd not chryſte alſo gyue a commaundement or charge to the other apoſtles, that they ſhulde be vnder Peter in paſtorall offyce: leaſte ſo great a myſtery myght be hyd from them and theyr ſuccellours, howe great was the heed of the church: for it is not redde any where in the ſcripture, that Chryſte gaue any ſuch commaundement to the apoſtles. Howe alſo dyd Peter than gyue the ryghte hande of ſocietie and felowſhyypp vnto Paule? Maye he oughte rather to haue gyuen hym commaundement, as beyng ſuperioure vnto hym. And to ſaye at one worde all the whole ſcripture where this mater is touched: ſaythe openly the contrarie hereof. Agayne, though we dyd graunte, that paſtorall cure of the other apoſtles had ben comytted to ſaynt Peter by chryſte imedypatly, whiche thyng for all that we haue denyed accordynge to the ſcripture / yet coulde it not therfore be proued by the ſcripture, that the biſhoppe of Rome or any other biſſhop, after the death of ſaynt Peter, is paſtor of all the other biſſhoppes, by the imediate ordynacyon of Chryſte. And when it was broughte in, that the church than ſhulde be without a heed, and not haue ben ordered of chryſte, after the beſt dyſpoſycyon and ordie, yf he had leſte it without a heed in his abſence: we maye ſaye after the mynde of the apoſtle, as before. That chryſte haſſe alwaye remayned the heed of the church / and all the apoſtles and eccleſiaſtycall myniſters are members / as it appereth playnely in the .iiii. chapptre to the Ephesians, and in very many other places, of whiche we haue broughte in and recyted many, in the .v. parte of the .xxii. chapptre of this dyſcuyſon. And this, chryſte hym ſelfe alſo dyd manifeſtlye ſygnifye in the laſte of the .v. thewe, when he ſayde. And I am with you vntyll the ende of the worlde. And let hym that maketh this obieccyon and reaſon, ſaye, whether the church alſo be not without a mortall heed oftentimes, when the Romayne ſeate is vacante and without a biſſhoppe / and it is euident and vndoubted that yet / And yet it is not therfore to be graunted, that it was leſte inordynate or euylly ordered of chryſte / wherefore we muſte retourne agayne to the thynges aforeſayde, and to thoſe whiche we ſhall ſaye in the ſolucyon of the obieccyon ſolowynge / but to ſayſſe and make anſwere more largelye to the reaſon, whiche is apparente, lette vs ſaye formablye or in forme. For when it is deduced and inferred of it, that chryſte haſſe not ordered the church after the beſt dyſpoſycyon or ordie / yf he had not leſte a determinate man to be heed vnto the ſame church in his abſence: the illacyon or argument is to be denyed. And as to touchynge to the ſayenge of Auguſtine, vpon that repte of Iohn, yf I wyll haue hym to abyde ſo, what is that to the? where he ſaythe, that the kyſe whiche is in ſaythe, is ſygnifyed or ſygured by Peter the apoſtle, for the prymacye of his apoſtleſhyypp / I do ſaye, that Auguſtine meened the prymacye or pryncypaſſe in tyme. For Peter amonge other was fyrſte called by chryſte vnto apoſtleſhyypp / lyke wyſe as the ſame alſo fyrſt in tyme receyvyd the promyſe of the keyes / after the mynde of the ſayde Auguſtine, in

Heed of the church.

Members of the church.

Prymacie or pryncypaſſe in tyme.

THE DEFENCE

We are not
bounde vnder
ly to gyue cre-
dence to þe De-
crees & Decre-
talles.

The benefy-
ces are to be
dystributed
by the pryncce

The makers
of the Decre-
talles are dys-
posed as were
the pharisytes

The Decre-
talles are ney-
ther goddes
lawes, ney-
ther mannes
lawes.

The canony-
cals ben they
þat make scys-
me & diuysyō
and styre vp
treason.

In the .xvi. of Mathew, upon that tecte. To the I wyll gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens. For the lyfe whiche is in saythe, that is to saye of this corruptible worlde: in tyme gothe before that lyfe, whiche is in hope, that is to wyte the incorruptible lyfe of the world to come. And vnto that confirmacyon of the obieccōs which was brought in of þe Decrees or Decretalles of the Popes of Rome: it is to be sayde generally, to all suche maner scryptures and sayenges beyng not such as we haue sayd, that we are not bounde to beleue or cōfesse and knoweledge them to be true / no more we are in suche thynges wherin they do contayne the contrarie of the aforesayde sentences whiche we do holde accordynglye to the scryptures. But we do refuse them and openly deny them. And wher they wyll conclude specyallye, that vnto the bysshoppe of Rome alone, or elles with his colledge of clarkes, auctoryte belongeth of instytutynge persons to ecclesiastycall offyces, and of gyuyng the temporall or benefyces appoynted for the sayde offyces: it is to be sayde, that yf by the ecclesiastycall offyces be vnderstande the instytucyons or determynacyons of preestes and of the other sayde offycers, to the cures and charges of soules, outher greater or smaller, in certayne places and to the gonernynge of certayne people / I saye that to instytute suche offyces, or to make the determynacyons of persones to the sayde offyces, and to dystribute or gyue the ecclesiastycall temporall, appoynted for the sayde offyces / appertayneth to the chrysten pryncce, after suche maner as we haue sayde in the .xviii. of this dyccyon. And it is to be sayde that generallye and euery where, this dothe not belonge to the auctoryte of any one bysshoppe, or one colledge of preestes alone / neyther it were expedyent so to be / as it hath ben shewed in the .xviii. of this dyccyon. Therfore wher the contrarie of these thynges is obiected and sayde agaynst vs, by the Decrees and Decretalles of the bysshoppes of Rome, it is to be sayde, that albeit suche maner Decrees or Decretalles, and any other lyke scryptures or sayenges, maye contayne vetye manye documentes and counsailes, profytable bothe for the state of this present worlde, and of the worlde to come. Yet in that that they are made by the bysshoppe of Rome with his colledge of clarkes: and also, without the lycence of the chrysten pryncce and gouernoure, suche statutes do bynde no man to synne or payne, and namely temporall. For they that make suche maner tradycyons are lyke wyse dysposed, as were the pharisytes and scrybes, to whome Ihesus sayde in the .vii. chaptyre of Marke. But they worsshyp me in vayne / teachynge the doctrynes and preceptes of men. For you forsake the cōmaundement and teachynge of god / & do holde or kepe the tradycyons of men. And a lytle after it foloweth / you do well make voyde the cōmaundement of god / that you maye kepe your owne tradycyon. That is to wyte the Decrees and Decretalles, concernynge the vsurpacion of temporall thynges. For the Decretalles, in that that they are suche / are not the lawes of god or of man / but narracyons or documentes / and very many of them in many poyntes, are certayne oblygatorye statutes / wherfore the makers of suche maner statutes or Decrees, agaynst the fourme and maner, and without the auctoryte aforesayde / and inducynge any man to the obsetacyon of them, and as it were, compellynge hym, by threatenynge eternall dampnacyon to the transgressours of them / or inferryng or sendynge forth agaynst any man blasphemyes, curses, or other maledycyons outher by worde or by wyrtynge / are to be punysshed corporallye with extreme punysshement, as beyng conspirers, and the reysers of cyuyle scysme and dyspyson. For this is the moste greuous kynde of treason, that

maye be. For it is dyrectlye comytted agaynst the offyce of the soueraygne or
prynce and gouernoure of the realme or comynweyte, and it bryngeth
also to the pluralyte chiefe gouernours/and so consequent
ly of necessyte vnto the vndoynge and destruction
of all maner cruyle gouernaunce, and
also of all comynne weales.

COf the solucyon of the obieccyons, brought in of the scrp-
tures in the thyrde chapytre of this seconde parte to
shewe oz proue, that coactyue iurysdyccion doth
belonge to byllhoppes, in that they are
byllhops, and that the hyghest
coactyue iurysdyccyon
dothe belonge
to the byllhoppe of Rome.

The, xxix. chapytre.

And to the other obieccyons broughte in of the scripture in the thyrde chapytre of this dyccion, by reason of whiche, it myghte seme peraduenture to some man, that it myghte be proued, that the bysshoppe of Rome or any other bysshoppe is iudge (after the thyrde sygnifycacyon of this worde iudge) vpon all clarkes, or indyfferentely vpon all men, of euery realme or comunitie, without the instytucyon of the prynce, or prynces, but by the imedyate ordynacyon of god/it is to be sayde or answered, and fyrste to that obieccyon whiche was taken of the. xvi. chapytre of Mathew, whan Ehyeste sayde to saynt Peter, I shall gyue to the the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens. &c. That by these sayde wordes Ehyeste gaue none other powre or auctoryte to saynt Peter or to any other apostle or apostles/than to bynde and lose men from synnes/as saynt Bernarde saythe expresselye to Eugenius in the fyrste booke De consideratione, and the. v. chapytre / and we haue broughte in his wordes here tofore in the seconde parte of the. v. chapytre of this dyccion / where is shewed of fulnes of powre and also of the keyes of the kyngdome of heuens. Of whiche powre also it hath ben spoken serposelye in the. vi. and. vii. chapytres of this dyccion. Neyther gaue Ehyeste the fulnes of this powre to Peter nor none other of the apostles / otherwyse than it hath ben sayde in the. xlii. chapytre of this dyccion / wherfore the bysshoppe of Rome, or elles any other bysshop or preeste, hath not by the reason of these wordes receyued of chryste in the persone of the apostle or apostles, any roactyue auctoryte or iurysdyccion in this worlde, vpon any clarke or laye man. For it was sayd I shall gyue the keyes of the kyngdom of heuens, to 2 dyfference of the

The power
of priests.

The keyes of
the kyngdom
of heuē not
of this world

THE DEFENCE

of the worldly kyngdome or domynyon. For from suche maner regyment and domynyon, Chyfte by the example of his owne selfe, sygnified every one of the apostles and every successoure of them bysshop or piete, to be excluded / whan he sayd in the .vii. of Luke. Thou man who hath ordeyned or made me iudge / that is to wyte of erthly thynges. And the same also is proued by other thynges here tofore brought in, in the .iiii. and .v. chapytres of this dyccion. And after the same or lyke maner it is to be sayd also vnto the auctorites taken of the scripture in the .viii. of Mathewe and the .xx. of Iohā, whan Chyfte sayde to his apostles / what soeuer thyngs you shall bynde vpon the erthe. &c. And whose soeuer synnes you shall forgyue / they are forgyuen. &c. For by these wordes Chyfte gaue vnto them none other powre, than this aforesayde, and that after suche maner as we haue sayde. And vnto the other auctorite, whiche was taken of the .vi. chapytre of Mathewe, whan chyfte sayde. All thynges are gyuen to me of my father: it is to be sayde, that it foloweth not. All thynges are gyuen to me of my father, ergo I haue gyuen powre of all thynges to the apostle or to the apostles / as we haue sayde also in the .iiii. chapytre of this dyccion. For by this inquisycyon it is not doubted, what powre and auctorite Chyfte myghte haue gyuen to the apostle or apostles and to theyr successours: but what powre it was his wyll to gyue, and what he hath gyuen to them in very dede / and from what powre he hath prohybited them, by his counsaile or piete. For these thynges haue ben suffy- ciently shewed in the .iiii. v. and .vi. and .ix. chapytres of this dyccion / wherfore Bernarde also intedyng a meanyng this same in the thyrde booke and fyrst chapytre De consideratione vnto Eugenius pope: saythe in this wyse. For I do not suppose that vterly and all maner wayes. But as me thynke after a certayne maner, dyspensacyon hath ben comytted to the, vpon it, that is to wytte, vpon the worlde and not possessyon therof to haue ben gyuen vnto the / yf thou do holde on to vsurpe the worlde: he speaketh agaynst the, whiche saythe. The worlde is myne, and the fulnes of it. Thou arte not he, of whome the prophete saythe. And the whole erthe shall be his possessyon. Chyfte is he whiche chalengeth the possessyon hereof vnto hym selfe, by the ryght and tytle of creacyon, and by the merite of redempcyon. And the same Bernarde speaketh mo thynges afterwarde to this same purpose, whiche I haue lefte out and ouershypped here, because the premysse are suffycient, and also for the more speede and bryefnes of our processe. Wherfore chyfte dyd not gyue all thynges to the apostle or the apostles, that were gyuen vnto hym, and after suche maner as they were gyuen to hym of his father / but he comytted onely certayne thynges to them and after a certayne and determynate maner or facyon. Moreouer after the expositioun of all sayntes and holy doctours vpon this place, Chyfte intended and meened this gyfte of all thynges to haue ben made vnto hym selfe, as touchyng to his godly hede, by whiche he was eternall / whiche thyng could not be agreyng to any of the apostles or of theyr successours. Wherfore these wordes of chyfte, do not so make as apparently infette or conclude any thyng contrarye to the sentence whiche we do holde. And to that obieccion whiche was taken of the .xxviii. of Mathewe, and the laste chapytre, whan Chyfte sayd. All powre is gyuen to me in heuen and in erthe: it is to be answered and sayde lykewyse as vnto the obieccion last afore gone / for althoughe we do graunte that chyfte as touchyng to his humanitye also, had receyued all maner powre in erthe / yet it foloweth not therefore, that he hath gyuen all maner powre to the apostle or apostles / but onely that powre wherof it is spoken in the laste of Mathewe and the .xx. of Iohā

Thon / whiche powre we haue declared also in the. vi. and. vii. chapptres of this
 dyccyon / for after suche powre onely. Chyfte came to teryne. wherfore saynte
 Iherome vpon this place saythe thus / powre was gyuen to hym in heuen and
 in erthe: & he whiche raygned afore in heuen myght raygne in erthe. By the saythe
 of them that shalbe belene in hym. And vnto that obieccyon whiche was taken
 of the. viii. of Mathewe and the. v. of Marke where it is red that the sendes or de-
 uylles prayed hym sayenge. Gye vs leane to entre in to the swyne. it is to be an-
 swered and sayde. that this tepte also dothe not make agaynst the sentence whi-
 che we do holde. For though we do graunte (as the trouthe is) that chyste had,
 yf he had wolde, all domynyon and powre of temporall thynges, euen as tou-
 chynge to his humanitye also / yet can it not heretof be concluded of necessitye. that
 he gaue lyke powre to the apostle or apostles, or to the successours of them. Naye
 rather Chyste, bothe by his workes, and also by his wordes, taughte them to
 flee and eschewe the possessyon and domynyon of temporall thynges / and so all
 coactyue iurysdyccyon or iudgement of any man in this worlde / as it hathe ben
 shewed in the. iiii. and. v. chapptres of this dyccyon / and hathe also ben repeted or
 referred agayne in the chapptre last afore gone. And yf it so be, that at any tyme
 Chyste hathe used the powre or domynyon of suche maner thynges / yet he dyd
 not vse it after the maner of a worldlye pryncer or iudge / but wonderfullye, and
 very seldome, by the powre of his godhede rather than of his manhede / as in the
 expulssyon of these spyrytes wherof mencyon is made in this present obieccyon /
 and in the dryenge vp of the fygge tree / wyllynge by this to spynysse vnto his
 apostles the nature of his godhede / by reason wherof he myghte strengthe them
 the more in the fayth / or elles also for some better intent & purpose vnkowen to
 man & knowen to hym, as Chrysostome & Iherome sayth vpon the same place.
 That the occasyon (sayth Iherome) of the saluacion of men myght be, by the kyl-
 lynge of þ hogges. And therfore chyste dyd not teache them to do myracles / as we
 haue brought in here tofore in the. iiii. of this diccion, of saynt Augustyn De ver-
 bis dñi in the. v. sermon vpon Mathewe. And therfore moche lesse he wolde, that
 they shulde exerceyse powre to the hurte or offendynge of other men. wherfore he
 dyd not exerceyse suche maner thynges, to the intende that they ought to exerceyse
 suche thynges: but that he myght shewe vnto them hym self to be very god. And
 to the obieccyon whiche was brought in of the. xxi. of Mathewe, the. vi. of Mar-
 ke, and the. xix. of Luke: where it is redde. Than Ihesus sente .ii. discyples, say-
 enge vnto them. Boo you in to the castell whiche is ouer agaynst you: and you
 shal fynde an asse bounde. &c. it is to be answered, lyke wyse, as vnto the obieccy-
 on imedyatlye aforegone. And that obieccyon of the two swerdes, whiche is ta-
 ken of the. xxi. of Luke, & the other of the fedynge of the shepe, taken of the. xxi.
 of Ihon: dothe make nothyng agaynst, neyther dothe inferre or conclude any
 thyng necessarily, whiche is contradyctorye to the sentence whiche we do holde /
 as we haue shewed serously in the chapptre aforegone. For Chyste by these wor-
 des dyd not gye to saynt Peter, or to any other apostle, or to any successoure of
 them, iurysdyccyon or iudgemente coactyue of any maner in this worlde: but he
 gaue to hym onely the offyce of a pastor or herdysman, of whiche offyce we haue
 spoken suffyciently in the. ix. of this last parte. And as touchynge to that whiche
 the apostle sayth in the. vi. chapptre of the fyrste epytyle to the Coryntheans, Do
 you not knowe, that we shal iudge aungels? Howe moche more than shal we
 iudge secular thynges? This tepte is neyther it selfe contradyctorye, neyther infer-
 reth any thyng contradyctorye to the sentence, whiche we do holde. For Paule
 in the aforesayde wordes or scrypture dyd not monyshe / speake / or counsaileth
 vnto

Iherom

Note here
 well, howe
 chyste some-
 tyme used co-
 actyue iurys-
 dyccyon, and
 note the an-
 swere to the
 same

The hogges
 drowned of
 the sendes.

THE DEFENCE

vnto preestes onelye/ But generallye vnto all the chrysten people of Englands he wrote that epytyle, as appereth and is euident by his salutation. For they dyd contende, and stryue one with an other, aboute secular thynges, drawyng one an other afore heathen iudges/ wherfore the apostle monysshed them, as a pastor or herdysman gyuyng them counsell, that they shulde consyent and make iudges vnto them selues of the company of chrysten men. And chose not bysshoppes or preestes, but other that were not bysshoppes or preestes/ wherfore the apostle saythe imedyatlye folowynge. Therfore yf you shall haue secular iudgementes ordeyne and sette them to be iudges, whiche are contemptible in the churche. I saye it to your rebuke/ is there none so wyse a man amonge you, whiche maye gyue iudgement betwene his brother and brother? But dothe one brother contende and stryue with an other brother in iudgement, afore infydels and heathen iudges? whiche tecte of the apostle the glose expoundynge, after the mynde of Ambrose, Augustyne, and Gregorie, saythe in this wyse. In lyke maner as he hath repleued them, for that they pleaded causes, and stroue in iudgement afore infydels, despyssynge and smallly regardynge chrysten men/ euen so now he rebuketh them, because they made contemptible persones iudges, althoughe they were chrysten. And therfore he saythe yf you shall haue secular iudgementes, because suche iudgementes are not to be had, but rather to be despyssed/ but yf you haue suche iudgementes, ordayne and sette to gyue iudgement, those contemptible, that is to saye, vndyscrete and vyle persones, whiche are in the churche. That is to saye thus haue you done, by reason wherof, the brethrien myghte be compelled, to haue recourse agayne vnto infydels or heathen iudges. The apostle repleueth and rebuketh this in them, speakynge Ironycallye/ that is to saye, meanyng the contrarye to that, that his wordes dothe sounde. And because it was not seemely or conuenient that they shulde do so therfore he sayth by and by after. I speake to your shamesfastnes/ or to your reuerence/ that is to saye, I do not comaunde/ but I do speake, that you shulde be asshamed/ and you oughte to be asshamed, that there is not one man amonge you so wyse/ that he is able to iudge betwene his brother and brother, but that you must nedelye make fooles iudges. And yet for all that these fooles are to be made iudges, rather than you shulde go to heathen iudges, yf there wante wyse men amonge you. I saye is there not so wyse a man amonge you, but dothe one brother stryue with an other brother, in iudgement? whiche is an euyl thyng/ yea and that afore heathen iudges/ which is a worse thyng/ or elles thus. Therfore yf you shall haue secular iudgementes. &c. Because the apostle had sayd, that they myght iudge of these leaste or smalest thynges, therfore he doth nowe determyne, who are to be ordayned and appoynted iudges to the determynyng of suche maters/ that is to wytte, the contemptible persones, whiche are in the churche. For the greater or more worshipfull persones oughte to gyue attendaunce to spirituall thynges. But you whiche oughte to iudge, for asmoche as you must iudge: yet do after this maner. Yf you haue secular busynes or maters/ ordayne or sette them to be iudges, whiche are contemptible in the churche/ that is to saye, some wyse men, whiche for all that are of lesse meryte/ for the apostles, whiche went aboute to preache the gospell, coulde not gyue attendaunce to suche busynesses. The apostle wolde therfore, that those wyse chrysten and holy men whiche contynued and abode styll in one place, and not those whiche ranne aboute from place to place to preache the gospell/ shulde be the examyners and iudges of suche maner busynes and causes. From whiche we can not excuse our selfe by no maner wayes: althoughe we wolde. For I call god to wytnesse and recorde that I hadde leuer eache daye worke somwhat certayne howres with my

my handes, and to haue certayne houres at lybettie, to rebe, and praye, or to worke somwhat of the dyuine scryptures, than to suffice the troublouse perplexites of causes concernynge secular maters and busynesses or stryues whiche are outther to be decyded and ended by iudgement, or elles to be preuented & put awaye by entreatynge or goynge betwene. I saye, ordayne you or appoynte you contemptible persons, and this I do saye to your reuerence / that is to wyte, that they shulde examyne and iudge earthly causes / whiche haue gotten the wysdome and knowledge of exterpoure or outwarde thynges. And they whiche are entyched with spyrituall gyftes, ought not to be entangled with worldly maters or busynesses / so that whyles they are not compelled to dyspose these worldly goodes, they maye be able to do seruyce to the superiour or celestyall goodes. But yet it is greatly to be prouyded and taken hede of, that they, whiche are excellent in spyrituall gyftes, do not in any wyse utterly forsake the busynesses of theyr wake neyghbours, but lette them outther comytte the sayde busynesses to be ordred and brought to an ende, vnto other mete and conuenient persones, or elles take the same maters in hande theyr owne selues. And these scryptures of the apostle and of sayntes, are to be noted and marked / for fyrst it appereth by the sayd scryptures, that all contencyons (betwene what soeuer persones) aboute suche thynges whiche do not appertayne to the laue of god, are secular and not spyrituall and do belonge to secular iudgement. For the apostle spreaueith generallye / and so lyke wyse doth the sayntes vpon this place / makynge no dyfference (as there is none in dede) betwene the temporall or cyuile contencyons of preeftes amonge them selues one with an other, and generallye of clarkes, or whiche are betwene preeftes and laye men, and betwene them whiche are amonge laye men selues, one with an other. For lette the sophyster or mysuser of wordes (I beseeche hym) whiche calleth that spyrituall, whiche is utterly secular after the mynde and callynge of the apostle and of sayntes, let hym, I saye, tell me, whether a preefte doyng in iurye to his brother beyng outther preefte or not preefte in worde or dede, dothe a spyrituall iniurye, more than dothe a laye man, yf he do lyke iniurye. For to say so, it is a folysshe and a scornefull sayenge / and to byleue it, is uttermoste madness. For without doubtte the iniurye whiche is done by a preefte, is more secular and more detestable iniurye than that whiche is done by a laye man / For he synneth or trespasseth the more greuousslye and more shamefully, whiche is bounden to teache an other man, bothe by his wordes and also by the example of his wordes, not to do iniurye / as it hathe ben serpyouslye shewed in the viii. chapytre of this dyccion. And that suche actes of clarkes are secular and not spyrituall, and that they oughte so to be called, saynt Augustyne wytnesseth openly in the afore sayd glose, whan he calleth the contencyouse causes of preeftes and of clarkes, whiche were pleaded afore hym whiche was a bysshoppe, troublouse perplexites of causes aboute secular busynesses / makynge no dyfference of these causes or contencyons, notwithstandinge the condycyon or estate of the persones / for this dyfference of a preefte, and of hym that is no preefte, as touchynge to this thyng, is but accydentall / lyke wyse as the dyfference of a hoope or rynge beyng of golde, and of a rynge beyng of syluer / whiche dyfference no crafter man or cunynge man dothe assygne, because it maketh or causeth none essencyall dystinction in the effecte or thyng wrought. It appereth also secondarylye, that the iudgement or to be iudge of suche maner actes belongeth not to preeftes. And that to instytute suche maner iudge, doth nomore, but peraduenture lesse appertayne to the auctoryte of them, than of other chrysten men as it hathe ben shewed in the xv. of the fyrste dyccion. And therefore the apostle sayde not to any bysshoppe or preefte

The outwarde offence of a preefte is more secular a great deale then is the offence of a lay man.

THE DEFENCE

preeſte. Conſtitue & is to ſaye ordayne or appoynte thou. For where any thyng was to be done, whiche appertayned to the offyce of a Byſſhop or preeſte, he gaue charge ſyngulerlye to hym, that he ſhulde do it, as to preche the goſpell / or to exercyſe other offyces, whiche are properlye belongynge to a preeſte or paſtor / wherefore in the fyrſte chapytre to Tithe, he ſaythe. For this cauſe I haue lefte the in Erete lande that thou ſhuldeſt correcte or amende thoſe thynges, whiche are wantynge / that is to wyte, as touchynge the hoſſome doctryne and maners / and that thou ſhuldeſt coſtytute and ordayne preeſtes, throughout all Erete in euery cytie: ſo as I haue dyſpoſed & ordred to be done / but yet he ſayde not to hym, appoynte thou, or ordayne thou a iudge to examyne ſeculer buſynelles or maters. Neyther whan he wrote to the Coryntheans, dyd he ſaye, the Byſſhop or preeſte ſhall conſtytute or appoynte to you iudges, but gaue them counceſſe, or tolde them what was beſt to be done / wherefore the gloſe vpon thoſe wordes I do ſpeake it to your ſhame, ſayth thus / as who ſhulde ſay, I do not comaunde you: but I do tell you that you ſhulde be aſhamed. For the apoſtle knewe very well, that to inſtytute ſuche maner iudges, dyd not appertayne to his offyce / & by ſo moche the leſſe than to any other preeſte or Byſſhop. Neyther moreouer dyd he counceſſe, that any preeſt or Byſſhop ſhulde betaken or choſen to the exercyſynge of ſuche maner offyce: but rather the contrarye. For no man (as he ſaythe) that warreth to god: entangleth or wrappeth hym ſelfe in ſeculer or worldlye buſynelles. But he counceſſed, that iudges ſhulde be apoynted and ordayned, out of that ſorte whiche were contemptible in the churche / that is to ſaye out of the nombre of chryſten men and ſuche perſons, as were not able nor mete to preche / howbeit not all / but after the expoſycyon of ſayntes the apoſtle wyſſed or counſayled that they ſhulde examyne & iudge erthlye or worldlye cauſes: whiche had gotten knowledge of outwarde thynges / but they whiche are entyched with ſpyrytuall geſtes: ought not to be entangled or wrapped in ſeculer buſynelles / whiche thyng ſaynt Bernarde ſayd openly and playnlye to Eugenius in the fyrſte boke and the .v. chapytre De conſideratione / and we haue broughte in his wordes, in the chapytre imedyatlye aforegone. But peraduenture ſome man ſhall obiecte, and ſaye agaynſt vs the ſayenge of ſaynt Auguſtyn in the gloſes afore rehearſed. For ſaynt Auguſtyn ſpeakynge of the iudgement of ſeculer contentious actes: ſaythe thus / from whiche we can not excuſe our ſelfe althoughe we wolde / whoſe ſentence alſo Gregorie coſfyrmyng in the ſame place: ſaythe thus moreouer. But yet it is greatlye to be prouyded & ſene vnto, & they, whiche are excellent in ſpyrytual gyſtes. &c. But let the Byſſhoppes outther comytte theſe iudgementes of ſeculer actes, to be taken in hande of them, whiche are perſons couenyent and mete therunto: or elles let them ſelues exercyſe the ſayde iudgementes. So by theſe wordes than it ſemeth, that to iudge ſuche maters, and to ordayne or appoynte iudges of ſuche maters, dothe appertayne to Byſſhoppes or preeſtes in that they are Byſſhoppes or preeſtes / ſeyng that after the ſentence and mynde of ſayntes, the Byſſhoppes and preeſtes maye not be excuſed from ſuche iudgementes. And that they muſte greatlye prouyde. &c. But to thoſe obieccyons, and to other lyke ſayenges of ſayntes and doctours, let vs anſwere and ſaye / that in the olde tyme, and in the tymes of the aforeſayde ſayntes, for the reuerence of the eſtate of preeſthode, and for the conſpydence of the maners and vertue of preeſtes at that tyme, & for other cauſes whereof we haue ſpoken in the .v. parte of the .xxv. of this dyſcocyon: it was graunted by the chryſten prynces, to Byſſhoppes, and to the pryncypall paſtores and curates of ſoules, to exercyſe the offyce of a iudge in the thyrde ſygnifycation, ouer or vpon the perſones of clarkes and theyr temporallies / to the intent, that they ſhuld be the

He calleth
them cōrepti-
ble, whiche
were not me-
te to preache,
not becauſe
they ben ſo in-
dede, but aſt
a maner of
ſpekke, wher
in he meneith
by cōreptible
men, ſay mē.

An obieccion
that preeſtes
may be iudges
& apoynte
iudges.

An anſwere
to the forſayd
obieccion.

be the lesse vexed or troubled from the dyuine serayce/and that they shulde be the more honeste entreated in secular causes. And because certayne of the sayntes aforesayd were made bysshoppes in the prouynces or places, whose prynces or inhabytautes had gyuen the indycpall offyce to the bysshoppes: excepte they wolde haue renounced and refused or forsake the bysshopyche they coulde not haue ben excused from suche maner care of the secular causes or maters betwene clarkes. But here agayne some man shall doubt not without a cause, and aske a questy on, why holy men as saynt Syluester, and many other haue taken vnto them selues secular iudgementes, and powres, and the possessyon, and admynystracy on of temporall thynges: yf suche maner thynges be not agreynge, neyther hathe ben agreynge, or conuenient, to the offyce of preestes, bysshoppes, and other prechers of the gospell? I suppose it is to be answered and sayd, accordynge to the verytes afore brought in, namely in the .xvii. and the .xxv. of this dyccyon, that the church or myltitude of chrysten people beyng very lytle or small aboute the begynnynge & so consequently also alonge season after suffred ostentymes of the beathen prynces & subiectes, verye many persecucyons, euen vnto martyrdome and deathe/and lyued in great pouertye/wherfore the holye bysshoppes, and true pastores or herdysmen, for the saluacyon, augmentacyon, conseruacyon, and sustentacyon of the flocke: obtayned and gate of the deuoute chrysten emperoures, beyng fauourable vnto them, graces, and fauoures, grauntes, or pryncplegges, or elies receyued them whan they were offred: to the intente, that they myght do good to the chrysten people, and defend and comforte them. So than the holy bysshoppes, for these sayd causes cheyfly, toke vnto them the iudgementes of secular actes and contencyons, namely betwene clarkes. So also they toke the admynystracyon and charge or orderynge of certayne temporall thynges, without possessyon, or domynyon, or auctoryte of chalengynge them: that this myght turne or redounde to the prosyte and succoure of the pore chrysten people. Wherfore saynte Ambrose De tradendis basilicis, in 2 place heretofore alledged sayth in this wyse/yf the emperour do desyre the landes, he hath powre and auctoryte to challenge them/none of vs dothe lette hym, for the collacyon of the people maye be suffycyent and habundaunt to the poore folke. None of the preest, than or of the bysshops dyd stryue or entreate for the landes. For they solowynge chryste and the apostles: renounced the domynyon of them/ but they stroue constantlye and boldly for the saythe: euen vnto the deathe notwithstandinge that our bysshoppes now a dayes, and namely the popes of Rome, do fyghte stronglye and manfullye for landes and secular domynyons. And for the same do on euery syde rayse vp warres betwene chrystes saythfull people, sayenge that in this they do defende the ryght of chrystes spousesse. Albeit that in very dede they are not the ryghtes but the wronges of the sayde spousesse. And in a maner they do nothyng at all regarde, to defende the very true spousesse of chryste, that is to wytte the saythe, the doctryne, and maners of chrysten people, that she be not corrupted by croked and lewde vses or actes, or by the cruell vyolence of infydels. For these causes therfore in the olde tyme some of the sayntes receyued suche maner offyces and benefyces: whiche the bysshops and preestes now a dayes myght conueniently renounce, at the lesse wyse in the comynytes of chrysten people, the clargye beyng suffycyently defended from oppressyons/ yea the clargye can scarslye be repressed, from offendynge and hurtynge other men. But to renounce suche maner secular offyces, and the possessyon and domynyon of temporall thynges: is not the purpose of our prelates and pastores now a dayes/ but theyr purpose is to fyghte also with armed powre, not onely for the conseruacyon and mayntenaunce of suche

Howe ryches
possessyons,
and iudgemē
tes crept in to
the church.

Ambrose.

The bysshops
of Rome
ben warrys
ours.
The spousesse
of chryste.

The purpose
of our prelates
now a dayes.

THE DEFENCE

Iudycrall of
fpyces ar to be
reuoked from
preeftes.

maner thynges whiche they haue all redy: but also to vsurpe the resydw of suche maner thynges whiche they haue not as yet / (as euery man be he neuer so vnlearned: may lerne by his senses, yf by none other thyng) very greatly slaunderynge and offendynge the hole multytude of chrysten people: by this example of ambycyon / not regardynge the compynacyon of chryste, in the .xviii. of Mathew, whan he sayde / who so euer shall offende, or gyue occasyon of euyl to one of these lytell ones. &c. where the glose saythe thus / after the mynde of saynt Iherome. Albeit that it maye be a generall sentence agaynst all men, whiche do gyue occasyon of euyl to any man: yet after the processe of the tecte, it maye seme also to haue ben sayde agaynst the apostles / whiche in that they asked who shulde be greatest: seemed to contende and stryue amonge them selues aboute dygnyte / And yf they shulde haue contynued in this vyce: they myght by theyr occasyon and example gyuen, haue hurte theym whom they called to the fayth, whyles they shuld se the apostles stryue and fyght amonge them selues aboute honoure. And that whiche Iherome saythe of the apostles: is to be vnderstanded also of all the successours of theym, bysshops or preeftes / whiche for all this yf they wyll not of theyr owne good wylls renounce and forsake suche maner iudycrall offpyces, and the auctoryte of dystributyng temporall thynges: but do mysuse them: the chrysten prynces maye lawfullye, bothe acordynge to the lawe of god and also of man, praye and ought in dede to reuoke the sayde offpyces and temporalles from theym / as it hath ben shewed and proued in the .xv. of the fyrste dyccyon, and in the .xvii. of this dyccyon. And as to whyng to that whiche was obiected of the apostle in the ix. of the fyrste to the Corinthyans (and in the thyrde of the seconde to the Thessalonians, haue not we power &c. it hath ben dissolued and answered vnto, in the .xiii. of this dyccyon. For suche power (as it was sayde there) is not power of iurysdyccyon: but power of askynge lawfullye accordynge to the lawe of god (howe be it yet not in coactyue iudgemente) meate, drynke, and clothynge, due to hym selfe for the mynysteryng of the gospell, of such as are able to gyue such thynges. And to that obieccyon, whiche was taken of the .v. chapytre of the fyrste to Timothe, whan the apostle sayde. Agaynst a preefte or scynour receyue thou none accusacyon. &c. It is to be answered and sayde that the apostle vnderstode and meaned here yf a preefte ought to be openly rebuked of his superyour pastor, or doctoure. For the apostle dyd not bydde any bysshop or preeft to exerce coactyue iurysdyccyon apon any man because he knew, this thyng not to appertayne to his auctoryte nor to the auctoryte of any successoure vnto hym. And the apostle sygnified here that the correpcyon, whiche belongeth to a prelate or pastor: is onely by wordes, as it appereth by the wordes that foloweth. Rebuke synners afore all men: that the other may haue feare. And he sayd not, take them, or enpryson them. But he taughte, that suche whiche were incorryble and wolde not be amended with wordes: shulde be eschewed and the companye of them auoyded. Wherefore in the thyrde to Tyte he sayth,
**Eschewe or auoyde
his company that is an heretyke:
after the fyrste and seconde
correpcion, for because
he is condemned by
the iudgement of
his owne selfe.**

Of the solucyon of the reasons or argumentes, brought in, in the same thyrd chapptre also, for the same purpose/and of the translatyon of the romayne empyre, & of any other empyre or domynyon, as moch as may be and ought to be done accordynge to ryght reason.

The. xxx. chapptre.

The resydw and the last chapptre of this dyccyon is, to solue the reasons or argumentes, which also we brought in, in the thyrd of this dyccyon, to confyrm and fortysfe the erroure of them, which do say that coactyue iurysdyccyons dothe appertayne vnto pcestes or byssshops, in that they are pcestes or byssshops/ and that the hyghest coactyue iurysdyccyon of all in this worlde / doth belonge to the bysshop of Rome. To the fyrste therfore of the sayde reasons, where it was sayde, that as the body hath it selfe in comparyson vnto the soule / so lyke wyse hath the gouernour of the bodye, hym selfe vnto the gouernour of the soule: this proposycyon, yf it be vniuersally taken: it is false / For albeit there is a distynccyon or dyfference betwene the soule and the bodye, because the soule is not the bodye: yet for all that, there is no pryncce or gouernour of the body, but the same is also som maner way pryncce or gouernour of the soule, and lyke wyse backwarde agayne / takynge this worde pryncce in his proper sygnifycacyon as it appereth in the. viii. and. ix. chapptres of this dyccyon. But yf by the pryncce or Ruler of the bodye, after a metaphor, be vnderstanded the physycyon, whiche hath the cure and gouernaunce of the bodye as an operatyue or practyke doctoure, and as touchynge to the actes & operacyons of the vnreasonable & nutrytyue parte of man: and yf also by the pryncce or gouernour of the soule, be vnderstanded the sprytuall leche, and the teacher or operatyue mayster, as touchynge to the actes and operacyons of the reasonable and appetitue parte of man, as well in the state and for the state of this present world, of whiche sorte be the doctours and teachers of the humayne sciences or dyscyplines, as for the state of the worlde to come, of whiche sorte be pastores and curates and pcestes: than the sayde proposycyon taken indyffynitlye but not generallly / maye be graunted. For yf it be taken generallly: it myghte alwayes be impugned and reasoned agaynst by manyfolde obieccyons. For there are many dyfferences betwene the soule and the bodye, or betwene the reasonable porcyon of man and the brutyshe, whiche same dyfferences are not betwene the gouernour and teacher, as touchynge to the workes of the one parte, and the gouernour or teacher as touchynge to the workes of the other parte. For the reasonable parte made vnto & lykenes or Image of the Trynyte: can reason and make syllogysmes. And the vnreasonable parte, can not do so / and yet this dyfference is not betwene the gouernours and teachers as touchynge to the actes of these sayde. ii. partes / and so lyke wyse in many other thynges. Though we therfore do graunte this proposycyon in some sence, that is to wytte, that lyke wyse as the reasonable and appetitue power of the man is more noble than the body, as touchynge to the nutrytyue power, so in lyke maner the teacher and gouernour of the reasonable parte of man. &c. Is more worthy and noble than he whiche is orderer of the bodye / or yf this comparyson or symyltude also be made betwene the orderer of the bodye, for the state or ende onely of this present world, and hym whiche is teacher of the soule for the state or ende of the worlde to come / I say though

Answer to obieccyons, made in the thyrd chapptre of this parte.
The fyrst argument.
Answer.

A doctour or teacher is more noble than a leche or physycyon.

THE DEFENCE

we do graunte the one teacher to be more perfyte than the other / yet it dothe not folow hereof, that he whiche is the perfyter of these two is ruler, iudge, or pryncem ouer hym that is the lesse perfyte, by iudgement coactyue. For so shulde the mathe matheall doctour or teacher be pryncce or gouernour and coactyue iudge ouer the physycyon and very many other inconueniences manifestlye shulde folowe hereof. But yf by the gouernour of the bodyes be vnderstanded the pryncce or coactyue iudge of men: or a iudge of the thyrde sygnysfycacyon, in the state, and for the state or ende of this present worlde onely or pryncypallye, and by the gouernour of soules be vnderstanded he, whiche is iudge after the thyrde sygnysfycacyon, pryncypallye, for the state or ende of the worlde to come (so as the maker of the reason or argument semeth to intende) this comparyson or proposycyon and symyltude myght be graunted, after some sence, yf it be taken indefynytyly. But taken vniuersally, (as we haue sayd before) it may be proued false by dyuerse & many reasons. And whan it is added or put to afterwardes, that the body is vnder the soule, or that the vntreasonable parte is vtterly or elles after a certayne maner vnder the reasonable parte: though we do graunt the body to be vnder the soule as touchyng to perfeccyon: yet it foloweth not hereof, that the one is vnder the other, as touchyng to iurysdyccyon / for he that shuld make that illacyon or argument shulde comytte the vyce or faulte of argumentacion called fallacia consequentis. And though we dyd graunte (albeit not for this argumentacyon) that the pryncce or gouernour of the bodyes, that is to wytte the coactyue iudge of men, for the state of this present worlde onely, is vnder, as touchyng to iurysdyccyon, the coactyue iudge of soules for the state of the worlde to come: yet it foloweth not therefore, that any pryncce or coactyue iudge of this worlde, is as touchyng to iurysdyccyon, vnder any bysshoppe or preeste. For no bysshop or preeste, in that he is such one, is pryncce or coactyue iudge of any man for the state of this present worlde: or yet of the worlde to come / as it hath ben shewed in the .iiii. v. and .ix. chapytres of this dyccyon. For the coactyue iudge of soules, or for the state of the worlde to come: is onely chryst: wherfore it is wyrtten in the .iiii. of James, and it greueth me not to repete it agayne. There is but one lawemaker and iudge: whiche may destroye and deliuer. But this iudge purposeth not to iudge any mortall man by sentence irrenocable, neyther he doth ponysshe synnallye or rewarde any man in this worlde / but he purposeth to punyshe or to rewarde onely in the worlde to come / as we haue sayd, and haue proued by the scripture, in the .ix. of this dyccyon.

Nowe the bysshop of Rome, with other prelates or pastores, is the teacher of soules, and as it were the seche or physycyon of them: but not pryncce or coactyue iudge of them / as we haue shewed in the place afore alledged. By the tecte of the gospell and by the apostle, Hylarye, and Chrysostome, and also by stronge reason. And as touchyng to the reason, whiche we brought in moreouer, that lyke wyse as corporall thynges are in comparyson of sprytuall thynges, so is the gouernour of corporall thynges in comparyson of hym whiche is gouernour of sprytuall thynges: for as moch as it is grounded vpon the same rote in a maner with the reason aforegone: it is to be auoyded and disolued in a maner vnder the same or lyke maner. For the fyrst proposycyon of this reason may be impugned and proued false many maner wayes. And as touchyng the seconde proposycyon of this reason where it is sayde that corporall thynges are vnder sprytuall thynges, yf by this wordes be vnderstanded that they are lesse perfyte: it ought to be graunted, yf the se wordes sprytuall and temporall be taken in, in theyr propre sygnysfycacyons. But whan it is sayde afterwardes that the bysshop of Rome is pryncce or iudge of sprytuall thynges, yf this worde iudge be taken accordyng to his fyrst sygnysfycacyon

Howe the body is vnder the soule.

Chryst is the only iudge coactyue of soules.

The bysshop of Rome is but a teacher.

Obieccyon.

The answer.
Obieccyon.
Answer.

fyrcayon, and as speculatyue or operatyue iudge of these thynges: it is true, that the bysshop of Rome and any other bysshop is or oughte to be suche maner iudge. And hereof it is concluded that he is perspyter than that man whiche iudgeth by suche maner iudgement onely of corporall thynges. Namelye because of the goodnes of the thyngs whiche are iudged. But it foloweth not herefore, that suche maner iudge of spirytuall thynges is superiour to the other maner iudge in iurysdyccyon or coactyue iudgement. For so he that consydereth sensyble creatures, shuld be prynce or coactyue iudge of the astronomer or geometrycyon / or contratywysse / and yet neyther of these for all that is necessary true / But yf they do intende or meane, that the bysshop of Rome or any other bysshop is iudge of spirytuall thynges after the thynde sygnifycayon of this worde, that is to wyt coactyue iudge: than this proposycyon is to be denyed, as beyng manifestlye false / as we haue alledged here tofore of the. iiii. of James. Both in this chapytre, and also in the. ix. of this dyccyon. For chryste onely is suche maner iudge / vnto whom we neuer haue denyed, neyther do denye the iudge of this worlde to be subiect, as touchyng to coactyue iurysdyccyon for the state of the worlde to come / wherfore the apostle in the. vi. to the Ephesyans, and in the laste chapytre to the Collossyans saythe thus. Theyr lord or mayster, and poutes: is in heuens / other than onely Chryst / wherfore the iudges of this worlde: shall be iudged of this iudge onely, by coactyue iudgement. And they whiche haue offended: shall be ponysshed by coactyue ponysshement / but yet in an other world, according to his owne lawe, as it hath appered in the. ix. chapytre of this dyccyon. This sayd reason therfore is a gyle: full reason, and dyd begyle by the reason of equyvocacyon or manyfolde sygnifycayons of this worde iudge. And as touchyng to that argumetacion or reason, whiche sayth, that as the one ende hath it selfe in comparyson of the other ende & the one lawe in comparyson to the other lawe, so lyke wyse the one iudge hathe hym selfe in comparyson to the other iudge: this proposycyon yf it be taken generally, may be denyed / but yet yf it be graunted taken indefynyte and the seconde proposycyon ioyned vnto it: it foloweth and is concluded peraduenture in good materyall consequence or argument, that he whiche is coactyue iudge accordyng to the lawe of god (that is to saye chryste) is superiour to hym that is coactyue iudge accordyng to the lawe of man, that is to saye, to the prynce or prynces, whiche thyng we haue graunted here before. And than yf it be sayde, moreouer that the bysshoppe of Rome, or any other bysshoppe, is iudge accordyng to the lawe of god. A dystynccyon is to be made of this proposycyon because of the many folde sygnifycayons of this worde iudge. And it is to be denyed in that sence, accordyng to whiche the maker of the argument gothe aboute to conclude, that the bysshoppe of Rome or any other bysshoppe is coactyue iudge in this worlde, or in the world to come, accordyng to the lawe of god. And as touchyng to that reason whiche sayth, that he, whose accyon or operacion is the more noble, oughte not to be subiecte as touchyng coactyue iurysdyccyon, vnto hym whose accyon or operacion is the lesse noble or the lesse perspyte / & that the accyon or operacion of a bysshoppe or preeste is more noble, than the operacion of a prynce or secular gouernoure, for it is a more noble and a more perspyte thyng to consecrate the sacrament of the altar, and to mynyste the other sacramentes of the churche, whiche is the worke of a bysshop or preeste, than to iudge and gyue comaundementes of the cyuyle or contencyouse actes of men whiche is the worke of a prynce or gouernoure, or of hym that hath coactyue iurysdyccyon, onely, in that he is such one the fyrste proposycyon of this reason or argument is false, and to be denyed yf it

The seconde
argument.

Answer.

Obieccyon.

Answer.

THE DEFENCE

be taken generally, as it must nedes be taken here, for elles this reason shuld not
 haue cōuenient forme. And þe secōde proposycōn also yf it be taken generally,
 for what soener preefthode or preeft, maye lykewyse be proued false by manyfolde
 reasons. For the accyon of preeftes in other lawes: is not nobler than the accy-
 on or operacyon of the prynce or seculer gouernoure as the contrarye hath ben be-
 fore shewed and proued in the .xv. chapytre of the fyrste dyccyon or parte. But in
 the lawe of chrysten men onely, the operacyon of preeftes is the moste perryte ope-
 racyon / whiche thyng for all that we do holde by faythe onely. The fyrst propo-
 sycōn therfore of this argumentacyon is false / for nothyng letteth, but that he
 whiche hath the more noble and more perryte operacyon absosutly: maye in some
 thynges and some maner waye, depende of hym, that hath the lesse perryte opera-
 cyon. And so in some poynte and some maner waye be more vnperfyte / For the
 bodye of man, whiche absolutlye is more perryte than all maner bodyes outh-
 symple or composyte and myp-
 te, at the lestewyse whiche are generable: as tou-
 chynge to some thyng that maye be assygned, is lesse perryte than many symple
 or myp-
 te bodyes. This also maye we se in the partes of one hole thyng. For
 though the iye be a membre or a parte more perryte than the hande or the fote, be-
 cause it worketh a more perryte operacyon / yet neuerthelesse it hangeth of them
 and receaueth some operacyon or mouynge of them. And they lykewyse agayne
 do depende of the iye. For by the iye they are dyrected vnto the ende, vnto the whi-
 che they moue or are moued / so also the apostle sayde in the .xii. of the fyrste to the
 Coryntheanes. But the iye can not saye to the hande: I nede not thy helpe or la-
 boure. And after this or lyke maner verelye the prynce and gouernoure also de-
 pendeth and receaueth some thynges by the accyons or operacyons of some infer-
 ryor partes of the cōmunyte (of whiche we haue spoken in the .v. chapytre of the
 fyrste dyccyon) howbeit not as touchynge to coactyue iudgemente. And yet do
 those inferryor partes of the cōmunyte as touchynge to some better and more per-
 fyte thyng, and as touchynge to coactyue iudgement, depende of the prynce and
 gouernoure / as it hath ben shewed in the .xv. of the fyrst dyccyon. So than preeft
 hode or preeftes do depende and receaue some what of the prynce or seculer gouer-
 noure: and the prynce or seculer gouernour dependeth and receaueth some thyng
 of the preeft. For the preeftes do receaue of the prynce and seculer gouernoure, in
 stytycyon of theyr cyuyle actes, and defence from Iniurye that they shall neyther
 do iniurye to any other man, neyther any other man to them, in the state and
 for the state of this present worlde / for this is the offyce of the prynce or hyghe go-
 uernoure, and of none other parte or membre of the cōmunyte as it hath ben shew-
 ed in the .xv. of the fyrst dyccyon. And this also the apostle expressed in the .xiii.
 chapytre to the Romaynes / and we haue brought in his wordes in the .v. chapy-
 tre of this dyccyon / this same also he mened in the .v. chapytre of the fyrst epytyle
 to Tymothe, whan he sayde / I beseeche therfore, that obsecracyons be made, fyrst
 for kynges, and all that are in hyghe auctoryte, that we may leade a quyet and
 peaceable lyfe. Lykewyse agayne on the other parte, the prynce dependeth and
 hath nede of the accyon or operacyon of the preeft. For of the preeft, he receaueth
 doctryne, and the sacramentes dysposynge men in this worlde, and remouynge
 or puttyng a waye suche thynges as are contrarye to saluacyon or eternall bea-
 tytude, for the state of the worlde to come. But yet dyfferently and after a dyuer-
 se maner

se maner they worke and receaue these operacyons eche of other. For the pryncce beyng coactyue iudge in this worlde by the ordynacyon of god, maye lawefullp exerceyse or impresse his operacyon, by coactyue power by doyng pnysshment vpon any preeste: yea though he be not wyllynge or contente, yf he hathe ben a transgressor of the lawe of man, whiche is not contrary to the lawe of god / as it hath ben shewed and proued, in the .v. and .viii. chapytres of this dyccyon and in the .xv. of the fyrste dyccyon. But the bysshoppe or preeste, because he is not accordynge to the lawe of god coactyue iudge of any man in this worlde (as it hath ben shewed in the .xv. of the fyrste dyccyon and in the .liii. v. and .ix. of this dyccyon) but is a iudge after the fyrste sygnysfycacyon of this worde iudge, and as it were an operatyue teacher, as a leche or physycyon: he can not by his operacyon or precepte, compell any man / neyther he ought to compell any man, by payne or pnysshment outher reall or personall, as touchyng to this present lyfe. So than the fyrst proposycyon of this sayd argumentacyon was false, wherin it was sayde, that what soeuer thyng worketh the more persyte operacyon, ought not as touchyng to iurysdyccyon to be vnder the thyng that worketh the lesse persyte operacyon. For of this proposycyon with the aforesayde proposycyons ioyned vnto it, there foloweth necessarily an other manifeste inconuenient and a false proposycyon / that is to wytte, that no speculatyue doctour or at the lest wyse that the hyghest or pryncypall philosopher or metaphysycyon is not vnder the iurysdyccyon of the pryncce or gouernoure accordynge to the lawe of man. For as moche as none of the practyue habytes or scyences and qualytes besydes saythe, in the pryncce and gouernoure, or els in any other man, neyther any operacyon procedynge and brought forth of the sayde habytes or scyences, is egall in perfeccyon to the habyte or scyence of the metaphysycyon, or to the accyon or operacyon brought forth by it whiche habyte or operacyon, it maye chaunce a pryncce or gouernoure for to lacke. And where as it was afterwarde obiected, that it semeth an inconuenient, and an vnsemy thyng, that the bysshoppe of Rome, or elles any other bysshoppe, ought to be vnder the coactyue iudgemente of hym, that is pryncce and worldy gouernoure, it is to be answered and sayde that it is none inconuenient at all, that he or any other bysshoppe be vnder that same or lyke iudge, vnder whom the lord and mayster of the sayde bysshop of his owne fre wyll hath determyned to be, for a couenient ordynacyon or ordie of this worlde to be obserued / For chryste, whiche was bothe god and man, wyllynglye submytted hym selfe to the coactyue iudgement of ponce Pilate, whiche was the vycare or deputye of hym that was Emperoure / so also dyd the holye apostles and taught other also to do the same, accordngly vnto the lawe of god / as it hath ben playnlye and euidently shewed by the scrypture and by the saynges of sayntes, and of other doctours, in the .liii. and .v. of this dyccyon / and hath ben also repeted or reheerced agayne in the .xxviii. of this same dyccyon / wherfore also in as moche as the seruaunte is not greater than the mayster, neyther the apostle greater than he that hath sent hym as we haue alledged and brought in of the scrypture, by the sayinge of Bernarde, in the .xxviii. chapytre of this dyccyon. For Bernarde amonge other thynges: saythe thus, in the fyrste Booke and the .v. chapytre De consideratione vnto Eugenius. Is the seruaunte thanne a mynyshter of the dygnyte: yf he wylleth not to be greater than his lord and mayster: or the dyscyppe, yf he wylleth not to be greater than he that sente hym: or the sone yf he

An inconuenient
or as
surdtype.

THE DEFENCE

The pryncce,
is vycare of
god.

An other ob-
ieccion.

Answer.
Howe a pryn-
ce or gouer-
noure is to be
corrected.

An other ob-
ieccion.

Answer.

yf he wyll not goo beyonde the termes or boundes whiche his forefathers haue sette? Our mayster and lord sayd, who hath made or ordayned me a iudge? and shall it be iniurye to the seruaunte and dyscypyle: excepte he maye iudge all men? It is not inconuenient but verye conueniente, and also necessarye to the quyetnes and tranquyllyte of cuntrye or the comune weale / that any bysshop and preefte and clerke be vnder the coactyue iudgemente of the prynces and secular gouernours. And the contrarie herof is vtterlye inconuenient, and intollerable. Furthermore, because the bysshoppe of Rome or any other bysshoppe is not the vycare of chryste, or his mynyster, to exerceyse all maner offyce in this world: but onely as touchynge to a certayne determinate offyce / as for example as touchynge to preesthode / in whiche offyce, in that it is suche one: there is not regarded or consydered any coactyue iudgemente, neyther superyoure or inferyout as touchynge to suche iudgemente: as we alledged openlye of the wordes of Arystotle, in the .viii. parte of the .ix. chapytre of this dyccion. But the pryncce or secular gouernoure is the vycare or mynyster of god, as touchynge to the offyce of a pryncce or gouernoure / in whiche offyce is consydered and regarded a superyout and an inferyout or subiecte as touchynge to coactyue power / wherfore in the .viii. to the Romaines the apostle exceptynge none of the preestes or bysshoppes: saythe. Let every soule be subiecte to the hyghe powers / and he putteth the cause herof forth with, saynge / for he is the mynyster of god. Se nowe howe the pryncce is the vycare of god, not vposent / but coactyue of euyl men in this world. And therfore it foloweth. A ponyssher for wroth vnto hym is an euyl doer. But it is so, that a bysshop or preeft may be an euyl doer / to whom neyther chryst, neyther any apostle, hath assygned at any tyme, any other iudge outher by theyr worke & example or els by theyr wordes: as it hath ben shewed in this dyccion in the place afore alledged. And to that obieccion whiche is put forthe by the maner of a conclusyon, where it is sayde yf it shulde be expedyent and necessary, to correcte prynces and gouernours, whan they shall trespase and offende agaynst goddes lawe or mannes lawe: that it semeth that they maye not conueniently be corrected, for as moch as they haue no superyor in the cyurle regymente, at the lest wyse the pryncypall and hyghest of them. And therfore that they ought to be vnder the coactyue iudgemente of preestes and bysshoppes: it is to be answered and sayde, that a pryncce or gouernoure offendynge or trespassynge agaynst the lawe of god or of man, may and ought to be corrected conueniently by the ecclesiastycall mynyster, bysshoppe, or preefte, by wordes of exortacyon / or of increpacyon, and rebukynge / but yet after a sobrie a dyscrete and mesurable maner, accordynge to the doctryne of the apostle in the seconde and also the .iiii. chapytre of the seconde epystle to Tymothe and to the expositioun of Chrysostome, whiche we haue brought in heretofore in the .ix. chapytre of this dyccion. But in no wyse by coactyue power and auctoryte. For suche maner power dothe not appertayne to a preefte or bysshoppe, in that he is suche one: vpon any man in this worlde / as it hath ben oftentimes proued and repeted heretofore. And as touchynge to the reason whiche was fynallye added, that he is, as touchynge to iurysdyccion, superyor vnto the emperoure of Rome, and maye of ryghte instytute and depose the sayde emperoure, whiche hath translated the empyre from the Grekes vnto the Romaines in the person of great Eherles, as it hath ben sayd & that he that made this translatioun was the pope of Rome, ergo the pope is superyor to the Emperour & maye of ryghte instytute and depose the Emperour: it is to be answered & sayde, that yf the fyrst proposioun of this argument be taken indefynitly & not vniuersally, than of it with the second proposioun nothyng can be inferred or concluded, for as moche as

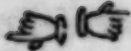
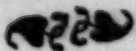
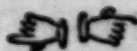
moche as no syllogysme may be made of an indefynite proposycyon and a party
culer proposycion. But yf it be taken vniuersally, so that it be sayd, Every tran-
slator of the Romaine empyre from the grekes vnto the germanes, is superiour
to the emperour. &c. Excepte the subiecte of this proposycyon (that is to wyl tran-
slator of the empyre. &c.) be determyned / this proposycyon myght be proued falsse
by very many true reasons. For yf any man had ivery dede but yet not of ryght,
translated the empyre, or elles yf he had done it not by his owne power, but by
the power of an other man gyuen vnto hym as vnto a proctour or deputye: this
person I saye whiche had so translated the empyre, shulde not therfore hym selfe
alone haue superiour iurysdyccyon vnto the emperoure, neyther ryghtfull power
and auctoryte to instytute or depose hym / but yf the aforesayde proposycyon be
this determyned, that every mortall man whiche hath translated, or maye iustlye
and ryghtfully translate the romayne empyre from the grekes vnto the germa-
nes, by his owne propre auctoryte not graunted to hym by any other person, is
superiour in coactyue iurysdyccyon to the emperour of Rome, and maye ryghtful-
lye instytute and depose hym / this proposycyon so graunted: than the seconde pro-
posycyon whiche is ioyned vnto this, that it is the byssoppe or Pope of Rome,
whiche hath translated the empyre / as it hath ben sayde / is to be denyed as vtterly
falsse. For the contrary of this proposycyon, hath ben proued in the .xx. of the fyrst
dyccyon. And also the contrarye both of it, and of the conclusyon whiche is infer-
red of it, hath ben certysed and surely proued by the scripture, and by the sayn-
ges of sayntes and other catholyke doctours, in the .liii. and .v. chapptres of this
dyccyon / and hath ben repeted or reherced agayne in verye many other places.

The transla-
cyon of the ro-
mayne empy-
re.

And thus it hath ben obserued in dede without reclamacyon or grudge of
the olde fathers & pastores of the bysshoppes of Rome. Thus than
to haue gone throughte the doubtcs moued in the thyrde and
the .xxvii. chapptres of this dyccyon / lette it be suf-
fyciente. And thus we make an ende of the
questyones pryncypallye purposed
and intended of vs in
this worke.

¶

¶ Thus endeth the seconde dyccyon or boke,



¶ The thyrde dyccyon or parte of this worke,
entytled, the Defender of peace/
whiche is, as it were a
table of the two
fyrste dycc-
cyons.

¶ Of the

THE DEFENCE

Of the reherfall, & calling to remembraunce agayne, of the thynges pryncypally intended and determyned in the fyrste and seconde dyccyon/and of a certayne sequele, and necessary folowynge, whiche the thynges that shalbe spoken in this boke:haue vnto the thynges whiche haue ben sayd in the dyccyons aforegoynge.

The fyrste chapytre.



Das moche, as in the dyccyons aforegoynge, we haue assygned and marked forth the synguler and specyall cause, that now is of cruyle dyscorde, intranquyllyte, and vnquyetnes of certayne realmes, and certayne comunytes, and whiche same thyng, shall also be hereafter the cause of debate, and stryfe in all other comunytes, excepte it be letted and stopped be tymes: that is to wytte the exystymacion or oppynyon, and the desyre, and enforcement, by whiche the bysshoppe of Rome, and the companye of his clergye, syngulerlye and especyally laiboure to possesse secular domynyons, and temporall thynges superfluouslye/ of the whiche domynyons or souereygntes, the sayde bysshoppe endeouret to challenge the hyghest vnto hym selfe, by the tytyle of full power, whiche was pryncypallye graunted to hym (as he sayth) by chryst in the person of saynt Peter, as we haue sayde in the laste chapytre of the fyrst dyccyon. And as it hath ben not without a reasonable cause repeted oftentimes and reherced in verry many chapytres of the seconde dyccyon: where as in verry dede, not onely not the hyghest domynyon or gouernaunce, but also no domynyon at all or iugemente coactyue of any persone in this worlde is conuenient or agreynge to hym, or to any other bysshoppreest, or clerke, in that they are suche maner persone, neyther ioyntly, neyther seuerallye, as we haue euidently shewed and proued in the fyrste dyccyon, by certayne humayne and worldly reasons. And haue also confirmed the same, in the. iiii. and. v. chapytres of the seconde dyccyon, by the testymonies of euerlastynge trouthe, and also by the expopycons, and declaracyons of the holy interpretours therof, and of many proued doctours and teachers of the same, and afterwardes also the. vi. & the. vii. chapytres of the seconde dyccyon we haue by the scripatures and certayne reasons, assygned and shewed what, and howe great, and in what thynges is the power and auctoryte of preestes and bysshoppes. To all whome, or to some one of them, we haue shewed in the. xiiii. chapytre of the same, that suche fulnes of power dothe not belonge, neyther ioyntlye or seuerally, whiche fulnes they had taken them selues and vsurped, namely the bysshoppe of Rome. By reason of the whiche thynges so of vs declared & shewed it semeth and appereth, the rotes of that synguler malygnyty verry ofte named in our prohemie or preface to be suffyciently cut vp, wherfore now that & braunches, & wygges, & grasses of dyscorde & stryfe, whiche this pestylence or myschefe hath brought hether to, yea & cesseth not yet dayly to brynge in to realmes & comunytes, maye & sooner drye vp & not be able hereafter to haue yssue or ofsprynge: or to sprede any further we shall of the. ii. dyccyons aforegone brynge forth & thyrde dyccyon, whiche remayneth behynd/ whiche dyccyon shalbe nothyng elles, but a necessarye & a playne, clere, & euident inferryng of certayne conclusyons, folowynge of & thyngs aforewryten, beyng outther euidently knowen of them self: or els suffyciently proued: to & whiche conclusyons, yf good diligent attencion be gyuen, both of medytacyon & study, & also of workynge & executyon/ & aforesayd pestylence or myschefe, & also & sophystycall cause therof, shall easly be excluded & dryuen out from realmes/ so & from hensforth they shal be stopped out from hauynge entraunce in to them & other, comunytes.

Of the

¶ Of the clere and euydent inferrynge of certayne conclusyons necessarily folowynge of these thynges, whiche haue ben determyned in the.ii. fyrst dyccyons or partes of this boke/by the attencion and dyligent markynge of which conclusyons prynces or gouernours, and also theyr subiectes may the sooner: and the moze easely, attayne the ende purposed and entended by this boke.

The seconde chapytre.

¶ Of the whiche sayde conclusyons to be inferred: we wyll make this the fyrste.



That there is no scripture, whiche of necessitye, we are bounden to beleue, to beleue to be vndoubtedly true saue onely the dyuine or canonycall scripture / or what soeuer other scripture it be, whiche necessarily foloweth of the same

¶ The seconde conclusyon.

That onely the preceptes of god in the newe lawe, or elles such as necessarily foloweth of them, or suche thynges, whiche accordynge to ryght reason, are conueniente to be done or lefte vndone, are nedfull for the obtaynenge of euery lastynge saluacyon to be obserued and kepte / but not all the preceptes of the olde lawe.

¶ The thyrde conclusyon.

That in the preceptes or proshybycyons of the newe lawe: no mortall man maye dyspence.

¶ The fourth conclusyon.

That there is none other humayne or worldly maker of lawes, but onely the prynce or his perlyament, or (where it is so vsed) hole vniuersyte and congregacyon of Cytezens: or elles the bygger and more parte therof.

¶ The fyfte conclusyon.

That the Decretalles or Decrees of the Popes of Rome, or of any other bishoppes, whiche ben constytuted or made by them, ioyntly or seuerally, without the graunte of prynces do oblygate or bynde no man to any payne temporall or punysshment of this worlde. This is declared of certaynte in the.ii. of the fyrst and. xxi. chapytre of the seconde dyccyon.

¶ The syxte conclusyon.

That in the lawes of man: onely the prynce or els some other man by his auctorite, maye dyspence. This is proued in the. xii. chapytre of the fyrste dyccyon.

¶ The seuenth conclusyon.

That there ought to be but onely one cheife soueraygne in a realme / this is euidently proued in the. xiii. chapytre of the fyrste dyccyon.

¶ The eyght conclusyon.

That it belongeth onely to the auctorite of the kynge accordynge to the lawes or approued customes: to determyne the persones, and the qualyte, and nombre of them, which shal be offycers of the realme and also to determyne all cyuill matters by them selues or theyr deputies.

The

THE DEFENCE

¶ The. ix. conclusyon.

¶ That no bysshop or preeſte, in that he is ſuche one: haſſe any ſoueraignete or coactyue iurysdyccion ouer any clarke. or laye man, althoughe he be an heretyke. This is euidentlye proued in the. xv. chapytre of the fyrſte dyccion / in the. iiii. the. v. the. ix. and. p. chapytres of the ſeconde dyccion.

¶ The. x. conclusyon.

¶ That onely the pryncer or ſoueraigne: haſſe iurysdyccyon coactyue, bothe reſſall and perſonall, vpon euery partyculer or ſynguler mortall perſon: of what ſo euer condycion or eſtate he be / and alſo vpon euery partyculer colledge or compa- ny of laye men and clarkes.

¶ The. xi. conclusyon.

¶ That it is not lawfull for any bysshop or preeſte. or for any colledge or com- pany of them: to excommunicate any man / or to interdycete or forbyd the dyuine ſeruyce to be done / this is proued in the. vi. chapytre of the ſeconde dyccion.

¶ The. xii. conclusyon.

¶ That all bysshops are egall in the auctorite whiche they haue imedyatly by chryſte / and that it can not be proued accordynge to the lawe of god, that one of them oughte to be aboue, or vnder an other in ſpyrytuall or temporall thynges / this is euidentlye proued in the. xv. and. xvi. chapytres of the ſeconde dyccion.

¶ The. xiii. conclusyon.

¶ That the contractes of matrimonye or wedlocke, prochytyed and forbydden in the lawe of god, can not be dyspensed by any mortall man / and that to dys- pence with the matrimonyes forbydden by the lawe of man, dothe belonge onely to the auctorite of the pryncer. This is euidentlye proued, in the. xii. chapytre of the fyrſt dyccion.

¶ The. xiiii. conclusyon.

¶ To legyttymate baſterdes, and thoſe that be begoten out of wedlocke: ſo that they maye ſuccede by inherytaunce, and receyue or take cyuyle or eccleſiaſtycall offices and benefyces / belongeth onely to the pryncer of a realme. This is proued in the ſame places whiche were reherſed in the laſt conclusyon afore this.

¶ The. xv. conclusyon.

¶ That it appertayneth onely to the prynces to iudge the perſones whiche are to be promoted to eccleſiaſtycall ordres / and alſo to iudge the ſufficyencye or habyl- tyte of any ſuche perſone, by coactyue iudgement. And that without the auctori- te of prynces it is not lawfull for any bysshop or preeſte to promote any man to any ſuche ordres this is proued in the. xv. chapytre of the fyrſte dyccion / and in the. xvii. of the ſeconde.

¶ The. xvi. conclusyon.

¶ That it belongeth onely to hym that is cheyfe gonernoure or ſoueraigne, ac- cordynge to the lawes of chryſten men / to meaſure or ſet the nombre of churches or temples, and of the preeſtes, deacons, and other offycers, whiche ought to my- niſtre in the ſame. The certayne of this conclusyon is had in the places laſt reherſed.

¶ The. xvii. conclusyon.

¶ That the eccleſiaſtycall offyces whiche we haue called ſeparable or accyden- tall, with benefyces, and other thynges ordayned for godly and charytable cau- ſes / ought to be gyuen, and lyke wyſe maye be taken awaye, onely by the aucto- rite of prynces. This is proued, in the. xv. of the fyrſte and. xvii. of the ſeconde.

¶ The. xviii. conclusyon.

¶ That to ordayne or make notaryes, or other publyke and comune cyuyle offy- cers

cers: doth appertayne to no bysshop, in that he is suche one/ neyther ioyntlye with any other: neyther seuerally/ this is proued in the. xv. of the fyrste parte.

The. xix. conclusyon.

That no bysshoppe, in that he is suche one maye graunte outher ioyntly, or seuerallye, lycence to teache, or worke or practyse openly in any art or dyscplyne/ but that to graunte these lycencies appertayneth onely to prynces or to hym that is hed gouernoure/ this is proued in the places laste reherced.

The. xx. conclusyon.

That the kyng or prynce may lawefully & agreably to the lawe of god, vse the temporallies of the churche or clergye, outher in the hole, or in parte of them, for the publyke or comune vtyltye, or defence of the comune weale, after that the necessitye of the preestes, and other mynysters of the gospell, and of those thynges whiche appertayneth to the worshypinge and seruyce of god, and of the impotent poore folke, is suffycientlye prouyded for, and satysfied/ this is proued, in the. xv. of the fyrste and in the. xvii. of the seconde dyccyon.

The. xxi. conclusyon.

That it belongeth onely to the cheyfe gouernour or soueraygne, to dyspose all temporallies, which are ordayned for charytable causes, and to almosse dedes and the workes of pytye. As for example suche thynges whiche are bequeste in testaments, for the meynテナunce of souldyers agaynst infydels/ or for the raunsonynge of prysoners beyng in theyr handes / or for the sustentacyon and releaue of impotent poore folke, and suche other lyke thynges / and that to hym onely it appertayneth, to ordie the sayd thynges, accordynge to the determynacion, intercyon, and mynde of the testator / or other wyse gyuer / this is proued in the places laste reherced.

The. xxii. conclusyon.

That it appertayneth onely to the auctoryte of prynces to graunt the vobson of what soeuer colledge or rehygion/ and the same to approue and to allowe: or els to reproue and dysallowe / this is proued in the. xv. of the fyrste, in the. viii. the. v. of the seconde dyccyon.

The. xxiii. conclusyon.

That it appertayneth onely to the auctoryte of the gouernour or soueraygne, to iudge by coactyue iudgement. heretykes, and all trespassers, and malefactors, and those whiche are to be ponysshed by temporall payne or ponysshement / and to instycte and enioyne paynes personall and reall/ and the same paynes reall to applye vnto what vse they lyst. This is proued, in the. xv. of the fyrst in the. viii. the. v. of the seconde.

The. xxiiii. conclusyon.

That no subiecte, or person, whiche is oblygated and bounde to another, by a lawefull othe: maye be losed from the sayde bonde, by any bysshop or preeste, without reasonable cause, whiche is to be iudged (by the iudgement in his thyrd sygnifycacyon) of the prynce or kyng/ and that the contrarye of this conclusyon: is agaynst all true and ryghte doctryne/ this is proued, in the. vi. the. vii. and. xxvi. of the seconde dyccyon.

The. xxv. conclusyon.

That it appertayneth and belongeth onely to the prynces and gouernoures, in the comunytes of chrysten people, to gather by coactyue powet a generall counceyll, or elles a partyculer counceyll, of preestes and bysshoppes, and of other chrysten men.

THE DEFENCE

¶ The.xxvi.conclusyon.

¶ That the comaundyng of fastes, and the proscripcyons and forbyddynge of certayne meates, ought onely to be made by the auctorite of prynces. And that onely the aforesayde prynces maye enterdycle or forbydde the workyng and exercysyng of handcraftes/or the teachyng of disciplynes, whiche are not proscribted by the lawe of god, to be exercysed & used in al maner of dayes/and that it appertayneth onely to hym that is gouernour to constrayne men, to the obseruyng and keepyng of the same comaundementes or proscripcyons by temporall payne or penysshement.

¶ The.xxvii.conclusyon.

¶ That it maye be lawfull alwayes for hym, that is a suter, or stryuer in the lawe: to appele from the coactyue iudgement, whiche hath ben graunted to any bysshoppe or pceste: to hym that is pryncce or gouernour.

¶ The.xxviii.conclusyon.

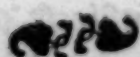
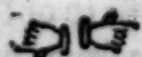
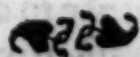
¶ That a multytude, or synguler person, to whom the gospel is mynystrid: is bounde accordyng to the lawe of god, and after theyr or his habyltye, to episcyte and gyue to bysshops, and other euangelycall mynystrs those thynges, whiche shall be necessarye and nedefull to theyr nourysshement and clothyng/at the feasteweise theyr dayly foode necessarye to the sustentacyon of theyr lyfe. But in no wyse tyethes or any other thyng, yf it shall be superfluous, and more than shall be necessarye requyred, to the supplyenge of the nedes of the sayde mynystrs.

¶ The.xxix.conclusyon.

¶ That the faythfull lawemaker, or he that is gouernour, by the auctorite of the sayde lawemaker: maye in the prouynce subiecte to hym, compell as well bysshoppes as other euangelycall mynystrs, for whose foode and clothyng it is suffycientlye prouyded: to celebate deuyne seruyce, and to mynyster the sacramentes of the churche/this is proued in the.xv.of the fyrste & in the.viii.of the seconde.

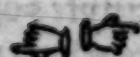
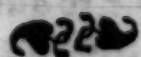
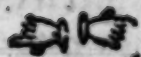
¶ The.xxx.conclusyon.

¶ Other conclusyons, bothe verye many in nombre, and also verye profytable, myght be inferred, whiche by necessitye foloweth of the determynacyons made in the two fyrste dyccyons or partes. But yet that notwithstandinge, at this tyme we wyll holde vs contented, with these: whiche we haue all redy deduced. For as moche as they do the gyue easye and suffycient entraunce and occasyon to the red to geather and inferre other suche lyke mo, and be suffycient also to the cuttinge awaye of the aforesayde great myscheyse, other wyse called the bysshoppe of Rome and also the cause therof.



¶ The ende of the thyrde dyccyon or parte/
of the worke: whiche is called,

The defender of peace.



¶ The

The peroracion or conclusyon of/
the worke to the reader.



Thou haste here most gentyll reader, A worke, whiche albeit that
it is not peraventure set forth with paynted wordes, and eloquent
speache / yet is there wysdome in it not to be dyspyssed. This say-
de worke, it hathelyked and pleased the auctor therof: to entytte
Defensor pacis / that is to saye in Englysshe: the defender or
maynteyner of Peace / because in it he hath dyligentlye and

faythfullye gathered togyther, and also hath in goodlye ordie sette forth, all the
wayes and meanes: by whiche most cheyftye, empyers, realmes, or any other cy-
tyle socyetes, or felowshyppes of men, amonge them selues are or maye be beste
holden, or kepte, and consydered, or toynded togyther, by a certayne continuall fa-
uoure and loue of the offycers or rulers and of the multytude or cōmunes each to
other establisshed, and made fyrm and sure, without feare or dreade of any sedy-
cyon, dyscorde debate or stryfe, bothe partes keapyng them selues within theyr
owne ryghte, as it were within a certayne tymptes or boundes: and neyther of
them chalengynge or vsurpyng any thynges vnto them selues, saue onely that,
whiche the lawes wyll gyue them leaue. Whiche consent, and concorde, or agre-
ment betwene the orders, degrees or estates, because it hath not ben so dyligently
regarded and seen vnto, as was mete and accordynge that it shuld haue ben: and
whyles the one sorte, to boldye, agaynst ryght and lawe, dothe hurte the other
so we great hurttes, and troublouse stormes, it hath alwayes styred and
raysed vp, not onely in temporall maters, but also in spirytualte maters:
bothe the tymes of our elders and forefathers partely, but specially and
cheyftye these presente tymes, vexed with so many incōmoditytes, and
myscheuouse euylles and troubles by reason hereof, doth euident-
ly declare and proue. Agaynst whiche euylles, wolde god that
some conuenient helpe & remedy were founde, afore it come
to that passe that they be vtterlye paste remedye: by tho-

se persones, whiche woulde helpe both ought and
also myght remedye them. But I exorte
and desyre the, most good & gentyll rea-
der: dyligentlye to tourne ouer and
to labour this worke, called
the defender of peace. Thou shalte fynde in it the Image of these
our tymes most perspety and clerlye expressed and set
out. And also, that euen afore these dayes, every
one of the beste Emperours hath ben con-
tinually sore vexed & troubled
with the same tyrannye
of Romanytes: wherewith nowe all good
men be accombred, greaued, and
nayed, not without the
cruell and deadelye
iniurye of the
cōmune
weale.



This worke was wryten

in the latyne tonge two hundred & ten yeres now fully
passed/and now printed in englyshe, for none other
entent and purpose (I take god to wytnesse) more then
to helpe further and profyte the chrysten comen weale, to the utter-
most of my power, namely and princypally, in those busynesses
and troubles: wherby it is and before this tyme hath ben in-
iustly molested vexed and troubled by the spyrytuall & eccle-
siastycall tyrants. And that to the great hurte & cala-
myte of the same comen weale, that by many suche
hystories of olde men, sette before the eyes and
syght of all men: at the last, the
very trouth myght

appere and
shewe it selfe/and that all darkenesse dys-
cussed, and put awaye, the same maye
come to lycht. Wherefore good
indifferant reader, take
thou that also in
good
worthe, whiche we ha-
ue done certaynlye,
of a very good
mynde and
purpose.

Explicit.

Printed by me Robert wyer/
for wylliam marshall/ and
fynished in the moneth of
July in the yere of our
Lorde god a. M.
L L L L L.
X X X b.

And in the. xxvli. yere of the Kynge of our moſte
gracious ſoueraigne lorde Henry the eyght,
by the grace of god, of Englande, and of
Fraunce kynge, defender of the
fayth, and lorde of Irelande/
and ſupreme hed vnder
god of the church
of Englande.

With the privilege of our
moſte gracious ſoue-
raigne Lorde/
for ſix yeres,



ROBERT & WYER

